

GENDERED EMOTION OF ANGER IN THE
EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

A Master's Thesis

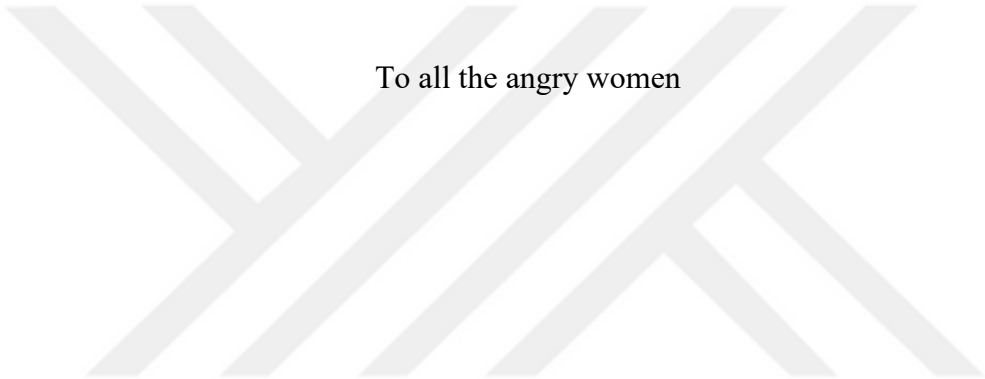
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June 2025

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Bilkent University 2025

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To all the angry women

GENDERED EMOTION OF ANGER
IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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ANKARA

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By Yağmur Çelik Üstünbaş

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History

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ABSTRACT

GENDERED EMOTION OF ANGER IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

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June 2025

This thesis examines the conceptualization, expression, and regulation of anger in the early modern Ottoman society, with a particular focus on its gendered dimensions. Drawing on judicial court registers from Anatolian towns spanning to sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, fatwas, and one of the prominent ethics books of the time, *Ahlak-ı Alai* by Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, a sixteenth-century Ottoman intellectual, the study investigates how anger was defined, expressed, and regulated in both ethical discourse and everyday practice. Rather than treating emotions as universal or ahistorical categories, this work approaches anger as a culturally constructed and historically contingent concept, shared by moral, legal, and social frameworks producing gendered emotional practices. I argue that the conceptualization of anger in early modern Ottoman society was gendered and that this gendered conceptualization was not only evident in prescriptive philosophical literature but also manifested in everyday legal disputes and social interactions documented in court records and fatwas. The analysis reveals how different expectations and regulations regarding the emotion of anger were applied to men and women, reflecting broader social hierarchies and gender roles. By tracing both the conceptualization and practical

manifestations of anger, this thesis contributes to a growing body of scholarship on the history of emotions of early modern Ottoman society. It highlights the value of integrating emotions in the history of the Ottoman Empire, placing gender at the center of this analysis.

Keywords: anger, *gazab*, gender, history of emotions, history of anger



ÖZET

ERKEN MODERN OSMANLI TOPLUMUNDA CİNSİYETLENDİRİLMİŞ ÖFKE

Çelik Üstünbaş, Yağmur

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Nil Tekgül

Haziran 2025

Bu tez, öfke duygusunun erken modern Osmanlı toplumunda nasıl kavramsallaştırıldığını ve nasıl pratiğe döküldüğünü, özellikle de bu duygunun toplumsal cinsiyetle ilişkili boyutlarına odaklanarak incelemektedir. On altıncı ve on sekizinci yüzyılları kapsayan Anadolu kasabalarındaki kadı sicilleri, fetvalar ve dönemin önemli ahlak kitaplarından biri olan, on altıncı yüzyıl Osmanlı entelektüeli Kınalızade Ali Çelebi'nin *Ahlak-ı Alai* adlı eserinden yararlanarak, öfkenin etik söylemde ve gündelik pratiklerde nasıl tanımlandığı, ifade edildiği ve düzenlendiği araştırılmaktadır. Duyguları evrensel veya tarih dışı kategoriler olarak ele almak yerine, bu çalışma öfkeyi ahlaki, hukuki ve toplumsal çerçevelerle şekillenen, kültürel olarak inşa edilmiş ve tarihsel olarak özgül bir kavram olarak değerlendirir. Bu tezde, erken modern Osmanlı toplumunda öfkenin kavramsallaştırılmasının toplumsal cinsiyetlendirilmiş olduğu ve bu toplumsal cinsiyetlendirilmiş kavramsallaştırmanın yalnızca felsefi literatürde görünür olmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda mahkeme kayıtları ve fetvalarda belgelenen gündelik hukuki anlaşmazlıklar ve toplumsal etkileşimlerde de kendini gösterdiği ileri sürülmektedir. Analiz, öfke duygusuna ilişkin farklı beklenti ve düzenlemelerin erkekler ve kadınlar için nasıl uygulandığını ortaya koyarak, daha geniş

toplumsal hiyerarşileri ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini yansıtmaktadır. Öfkenin hem kavramsallaştırılmasını hem de pratik yansımalarını izleyerek, bu tez erken modern Osmanlı toplumunun duygu tarihi literatürüne katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, Osmanlı tarihi yazımında duyguların entegre edilmesinin önemini vurgularken, analizinin merkezine toplumsal cinsiyeti yerleştirir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: duygular tarihi, gazap, öfke, öfke tarihi, toplumsal cinsiyet



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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Objectives

As a woman, my interest in the history of emotions was sparked not only by the realization that I often struggled to express my own anger, but also by the awareness that this difficulty was not unique to me; it reflected a broader, deeply rooted societal issue faced by many women. This personal experience led me to reflect more critically on the emotional norms that shape gendered practice and, eventually to engage with the field of emotion history.

Anger, even today, is one of the most complex emotions. Sometimes we feel angry but cannot do anything, other times we shout, or we cry. Therefore, we may not be able to give a clear answer to the question, “What is anger?”-and that is not a problem. There is no universal explanation for it. Moreover, as Dixon rightly contends, we must avoid any reification especially when it comes to anger.¹ This has been the case throughout history. For instance, Aristotle’s concept of anger (*orge*) was centered around revenge and, in the end, brought pleasure.² However, as we will see later when we look at the early modern Ottoman Empire, we encounter different definitions of anger. When we look at the dictionary of the Turkish Language Society (TLS) anger is defined as: an aggressive reaction shown in the face of inhibition, hurt, or intimidation; anger (*kakınç*), resentment (*kızgınlık*), glory (*celal*), greed (*hırs*), ambition (*hışım*), fury (*hiddet*), wrath (*gazap*).³ The article “Osmanlı Türkçesinde Arapça ve Farsça Kökenli Duygu Sözcükleri”, published based on a project, focuses on emotion words in the nineteenth century and uses Develioğlu’s dictionary as its main source but it also focusses on *Kamus-ı Turki* published in the early twentieth century.⁴ Özkan’s study of Ottoman

¹ Thomas Dixon, “What is the History of Anger a History of?” *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* 4 (2020): 1-34.

² Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin Classics, 1992), 192.

³ “öfke” *Turkish Language Dictionary*. Accessed: June 10, 2025. <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>

⁴ Ahmet Ferhat Özkan, “Osmanlı Türkçesinde Arapça ve Farsça Kökenli Duygu Sözcükleri,” *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 18, no.71 (2021): 801-825.

Turkish vocabulary reveals an extensive array of anger-related words. For instance, words like *gazab*, *hiddet*, *hısm*, *demdeme*, and *sevret* each capture different shades of anger. This variety suggests that the language of emotions in the Ottoman Empire was likely even richer than what has been preserved in texts like *Ahlak-ı Ala'i*. *Ahlak-ı Alai* is one of the primary sources of this thesis, written by Kınalızade Ali Çelebi in 1564. As it is one of the fundamental sources of the thesis, I will return to this work in detail later. In Semseddin Sami's *Kamus-i Turki*, one of the most important dictionaries for Ottoman Turkish, anger is defined as: *hiddet* (wrath).⁵ However, today, we tend to think anger and wrath are different emotions. Wrath is a stronger form of anger. In English and Turkish we can see that, also in French there is a word *rage* for anger, and *dépit* for wrath. Considering that the *Kamus-ı Turki* was published in 1901, it can be said that we do not have a detailed study of the vocabulary of the early modern period. For instance, we do not know which words correspond to anger in the early modern Ottoman Empire in a detailed way. We have two dictionaries for the early modern period. In Mertol Tulum's dictionary, the word *gazab* is defined as anger (*öfke*), and fury (*kızgınlık*), but it also contains a notable detail: while the primary meaning is anger and fury, the secondary meaning is resentment (*darılma*), and estrangement (*dargınlık*).⁶ Tulum also includes the term *gazban* to refer to an angry or furious person.⁷ It defines the verb form of *gazab* as *gazab etmek* and describes it as getting angry or becoming enraged.⁸ As another verbal form, he defines *gazaba gelmek* and, as we will see below, makes a similar definition to Meninski: to become angry (*ökelenmek*).⁹ Another interesting definition he gives is “to acquire color” (*reng almak*).¹⁰ The adjective form is *gazabe gelmiş*, defined as: “angry” (*ökelenmiş*), “resentful” (*darılmış*), angry

⁵ Şemsettin Sami, “öfke,” in *Kāmus-ı Türki* (İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1901).

⁶ Mertol Tulum, “gazab,” in *Osmanlı Türkçesi Büyük Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2013), 408.

⁷ Tulum, “gazban” *Osmanlı Türkçesi Büyük Sözlüğü*.

⁸ Tulum, “gazab etmek” *Osmanlı Türkçesi Büyük Sözlüğü*.

⁹ Mertol Tulum, “gazaba gelmek” *17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı* (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2011), 801.

¹⁰ Tulum, “gazaba gelmek” *17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı*.

(*gazablü*), and “burning with anger” (*ateş-i husm ile yanan*).¹¹ Additionally, he uses the word *gazabnak* to describe an angry person.¹² Tulum devotes considerable place in his dictionary to words related to *gazab*, also defines its adverbial form as *gazaben* (in anger), meaning “out of anger” (*öfkeden*), and provides definitions such as *gazabinden* (from his/her anger) and “to become angry” (*ökelenmek*).¹³

Another key source is Meninski’s seventeenth-century Turkish-Latin dictionary, one of the most comprehensive lexicons of the period. In this dictionary, the word anger (*öfke*) appears as *öke*, and is defined as *gazab*. Verbal forms such as *ökeletmek* and *ökelendürmek* are also listed, meaning “to offend” or “to irritate,” and are translated as *faire enrager* (to enrage).¹⁴ Thus, we see once again that the word of anger in the early modern lexicon was associated with meanings closer to offense or resentment. Moreover, Meninski defines the verb form of *gazab* as *ökelenmek*, and gives the expression *gazaba gelmek* (to become angry), defined as “to take offense (*darılmak*), to be hurt (*incinmek*),” and translated as *le mettre en colère* (to make one angry).¹⁵ This shift in meaning illustrates how the lexical expression of anger has evolved over time. Although it is impossible to define anger in one way, interpreting anger as resentment is no longer a common association today. Words have a very important role in the study of emotions. How many of these anger words we saw in dictionaries were used for anger in their everyday language, for example, in early modern Anatolia? Or does an angry person have to show aggression? Did women in Ottoman society express their anger in the form of aggression?

Although the history of emotions is still a relatively new and evolving field in Middle Eastern studies, it has opened fresh avenues for reinterpreting familiar sources with fresh

¹¹ Tulum, “gazabe gelmiş” 17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı.

¹² Tulum, “gazabnak” 17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı.

¹³ Tulum, “gazaben” 17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı.

¹⁴ Franciscus a Mesgnien Meninski, “öke,” in *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae ... et Grammatica Turcica cum Adjectis ad Singula Ejus Capita Praeceptis Grammaticis Arabicae et Persicae Linguae*, vol. 3 (Vienna: Typis Universitatis, 1687), 534.

¹⁵ Meninski, “ökeletmek,” in *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium*, 3:534.

perspectives, especially for marginalized voices, like women. Within Ottoman historiography, women remained largely invisible for a long time. From the 1980s onward historians began to engage with women's experiences as subjects of scholarly inquiry. The slow emergence of women in Ottoman studies can, in part, be attributed to the scarcity of documentation. Yet, with the rise of interdisciplinary approaches-particularly the history of emotions and gender history-it has become possible to revisit well-known sources through new lenses. Joan W. Scott argues that gender is not simply a synonym for women or sex roles, but a historically and analytically rich category that helps uncover the operations of power.¹⁶ Scott defines gender as having two interrelated components: first, it is a constitutive element of social relationship based on perceived differences between the sexes, and second, a "primary way of signifying power relations".¹⁷ This means that gender is not a fixed or universal, but rather a symbolic system that varies across time and place, structured by language, institutions, and ideology. According to Scott, historians must analyze how gender operates within symbolic representations, normative concepts, institutional structures, and subjective identities, all shaped through historical processes rather than biological determinism.¹⁸ The approaches allow us to reconsider the emotional lives of historical actors and explore how emotions were gendered, regulated, and experienced in specific social and legal contexts.

In this thesis, I aim to examine how anger was conceptualized, practiced, and regulated in early modern Ottoman society, and to argue that these emotional practices were profoundly shaped by gender. Central to this analysis is the argument that emotional practices were not neutral, but rather deeply gendered. I argue that societal expectations, moral knowledge, and

¹⁶ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1067–68.

¹⁷ Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 1067.

¹⁸ Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 1056.

legal discourses required different emotional practices for men and women, making gender a critical lens to explore the social dynamics of anger in the Ottoman context.

In this context, Chapter II offers a general overview of what we know about gender and the status of women in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Establishing this broader framework is essential for properly conceptualizing what gendered anger was in the early modern Ottoman Empire. As I will later argue, understanding how anger was practiced, and recognizing the dichotomies and contradictions within these practices, requires first a foundational understanding of women's position in society within the structure of society. This background allows for a more nuanced analysis of how emotional norms were shaped by gendered structures and how they were regulated in everyday life.

Chapter III examines how anger was conceptualized in one of the most widely read and circulated works of the sixteenth century, *Ahlak-ı Alai*, an ethics book written by Kinalızade Ali Çelebi in 1564. Through a close reading of this book, it aims to explore the moral and philosophical frameworks that shaped understandings of anger during the early modern period.

Chapter IV shifts its focus from conceptualization to practice. As I will elaborate further, the chapter titled “Doings and Sayings of Anger” focuses on the gendered practices of emotional expression. I give particular attention to divorce cases, as they offer rich insights into the ways anger was expressed in everyday life. In addition, I will examine the specific spaces in which women were able to express their anger to understand the settings that enabled female anger expression. As I will mention in the literature review, the history of emotions has increasingly gained attraction within Middle East studies as well. However, there has been no study of focusing on a specific emotion through the lens of gender. Except, Tekgül's analysis of the emotion of shame through a gendered lens constitutes a significant contribution. She argues that there were socially defined rules governing when shame could be felt, to whom it

could be expressed, and how it was to be performed.¹⁹ Due to its intensity and its implicit association with the protection of honor, only the feeling of *ar* (a culturally specific notion of shame in the Ottoman Empire) was deemed appropriate to express and justify in court.²⁰ With this study, I aim to contribute to the field by uncovering the gendered dimensions of anger, thereby expanding our understanding of both emotional and gendered experiences in the early modern Ottoman context. In this thesis, my research questions are: How did Ottomans express and experience their anger? What was the language of anger? How was anger conceptualized in *Ahlak-ı Alai*? Was there a difference between men's anger and women's anger? In other words, was anger a gendered emotion? What was the emotional knowledge of the period, particularly on emotions of anger; and how this knowledge shaped the emotional practices of the period?

1.2. Sources and Methodology

To answer these questions, this thesis mainly relies on Ottoman archival documents. With the State Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey (BOA), I used the judicial court registers of the *Meşihat Defterleri*. I also used one of ethics books of the early modern Ottoman Empire, *Ahlak-ı Alai*, written by Kınalızade Ali Çelebi in 1564. Through the use of judicial court registers, I was able to observe how anger was expressed, both verbally and physically, while *Ahlak-ı Alai* offered insights into how anger was conceptualized in moral and philosophical terms. I argue that these two types of sources, when analyzed together, provide a valuable framework for understanding both the theorization and the lived experience of anger in the early modern Ottoman context. In addition, while acknowledging that literary sources such as *letaifnames* are rich in terms of tracing the expression of the emotion of anger, they remained outside the scope of the thesis.

¹⁹ Nil Tekgöl, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire: Politics, Society and Family in the Early Modern Era* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2023), 105.

²⁰ Tekgöl, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire*, 105.

This study draws upon three key conceptual frameworks. First, I engage with the work of medieval European historian Barbara Rosenwein, who has emphasized the significance of language, vocabulary, and bodily expressions in the historical study of emotions. She argues that historians can uncover emotions through the analysis of words and their usage, as emotions are essentially meaningless until they are given names.²¹ While Rosenwein acknowledges the importance of bodily gestures and facial expressions in emotional communication, she maintains that historians must primarily rely on textual sources. Nonetheless, these sources can still offer valuable insights into non-verbal expressions, which brings me to the second conceptual framework. It is derived from the work of cultural anthropologist Monique Scheer, who reconceptualizes emotions as embodied practices that are socially and historically constructed.²² Scheer challenges the notion of the body as universal for emotional expression. Instead, she argues that bodies are socially situated, disciplined, and culturally meaningful. Her framework encourages scholars to see emotions not simply as internal states but as historically contingent practices performed by socially embedded bodies. By focusing on what she terms the “doings and sayings” of everyday life, Scheer provides a powerful analytical tool for examining emotional practices in context. Finally, I draw on the work of William Reddy, particularly his concept of “emotional refuge.”²³ Reddy uses this term to describe spaces in which dominant emotional norms are temporarily suspended or reversed, allowing individuals to express emotions that might otherwise be deemed socially inappropriate. In these contexts, emotional expression is not only permitted but sometimes even celebrated. In this study, I explore how spaces functioned as emotional refuges for women in the early modern Ottoman

²¹ Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 30.

²² Monique Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion,” *History and Theory* 51, no. 2 (2012).

²³ William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Empire, offering them physical and social spaces where they could express a wider range of emotional experiences than typically allowed in other public or domestic contexts.

Finally, I would like to clarify the gender perspective adopted in this thesis. Scholars of Islam have generally approached gender in the Islamic intellectual tradition in one of two ways according to Ayubi: either by distinguishing the ontological equality of men and women and “in the eyes of God” and the unequal gender roles prescribed in earthly life, or by analyzing the various ways in which male authorities have articulated women’s inferiority.²⁴ In addition, although ethicists in the early modern Ottoman world acknowledged individuals who did not strictly conform to male or female categories, and recognized the existence of same-sex attraction between men; they largely continued to operate within a binary gender framework. Thanks to the work of Andrews and Kalpaklı, we are also aware of non-binary presences in the Ottoman context, as I will elaborate on this further in the upcoming chapters.²⁵ Nevertheless, the prevailing discourse overwhelmingly relied on heteronormative and binary understandings of gender identity. The concept of gender identity as understood in contemporary discourse did not exist, nor was there widespread recognition of gender beyond the male-female binary. Therefore, while I accept the heteronormative limitations of this study, my analysis is necessarily grounded in the binary gender framework reflected in the primary sources I rely on—namely judicial court registers and fatwas, which mirror the social norms and legal structures of their time. It is also important to note that gendered understandings likely differed across social strata. I do not assume that elite and lower-class perceptions of gender were identical in the early modern Ottoman Empire. On the contrary, I approach these differences with attention to how gender norms intersect with class, space, and access to power.

²⁴ Zahra Ayubi, *Gendered Morality: Classical Islamic Ethics of the Self, Family, and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 12-13.

²⁵ Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

1.3. Literature Review

Over the past few decades, the idea that emotions are historically situated has gained increasing acceptance. What was once a controversial notion is now widely supported by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and even some cognitive scientists, who recognize that culture significantly shapes how emotions are experienced and expressed. There is a growing agreement across these fields that emotions are not universally the same across different times and places. Instead, emotions are understood to be shaped by both biological and cultural factors, with societies influencing which feelings are expected to be expressed or suppressed, how they assign meaning to emotions and valuing some emotions over others. For that reason, I believe it is beneficial to first examine the prominent works of the history of emotions.

Although the roots of the history of emotions can be traced back to the Annales School, it would be inaccurate to consider this period as the beginning of the field, since a coherent methodology for studying emotions had not yet been developed. Yet, in 1938, Lucien Febvre, a foundational figure of Annales School, warned against the dangers of imposing modern psychological assumptions on the past. He maintained that every historical community possessed its own unique mental framework, through which emotions and experiences were shaped and interpreted according to its specific cultural logic.²⁶ Writing during the turbulent years of World War II, when France was under German occupation²⁷, Lucian Febvre emphasized that unless historians seriously grappled with the shifting nature of human emotions, these powerful forces would continue to resurface with destructive consequences.²⁸ He envisioned a new historiographical direction, one that would interest in the emotional

²⁶ Lucien Febvre, *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, ed. Peter Burke, trans. K. Folca (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 1-11. [orig. publ. in French, 1938].

²⁷ Febvre, to *A New Kind of History*, xi. See also Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 52.

²⁸ Febvre, *A New Kind of History*, 1-11.

dimensions of the past like a history of fear or love. Then, German sociologist Norbert Elias had already initiated such a project with the publication of his work in 1939.²⁹ Like Febvre, Elias portrayed the medieval period as emotionally volatile, depicting its people as impulsive, brutal, and emotionally unrestrained. However, unlike those who viewed the extremes of the Nazi era as a broader historical regression, Elias interpreted them as a departure from, rather than a reflection of, the long arc of Western emotional development.³⁰ Before the rise of history of emotions as a formal discipline in the 1980s, scholars interested in past emotions often turned to figures like Febvre and Elias.³¹ From the 1980s onward, however, new approaches, shaped by cognitive science and social constructionist theories, began to reshape how historians conceptualized and analyzed emotions.

The emergence of the history of emotions as a distinct subfield is more appropriately credited to Carol and Peter Stearns. In their influential article, they introduced the concept of “emotionology”, which significantly shaped the field’s early direction.³² This concept helped to demonstrate that emotional norms are culturally constructed, thereby laying the groundwork for historians to explore how emotions have been shaped, regulated, and experienced across time.

Another groundbreaking contribution to the field came from Barbara Rosenwein, who introduced the concept of “emotional communities”. She first presented this idea in her article “Worrying about Emotions in History” and later developed it further in her influential book *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*.³³ According to Rosenwein, institutions such

²⁹ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000). [orig. publ. in German, 1939].

³⁰ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 365-379. See also Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?*, 53.

³¹ Rosenwein and Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?*, 53.

³² Carol Z. Stearns and Paul N. Stearns, “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards,” *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (October 1985): 813–836, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/90.4.813>.

³³ Barbara Rosenwein, “Worrying About Emotions in History,” *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002), <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/107.3.821>, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2007).

as families, churches, guilds, or schools function as emotional communities, groups that share the same norms and values regarding emotional expression. These communities establish expectations for how emotions are expressed, suppressed, or interpreted within specific social contexts. Subsequent foundational works continued to shape the field of emotion history. William Reddy was among the first historians to incorporate insights from neuroscience into historical analysis. He introduced two key concepts that have become central to the discipline: “emotives” and “emotional regimes”.³⁴ Reddy defines an emotional regime as the set of norms governing emotional expression within a given society, norms that are enforced or encouraged by dominant social or political institutions. According to this framework, emotions within a society reflect the prevailing emotional regime. For instance, in the context of the early modern Ottoman Empire, the restricted ability of women to publicly express anger until a certain age could be seen as part of that period’s emotional regime.

Today, foundational texts such as Jan Plamper’s *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*,³⁵ Susan Matt and Peter Stearns’ *Doing Emotions History*,³⁶ Susan Broomhall’s edited volume *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*³⁷ and Rob Boddice’s *The History of Emotions*³⁸ serve as essential theoretical sources for students and scholars seeking to engage with this growing field. These works offer comprehensive frameworks, methodological tools, and diverse case studies, establishing a foundation for historical inquiry into the emotional lives of past societies.

While the studies mentioned above constitute the foundational theoretical contributions to the field, the history of emotions continues to grow, attracting increasing scholarly attention across disciplines. Ottoman historians, too, have begun to explore the emotional dimensions of

³⁴ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.

³⁵ Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³⁶ Peter N. Stearns and Susan J. Matt, *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

³⁷ Susan Broomhall, *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

³⁸ Rob Boddice, *History of Emotions* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2018).

the empire. The book titled “*Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*” by Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı stands out as one of the earliest and most important studies on the history of emotions in the Ottoman context particularly focusing on the emotion of love.³⁹ Among the pioneers of this emerging field is Nil Tekgöl, who stands out as the first scholar to focus explicitly on emotions in the early modern Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ Tekgöl’s work examines how emotions-particularly those linked to protection, compassion, and love-were central to sustaining the social order and reinforcing loyalty to the state. She utilizes the first chapter of *Ahlak-ı Alai*, titled “The Science of Ethics” (*İlm-i Ahlak*), in which Kınalızade Ali Çelebi categorizes the soul and situates emotions within a moral philosophical framework, thus offering a valuable lens through which to understand emotional discourse in the early modern Ottoman context. Building on the framework of emotional ecology, Walter G. Andrews has contributed significantly to the study of emotions in the Ottoman context by emphasizing the cultural centrality of love.⁴¹ Drawing on the findings of *The Age of Beloveds*, Andrews demonstrates that in early modern Ottoman society, love functioned as a fundamental emotion through a wide range of relationships that were interpreted and mediated. By analyzing poetic texts and their embedded cultural symbols, he suggests that Ottoman emotional ecology can be understood as structured by key interpersonal dynamics, wherein emotions were both generated and made legible through specific relational roles. He outlines a distinctive Ottoman emotional paradigm, one in which love was not merely a personal sentiment but a cultural logic through which social bonds were forged, sustained, and emotionally articulated.

Emotions history has extended into later Ottoman periods. For example, Şenışık has analyzed public emotional responses to the events in Crete in 1910, focusing of the role of

³⁹ Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*.

⁴⁰ Tekgöl, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire*.

⁴¹ Walter Andrews, “Ottoman Love: Preface to a Theory of Emotional Ecology.” In *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, ed. Jonas Liliequist (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012).

emotions shaping Ottoman patriotism.⁴² Similarly, Steininger has approached emotions in the late Ottoman Empire through various lenses, including medical knowledge, economy, consumption, and gender.⁴³ Scott also made a close reading of Barry Unsworth's novel and argued that the decline of the Ottoman Empire is portrayed through a mood of dissonance and alienation, what he calls a kind of "offishness", that characterizes the emotional tone of the novel.⁴⁴ Psychology, still in its formative stage during the late Ottoman period, also left its mark on the evolving discourse between reason and emotion. Although its full institutionalization would come after the Tanzimat era, psychology began to disentangle itself from the domains of metaphysics, religious doctrine, and moral philosophy, gradually aligning with the emerging standards of modern scientific inquiry. Contributing to this intellectual shift, Afacan offers a valuable interpretation by examining how these transformations unfolded within the Ottoman intellectual landscape.⁴⁵ One of the most recent contributions to the field is Deniz Kılınçoğlu's work, which examines subjectivity and nationalism through the lens of emotional communities and cognition for the Republican period in Turkey.⁴⁶

The scholarly literature on anger has expanded considerably in recent years. One of the most comprehensive contributions to the field is the edited volume by Karl A.E. Enenkel and Anita Traninger.⁴⁷ This volume brings together a diverse range of essays that explore the role, meaning, and expression of anger in the early modern world. Of particular interest to scholars of the Ottoman Empire is Zeynep Yelçe's chapter, "*Royal Wrath: Curbing the Anger of the*

⁴² Pınar Şenışık, "Politics of Emotions in the Late Ottoman Empire: 'Our Beloved Crete,'" *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 24, no. 2 (2021): 365–385, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2021.2006003>.

⁴³ Fabian Steininger, "Morality, Emotions, and Political Community in the Late Ottoman Empire (1878-1908)," (PhD diss., Freien Universität Berlin, 2017).

⁴⁴ Bede Scott, "'Intensities of Feeling': Emotion, Espionage, and the Ottoman Empire," *English Studies* 102, no. 3 (2021): 342-361.

⁴⁵ Şeyma Afacan, "Of the Soul and Emotions: Conceptualizing 'the Ottoman Individual' Through Psychology" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2016).

⁴⁶ Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, *The National Mind: Emotion, Cognition and Nationalism* (Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2024).

⁴⁷ Karl. A.E. Enenkel and Anita Training, ed., *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)

Sultan”, which examines the political uses and symbolic significance of sultanic anger.⁴⁸ Yelçe argues that the sultan’s wrath was not merely a personal emotional expression but also a strategic and performative tool of governance, to assert authority. One of the most significant and recent contributions in this regard is Tekgöl’s article titled “Artık Rahime’nin Öfkesi de Tarihin Konusu.” Not only does this article focus explicitly on the emotion of anger, but it also demonstrates how anger can be analyzed even in the absence of an explicit emotion keyword in the primary sources. As we will see in this study as well, the case she analyzes involves a woman who expresses her anger through acts of verbal aggression, such as swearing.⁴⁹ The fact that Tekgöl’s work centers on a woman makes it especially relevant and valuable for my research. Another notable contribution is Thomas Dixon’s article which critiques the notion of anger as a clearly defined mental state or a universal emotional category.⁵⁰ Drawing on intellectual and cultural history, Dixon challenges the tendency to view anger as a timeless and biologically fixed emotion. Instead, he proposes an interdisciplinary methodology and cautions against the uncritical translation of historical emotion terms into modern categories, which often leads to anachronism and conceptual problems. His analysis spans emotional terminology in Old and Middle English, Ancient Greek, and Latin. Margrit Pernau’s article adds a gendered dimension to the history of anger by examining early twentieth-century Indian prescriptive texts, which I will discuss in a detailed way later.⁵¹ Through her reading of advice literature, Pernau demonstrates how anger was disciplined differently for men and women, framing male anger as a controllable force and female anger as inherently malicious, thus offering insights into the culturally contingent emotional knowledge of the period. Barbara Rosenwein’s *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* further broadens the historiographical

⁴⁸ Zeynep Yelçe, “Royal Wrath: Curbing the Anger of the Sultan,” in *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Karl A. Enenkel, Anita Traninger (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 439-458.

⁴⁹ Nil Tekgöl, “Artık Rahime’nin Öfkesi de Tarihin Konusu”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, 361, 2024.

⁵⁰ Dixon, “History of Anger.”

⁵¹ Margrit Pernau, “Male Anger and Female Malice: Emotions in Indo-Muslim Advice Literature,” *History Compass* 10/2 (2012): 119-128.

landscape.⁵² This edited volume investigates how anger functioned within medieval institutions, rituals, and social relationships, revealing its importance for understanding historical behavior and motivation. In her monograph *Anger: The Conflicted History of an Emotion*, Rosenwein offers a more expansive chronological and thematic analysis, exploring how anger has been conceptualized across different cultures and time periods.⁵³ She engages with issues of gender, race, religion, and violence, and organizes much of her discussion around the Christian framework of the Seven Deadly Sins and corresponding virtues. Dawn Keetley's article provides a case-based exploration of how emotional discourses influenced legal and societal understandings of domestic violence.⁵⁴ Through the analysis of two major trials-Daniel Sickles in 1859 and John Banks in 1806- Keetley argues that jealousy was increasingly framed as a masculine emotional reaction tied to anger, and used as a rationale in justifying violent acts, particularly within the domestic sphere.

Several other important contributions have expanded our understanding of anger across historical and cultural contexts. In her article, Linda Pollock draws on private letters and personal documents from English upper society to explore the multifaceted role of anger in everyday social interactions.⁵⁵ She examines the verbal expression of anger, ranking from mild irritation to intense fury, and highlights how anger functioned within families and hierarchical relationships. Importantly, she addresses the gendered dynamics of emotional expression, noting that women's anger was often perceived as a threat to male authority and social stability. Luisanna Sardu, in her article, analyzes the sixteenth-century Italian poet Gaspara Stampa's use

⁵² Barbara Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1998).

⁵³ Barbara Rosenwein, *Anger: The Conflicted History of an Emotion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020).

⁵⁴ Dawn Keetley, "From Anger to Jealousy: Explaining Domestic Homicide in Antebellum America," *Journal of Social History* Vol.42, No.42, (Winter, 2008) pp. 269-297.

⁵⁵ Linda A. Pollock, "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal* Vol. 47, No.3 (Sep., 2004), pp. 567-590.

of verse as a medium for articulating female anger.⁵⁶ Sardu argues that Stampa's poetry created a symbolic "safe space" for expressing intense emotional states, particularly anger, in a male-dominated literary landscape. According to Sardu, Stampa's representation of anger was rational, justified, and transformative, offering both an emotional release and a form of resistance to gender norms. In his book, William V. Harris provides a foundational analysis of how anger was perceived and managed in ancient Greek and Roman societies.⁵⁷ He examines the cultural and philosophical ideologies related to anger management and argues that efforts to restrain anger were deeply intertwined with broader political and social systems. Harris explores how classical thinkers often regarded anger as a disorder of the soul. Helen Blatherwick's article offers a late-medieval Islamic perspective on the emotion.⁵⁸ Through a detailed reading of an Egyptian epic, she examines how anger is represented within gender-specific frameworks, Blatherwick argues that both the causes and consequences of anger in the narrative are gendered, reflecting broader cultural expectations. Furthermore, she emphasizes the role of the audience's emotional responses in shaping the epic's meaning and persuasive power-particularly in its effort to encourage religious conversion to Islam.

As one can see, the history of emotions is an increasingly expanding field and the literature is becoming richer. However, these studies are still insufficient, and there are numerous dimensions awaiting exploration. Therefore, this thesis aims to contribute to filling the gap regarding the gendered emotion of anger in early modern Ottoman society in the following pages. In this direction, in the subsequent chapters, I will first discuss the sources and then attempt to demonstrate how anger was conceptualized, initially in general terms and

⁵⁶ Luisanna Sardu, "How Gaspara Stampa Challenged Classical Tradition and Conventional Notions of Women's Anger," *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* 3, (2019) 24-46.

⁵⁷ William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁵⁸ Helen Blatherwick, "And The Light in His Eyes Grew Dark: The Representation of Anger in an Egyptian Popular Epic," *Cultural History* Vol. 8 Issue 2 (2019) pp. 226-247.

subsequently in gendered terms. Later, focusing on practices of anger, I will try to show whether there was a contradiction between conceptualization and practice while exploring the manifestations of gendered anger practices in everyday social interactions.



CHAPTER II: WOMEN IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

Since I aim to examine the conceptualization and practices of gendered anger in the early modern Ottoman Empire, it is essential to briefly outline the position of women in society. This chapter is intended to provide background information that will help contextualize this thesis' main arguments.

Gender, as scholarship, has long emphasized, is not synonymous with women; it is a relational category that organizes social life and structures. Therefore, understanding the position of women in Ottoman society is not a deviation from a gender-based analysis, rather, it is a crucial entry point.

In this chapter, I will address the following questions: What was the legal status of women within this society? Today, we know that women had the right to divorce, yet, to what extent did they have that right, and which women were able to exercise this right? In the second section, I will discuss the difficulties encountered when researching early modern Ottoman women, situating these challenges within the context of feminist critique. I will also consider the advantages and disadvantages of using judicial court registers as a primary source. Finally, I will offer a broad overview of the existing scholarship on early modern Ottoman women and gender.

2.1. Literature on Women in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire

Family life in the Ottoman world was guided by a legal framework rooted in the sharia, a system of norms and interpretations. The Hanefi School was dominant in the Empire especially after the late sixteenth century, although some could recognize Shafi'i, Maliki, and Hanbali jurisprudence as legitimate expressions of Sunni Islam.⁵⁹ In many legal cases, non-

⁵⁹ Muharrem Midilli, "Gelmezsem İrâdetin Elinde Olsun: Osmanlı Aile Hukukunda Tefvîz-i Talâkın Fetvalara Yansıyan Hükümleri ve Mezhep-içi Çözüm Yolu Olarak İşlevi [Let Your Will be in Your Hand if I Don't Come:

Muslim women unexpectedly came under the jurisdiction of Hanafi law, despite belonging to different religious communities. In the early modern period of the Ottoman Empire, one key question is to what extent women could exercise their legal rights and how these rights differed among Muslim, non-Muslim, and enslaved women. Another area of inquiry concerns the extent to which women could exercise their right to divorce. In this part, I will seek to address these questions by examining the relevant scholarly debates and available literature.

Recent scholarship has significantly expanded our understanding of women's legal and social status in Ottoman and Middle Eastern societies, often by situating their experiences within broader institutional, cultural, and regional frameworks. Among the most comprehensive contributions are edited volumes by Beth Baron and Nikki R. Keddie, which trace legal and familial dynamics from the early Islamic centuries through the Mamluk period and into the modern histories of Turkey, Iran, and the Arab world. These collections underscore how women's lives and legal positions evolved within diverse political and religious contexts.⁶⁰ Complementing these broader regional approaches, Sonbol's edited volume focuses on Islamic legal structures that shaped family and gender relations.⁶¹ The essays in the collection explore a variety of topics, including inheritance disputes, dowries, and divorce settlements. Fariba Zarinebaf Shahr, for example, examines legal conflicts in seventeenth-century Istanbul, revealing how women engaged with financial and familial regulations in an urban legal context in that book.⁶² Also, Nelly Hanna contributes to this perspective by questioning the assumed rigidity of patriarchal norms in Arab households.⁶³ She argues that the expansion of the judiciary and the weakening of centralized state control opened new opportunities for household

The Provisions of Tafwīz al-Talaq Reflected in Fatwas in Ottoman Family Law and Its Function as an Intra-Madhab Remedy],” *İslam Tetkikleri Dergisi—Journal of Islamic Review* 12, no. 1 (March 2022): 1–27.

⁶⁰ Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron, eds., *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991).

⁶¹ Amira El Azhary Sonbol, ed., *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

⁶² Zarinebaf, “Women, Law, and Imperial Justice,” 81–95.

⁶³ Hanna, “Marriage among Merchant Families,” 143–154.

actors—especially women—to negotiate or contest hierarchical family arrangements. This growing body of work also pays close attention to the institutional records that document women’s everyday realities. In one of the most extensive edited collections on Ottoman women, Madeline Zilfi brings together essays that utilize court records, legal treatises, waqf documents, petitions, and literature to reconstruct women’s encounters with bureaucracy, violence, and family disputes. The studies reveal how women navigated systems of power, sought custody of children, and managed financial matters, thereby contributing to a more dynamic and complex portrait of gender in Ottoman society.⁶⁴ In her comprehensive study drawing on both judicial court registers and fatwas, Judith Tucker focuses on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Syria and Palestine.⁶⁵ Addressing topics such as marriage, divorce, and sexuality in detail, Tucker approaches her sources through a feminist lens and identifies two primary dimensions in her gender analysis. First, she conceptualizes gender as a symbolic construct shaped by Muslim thinkers who developed an explicitly Islamic legal discourse over the vast expanse of Islamic history; second, she argues that this symbolic construction of gender cannot be understood in isolation from gender as a set of social relations.⁶⁶ By offering such rich sources, Tucker contributes not only to the field of women’s history but also significantly enhances Ottoman gender studies. In her work on palace women, Leslie Peirce reexamines and conclusively refutes the Orientalist myth of the passive, confined harem lifestyle. By tracking the political influence of key female figures, Peirce demonstrates how royal women exerted agency in both imperial governance and diplomatic affairs, thereby reshaping perceptions of gendered authority in the highest echelons of power.⁶⁷ At the intersection of gender, culture, and

⁶⁴ Madeline C. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁶⁵ Judith E. Tucker, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

⁶⁶ Tucker, *In the House of the Law*, 10.

⁶⁷ Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

economic life, the volume *Women in the Ottoman Balkans* explores the romantic, commercial, and social lives of women who actively participated in shaping the region's public sphere. Rather than treating gender in isolation, the book adopts an interdisciplinary approach, situating women's experiences at the nexus of ethnicity, religion, nationalism, and class. This broadened analytical lens helps clarify how women were at once integrated into and excluded from dominant social narratives.⁶⁸ In her research, Tuğ draws on a wide range of sources-petitions sent to the imperial council, Anatolian registers, judicial court registers from Ankara and Bursa, fatwa collections, and petitions. Using these materials, she shows how Islamic law was redefined in the eighteenth century, particularly in how people labeled "sexual crimes", and how the language separated "illicit" behavior from "licit." Tuğ's work is especially valuable to historians studying the connections between center and province, as reflected in norms of sexuality and morality. This book makes an important contribution to scholarship on women's history in the eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire.⁶⁹ Doumani's work on the social history of the family in the Middle East centered on how property transfers were managed, while disputing conventional norms about Middle Eastern societies. His study situates what is commonly called the "Arab family" in a specific historical and cultural framework, highlighting its ties to Islamic legal structures. In particular, his findings challenged widespread beliefs about Islam, gender, and modernity in the region. Drawing on records from court registers, family waqfs, and documents on kinship relations between 1660 and 1880s, Doumani shows how contextualizing varied family and kinship patterns in Tripoli and Nablus reshapes familiar ideas about Arab or Muslim families and gender relations.⁷⁰ Some of the most recent scholarship, such as Suraiya Faroqhi's wide-ranging survey of women in the Ottoman Empire, further extends this work by

⁶⁸ Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick, eds., *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture, and History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

⁶⁹ Başak Tuğ, *Politics of Honor in Ottoman Anatolia: Sexual Violence and Socio-Legal Surveillance in the Eighteenth Century*, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage* 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

⁷⁰ Beshara Doumani, *Family Life in the Ottoman Mediterranean: A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

providing a chronological overview from the sixteenth century to the early twentieth century. By dividing her analysis into three major periods (1500s–1700s, 1700s–1870s, and 1870–1918), Faroqhi accounts for changes in both elite and non-elite women’s experiences across different political and cultural environments.⁷¹

Finally, I would like to briefly address what we know about enslaved women. The experiences of enslaved women are also important for this thesis because, as we will see from Kınalızade’s explanations in the following sections, slave women occupy a much lower position in terms of social hierarchy and hold a different place from free women in the conceptualization of anger. We do not have a comprehensive body of literature to understand slavery, particularly female slavery, in the Ottoman Empire during the early modern period. Moreover, the nature of slavery in the Ottoman Empire remains a subject of ongoing debate.⁷² According to Zilfi, in the Ottoman Empire slavery was not determined by race, color, or ethnicity but rather by factors arising from geography and religion, mirroring the historical trajectory of slavery in the Islamic Middle East.⁷³ According to Zilfi, the social mobility of slave women- if at all possible- was contingent upon sexuality. Because Zilfi’s in-depth study on women and slavery focuses on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there remains a need for research on slavery in the early modern Ottoman period. In his article, Gökşin Özkoray explores the legal offenses involving female slaves in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Istanbul. Relying on imperial legislation and Istanbul court registers, he underscores that these judicial archives form a foundational resource for studying early modern Ottoman gender history. Focusing on the distinct experiences of enslaved women-while recognizing certain similarities with male slaves-he examines

⁷¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: A Social and Political History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2023).

⁷² For some discussions, please see: A. Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840-1890* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1982); Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909* (London, 1996); Gabriel Baer, “Slavery and Its Abolition”, *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt* (Chicago, 1969), 161-189; Alan Fisher, “The Sale of Slaves in the Ottoman Empire: Markets and State Taxes on Slave Sales”, *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Hümaniter Bilimler Dergisi* 6 (1978).

⁷³ Madeline C. Zilfi, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kölelik ve Kadınlar (1700–1840)*, trans. Ebru Kılıç (Istanbul: İş Bankası, 2018) 118.

transgressions by slaveholders toward female slaves, by female slaves toward their owners, and by third parties against enslaved women belonging to others.⁷⁴

In this section, I presented what we currently know about early modern Ottoman women as per the available literature, which utilized various genres of sources. However, since judicial court registers are used in this thesis to examine practices, studies conducted using these sources hold an important place for my work. Therefore, in the next section, I will focus on studies about women and gender in a detailed manner that utilized judicial court registers.

2.2 Discussion of the Sources: Ottoman Judicial Court Records

In this section, I will conduct a source critique regarding ordinary women in the early modern period, examining how the sources at our disposal contribute to our understanding and what potential risks they pose.

Most of the early modern Ottoman women's history research conducted thus far has drawn extensively on judicial court registers, which I will address in greater detail in this chapter. Thanks to these sources, we see that the early modern Ottoman women who were presumed entirely voiceless were not, in fact, so inactive as thought earlier. When possible, they exercised their right to divorce and asserted their property rights. To seek information about women in the early modern Ottoman Empire, the primary sources available to us are judicial court registers, fatwas, and petitions. We have collections of judicial court registers preserved in the archives of former Ottoman territories, including Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Greece, among others. The judicial courts did not only run their government directives, but they also settled local disputes and fulfilled various other legal duties. Consequently, a single volume of court records can include trial proceedings, contractual agreements, inheritance listings, divorce cases, post-divorce support rulings, and parenthood matters. Putting all criticisms aside, many

⁷⁴ Hayri Gökşin Özkoray, "From Persecution to (Potential) Emancipation: Female Slaves and Legal Violations in Ottoman Istanbul according to Court Registers (16th–17th Centuries)," *Hawwa: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 17 (2019): 257–80.

historians agree that, beginning in the fifteenth century, judicial court registers contained valuable material on the empire, primarily due to the remarkable diversity of the information they offered.

Yet, it is equally important to remain alert to these records' limitations. Although they are undeniably valuable for hearing the voices of non-elite women, we do not now know how many of them actually could go to court. Even so, a nearly unanswerable question remains: did only women from the upper strata of society seek answers in the courts, or did impoverished women also manage to assert their rights there? Or one might wonder, in seeking to avoid alimony payments, did men push their wives for *hul* divorces to not to pay any alimony?

Jennings became the first scholar to investigate women's history in the Ottoman Empire through judicial court registers, publishing his study in 1975.⁷⁵ In this work, Jennings examined seventeenth-century records from the court of Kayseri in Anatolia. He organized his article on women into two main sections-addressing both their legal status and their socio-economic involvement. In his analysis, Jennings made extensive use of case records and explored the details they offered on subjects. His pioneering research paved the way for subsequent studies of women's history based on Ottoman court registers. In his subsequent work on Cyprus, Jennings similarly argued that divorce was a common practice among Muslim subjects, and sometimes among non-Muslim subjects. In this study, he placed particular emphasis on *hul* divorces, supporting his arguments with numerous examples.⁷⁶ One of the most important findings of this study is that when women were able to protect their rights, they actively sought to do so. Jennings emphasizes that women from all segments of society—including the wealthy

⁷⁵Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18, no. 1 (1975): 53–114.

⁷⁶ Ronald C. Jennings, "Divorce in the Ottoman Sharia Court of Cyprus, 1580–1640," *Studia Islamica* 78 (1993): 155–67.

and the poor, urban and rural populations, as well as both Muslim and non-Muslim communities—regularly brought their legal and personal matters before the court.⁷⁷

In the 1960s and afterward, with the rise of social history and the growing inclusion of women in historical research, Gradeva looked at Sofian registers in her chapter, and she argues that a substantial proportion of the documents recorded in the Sofian registers relate to family matters. On occasion, judges also dealt with Christian marriages, potentially reflecting complications surrounding the legal recognition of these unions within Christian practice. She noted that records concerning divorce surface more frequently. Given the specific features of Muslim divorce, the majority of cases brought before the court involved *hul* divorces initiated by wives or followed by an agreement reached by both spouses.⁷⁸ In the same book, Faroqhi illustrates the connection between women's economic power and judicial processes by tracing a murder case.⁷⁹ Göçek and Baer, in their studies of eighteenth-century Galata court records, frame their research questions around uncovering the experiences of ordinary women. Through their work, we gain detailed insight into the lives of both Muslim and Non-Muslim women in Galata. In this article, I find their cautionary note regarding Islamic court records particularly valuable. They contend that Islamic court records should not be viewed purely as texts but also examined concerning their role within the wider social context of the Ottoman Empire. In doing so, they also opened an important path for studying women's history through court registers.⁸⁰ In another study on seventeenth-century Istanbul, Baer conducted a comprehensive analysis of judicial court registers, extending his focus beyond Christian and Jewish women to include enslaved women as well. According to Baer, a closer reading of these court registers suggests that women understood how strategic to use of Islamic law could partly alter the social

⁷⁷ Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records," 65.

⁷⁸ Rossitsa Gradeva, "A Kadi Court in the Balkans: Sofia in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London: Routledge, 2012), 57–71.

⁷⁹ Faroqhi, "Subject to the Sultan's Approval," 307–319.

⁸⁰ Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, "Social Boundaries of Ottoman Women's Experience in Eighteenth-Century Galata Court Records," in Zilfi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire*, 48–65.

structures restricting them. Although power and authority typically rested with the husband, Christian and Jewish women could momentarily escape their families' hierarchical arrangements for divorce or marriage. Baer further argues that social pressures were even more intense for enslaved women, regarded as the most exploited group in Ottoman society. Class, gender, and religious differences converged in the experiences of non-Muslim enslaved women, placing them in the most vulnerable position in every social interaction and depriving them of authority over their own sexuality.⁸¹ In her research on the second half of the eighteenth century in Crete, Kermeli relies primarily on court registers. She posits that communities like Crete—where there was already a well-established tradition of written documentation—were more inclined to embrace new Ottoman recordkeeping methods than many towns in Anatolia. According to her findings, both Christians and recent Muslim converts of the island swiftly adapted to the newly introduced judicial system, capably depending themselves in court and demonstrating familiarity with legal procedures. Notably, she cites examples of Christian women in particular were able to navigate and benefit from the new legal framework.⁸² In her book, Peirce focuses on the years 1540–41 in the court of Aintab. She offers a thorough exploration of local society and institutions, giving special emphasis to the court and its cases—particularly regarding women's lives. She also compares women of higher social standing with those of lower level of society, underscoring the practical differences in how these two groups engaged with the legal system.⁸³ Another study that examines early modern Ottoman women through judicial court registers is Sunay Oğuz's thesis. In this context, Oğuz first analyzes an illicit sexual relations case (*zina*) and extensively focuses on the functions of the neighborhood

⁸¹ Marc Baer, "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women: Social Change and Gendered Religious Hierarchy in Early Modern Ottoman Istanbul," *Gender & History* 16, no. 2 (August 2004): 425–58.

⁸² Eugenia Kermeli, "Marriage and Divorce of Christians and New Muslims in Early Modern Ottoman Empire: Crete 1645–1670," *Oriente Moderno* 93, no. 2 (2013): 495–514.

⁸³ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

(*mahalle*) concerning women.⁸⁴ Through these records, she demonstrates that both the court and society viewed women differently from their treatment of men.⁸⁵ For this reason, the central argument put forward in Oğuz's thesis is that women, despite the male-dominated court system, nonetheless found ways to resist by bringing their experiences to court, regardless of the outcomes of the cases. In her thesis on non-Muslim women's court practices, Yavuzer notes that the frequent appearance of non-Muslims in court registers had led many historians to assert that non-Muslims routinely chose sharia courts because they were more affordable, more flexible, and more accessible than their courts, however; she challenges these ideas and demonstrates that, at least in the context of divorce and marriage, the situation was more nuanced than previously assumed.⁸⁶

Judicial court registers employed formulaic terminology, which creates a notable challenge. Additionally, the fact that these records were written by the *kadı* presents certain challenges. For instance, individuals' statements are not always recorded verbatim, and the outcomes of the cases often remain unknown. As a result, we can only make assumptions based on the available information. Consequently, these records often generate scholarly debate.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, I argue that these standardized expressions can be invaluable for the history of emotions. I will address this issue in greater depth in the fourth chapter of this study. Despite their shortcomings and the possibility of misconstruing them, the available sources remain essential for hearing the voices of women who have been largely muted. We just need to

⁸⁴ Sunay Oğuz, *Erken Modern Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadını'nın Görünürlüğü* (Master's thesis, Ankara University, 2020).

⁸⁵ Oğuz, *Erken Modern Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadını'nın Görünürlüğü*, 40.

⁸⁶ Gamze Yavuzer, "Legal Plurality in Family Law: Muslim and Christian Families in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2022).

⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion please see: Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharī'a Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56; Boğaç A. Ergene, "Evidence in Ottoman Courts: Oral and Written Documentation in Early-Modern Courts of Islamic Law," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 3 (2004): 471–91; Iris Agmon, "Women's History and Ottoman Sharia Court Records: Sources, Methodology, and Practice," *Hawwa* 2, no. 2 (2004): 172–209.

remember that we should not treat these registers as pure reflections of reality⁸⁸ -a caution that, in terms of historical methodology, applies to any kind of source.

As I have discussed above, we have many studies conducted through judicial court registers, and through these we gain knowledge about women. When working with judicial court registers, we need to acknowledge their limitations. We could combine them with sources such as ego-documents, but unfortunately, we currently do not have many ego-documents from ordinary people, particularly regarding women. Unfortunately, due to the widespread illiteracy of society and the scarcity of ego documents, such as personal letters, diaries, or memoirs, produced by or about women are quite few in early modern Ottoman history, especially regarding women. Research on ego documents has been ongoing around the world for several years, particularly in European historiography. The term “ego-document” refers to materials such as diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, and personal letters. As Karahasanoğlu discusses, for a document to be considered an ego-document, it must yield information about an individual’s life.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, when it comes to ordinary people, it appears that we do not currently possess any document that could be classified as an ego document. Until now, all the research conducted has, in one way or another, focused on the upper strata of society.⁹⁰ Karahasanoğlu attributes the dearth of ego documents in the early modern period, in part, to the high cost and limited availability of paper. Consequently, he cautions against interpreting their absence solely as evidence that individuals did not regard themselves as worthy subjects of the written reflection.⁹¹ As Şirin argues, the belief that there are virtually no ego documents by

⁸⁸ Ze'evi, “The Use of Ottoman Sharī‘a Court Records,” 35–56.

⁸⁹ Selim Karahasanoğlu, “Ottoman Ego-Documents: State of the Art,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 53, no. 2 (2021): 301–308.

⁹⁰ For some examples please see: Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve Günlüğü: Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü (1711–1735) Üstüne Bir İnceleme* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013); Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,” *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–50; Derin Terzioğlu “Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyazi-i Misri (1618–94),” *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002): 139–65.

⁹¹ Karahasanoğlu, “Ottoman Ego-Documents,” 307.

Ottoman women—particularly from the early modern period—has often gone unquestioned. Yet this assumption, he suggests, overlooks the presence of scattered but significant autobiographical writings, most of which belong to elite women from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These include diaries, memoirs, and letters written by educated daughters of bureaucrats, poets, teachers, and even members of the Ottoman dynasty, many of whom were shaped by the rise of female education and access to public life in the Tanzimat era and beyond.⁹² According to Şirin, women who were absent from public life shows a similar tendency when it comes to first-person narratives. Although the lower literacy rates among women compared to men in the Ottoman world may seem like the primary reason for the scarcity of women narratives, the deeper cause is the act of speaking about oneself was often deemed inappropriate, and more importantly, many women did not consider themselves worthy enough to write a memoir in the first place.⁹³ Additionally, one must not overlook the possibility that documents may have been destroyed by such disasters as fires or earthquakes at the time. Although she belonged to the upper class, Kafadar also supposes that she was well-educated, in this research, I especially want to highlight Kafadar’s study of Asiye Hatun.⁹⁴ Having chosen a Sufi path, Asiye Hatun sent her written accounts of dreams to her shaykh, who resided in another city. This work not only provides access to a woman’s personal documents but also reveals a great deal about her emotions, such as her sudden disillusionment with her skeikh, her melancholic state (*gamkîn ve mahzûn*), and her deep love for her sheikh. As I have mentioned, research on ego-documents continues to grow, and an increasing number of ego-documents authored by women from later periods are being uncovered.⁹⁵ If such sources about early

⁹² İbrahim Şirin, “Osmanlı Kadın Ben-Anlatılarının Kadın Tarihi Çalışmalarındaki Kullanım Değeri,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 63 (2024): 447-478.

⁹³ Şirin, “Osmanlı Kadın Ben-Anlatılarının Kadın Tarihi Çalışmalarındaki Kullanım Değeri,” 450.

⁹⁴ Cemal Kafadar, “Mütereddîd bir Mutasavvîf: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun’un Rüya Defteri (1641–43),” *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 5 (1992): 167–94.

⁹⁵ For those interested please look at: Anıl Göç, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Elitine Mensup Bir Kadının Hayatından İzlenimler: Emine Melek Hanım (1814–1873),” *Ceride: Ben-Anlatıları Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (2024): 89–115, Elmin Aliyev, “Osmanlı Literatüründe Kadın Ben-Anlatılarına Bir Katkı: Çerkes Mehmed Şartlık Beg’in

modern Ottoman women are found in the future, it will become more possible to write the stories of women like Asiye Hatun. Because we have so few sources that capture the experiences of non-elite women, judicial court registers represent a crucial resource for historians studying ordinary women in the early modern Ottoman Empire. If we dismiss these sources, we may lose the only way of accessing women's voices until nearly the late nineteenth century. Since, at least for the moment, we do not possess any ego documents on early modern Ottoman women, what alternative sources can we draw upon to better understand them? Although they are often subject to criticism, judicial court registers may prove valuable.

In this chapter, I have attempted to depict the ordinary Ottoman women in the early modern period based on existing literature. There is a considerable number of studies on early modern Ottoman women in the legal sphere; however, there remains a notable gap in scholarship concerning emotions. Among existing scholarship, only Tekgöl's work utilizes judicial court registers to analyze emotional expressions⁹⁶; beyond this, no other study has yet addressed this approach. As mentioned, due to the scarcity of ego documents, one of the rare sources providing insight into women's lives is the judicial court registers. Consequently, scholarly works have predominantly focused on legal status, and these registers will also serve as one of my primary sources in exploring anger practices. Although fatwa collections also offer valuable insight into norms and gendered moral expectations, I use them in my thesis very limitedly. I will also draw upon one of the ethics book, Kınalızade Ali Çelebi's *Ahlak-ı Alai*, which reflect elite moral discourse and offer crucial context for understanding how emotions like anger were conceptualized within broader frameworks of ethics and gender. Together, these sources will help illuminate how anger was both conceptualized and experienced in early

Hâtunu Hafize Kadın'ın 1805–1808 Tarihli Rüya Anlatıları,” *Ceride: Ben-Anlatıları Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2023): 129–147.

⁹⁶ Tekgöl, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire*.

modern Ottoman society, and this chapter will provide the contextual groundwork for the analyses that follow.



CHAPTER III: ANGER KNOWLEDGE IN THE EARLY MODERN OTTOMAN SOCIETY

3.1 Determinants of Emotion Knowledge

How individuals experience emotions is shaped by their understanding of emotions and the norms surrounding them. In this thesis, emotion knowledge is defined as the way emotions are theorized and conceptualized. Throughout history, philosophers, intellectuals, religious figures, and later scientists have shown a keen interest in emotions, formulating various theories to explain their nature, functions, and appropriate expressions. Angelika Messner argues that emotional knowledge must be examined within the context of different domains of knowledge: aesthetics, philosophy, and medicine.⁹⁷ I will not be able to emphasize solely the aesthetic aspect in this thesis. To explore the emotion, specifically anger emotion, of early modern Ottoman society, this chapter will focus on *Ahlak-ı Alai*, an ethics book written by Ottoman scholar Kınalızade Ali Çelebi (d.1571) in the sixteenth-century. This source is also one of the important sources to understand the economic and political thought of the period. In this chapter, I seek to explore how Kınalızade Ali Çelebi conceptualized the emotion of anger (*gazab*) in his ethical book, *Ahlak-ı Alai*. The chapter is guided by a set of central questions: How does Kınalızade define and classify anger within the broader and moral and philosophical framework of his time? Does he differentiate between male and female expressions of anger, and if so, how? By shortly analyzing his perspective of the faculties of the soul and his arguments about virtues and vices, I aim to uncover the normative assumptions underlying his discourse. I will pay particular attention to whether gendered expectations are embedded in his

⁹⁷ Angelika C. Messner, "Aspects of Emotion in Late Imperial China: Editor's Introduction to the Thematic Section," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 66, no. 4 (2012): 897, cited in Tekgül, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire*, 23.

discussions of emotions, and how those expectations align with or diverge from broader societal norms in the early modern Ottoman context.

Before examining *Ahlak-ı Alai*, I will first discuss ethical treatises and Kınalızade's predecessors, as they largely shaped his work. The points where he diverges from these earlier texts are particularly noteworthy, and I will highlight these distinctions. Following this, I will examine the role of medical knowledge, which is deeply intertwined with emotions. As will become evident later in this study through Kınalızade's discussions, medical theories significantly influenced how people understood their emotions and played a crucial role in shaping emotional norms in early modern Ottoman society.

Investigating a society's understanding of emotions offers valuable insights for historians, especially those analyzing the representation of emotions in historical texts. Following a brief discussion of *Ahlak-ı Alai*, as part of the broader tradition of advice literature, I turn to its first volume, "The Science of Ethics" (*Ilm-i Ahlak*), to examine how Kınalızade conceptualized the emotion of anger. This analysis helps to uncover how early modern Ottomans perceived and categorized emotions. Kınalızade classifies various aspects of both the human and animal soul, as I will outline below, ultimately framing emotions within the realm of morality by distinguishing between emotional virtues and emotional vices. Throughout this thesis, I argue that both the conceptualization and practice of anger are shaped by gendered structures. Kınalızade's work provides valuable insight into this gendered framework, helping to deepen our understanding of how anger was perceived in gendered terms.

3.1.1. Ethics Books

Ethics books hold a significant place in Islamic culture. Islamic scholars who wrote works in a tradition that could be described as Aristotelian-as we will soon see in detail with Kınalızade-attached great importance to practical philosophy. Within the scope of practical

philosophy, the aim was to guide individuals toward the “good”. The term *ahlak* (ethics) is derived from the Arabic word *hulk*, meaning “character” or “disposition”, and it entered the Turkish language from this root. According to the Islamic Encyclopedia, ethics is defined as: “the sum of a person’s moral qualities and dispositions that lead to their being classified as good or evil, as well as the voluntary behaviors arising from these qualities; it is also the branch of knowledge that deals with these matters.”⁹⁸

The source I will examine in this thesis, *Ahlak-ı Alai*, is part of Islamic advice literature (*siyasetname-nasihatname*) similar to the Western tradition's “mirror for princes” genre. This body of literature can also be compared to prescriptive literature in the West. While analyzing this genre, Stearns offers a cautionary note by arguing that prescriptive literature has some inherent limitations and might cause overgeneralization.⁹⁹ Prescriptive materials suggest that what emotional responses should and should not be, so, they are not evidence of emotional experience. One of his other critiques is that such literature is largely a product of the upper class. To mitigate their risks, I will not limit my study solely to ethics books. However, Stearns also highlights the significant advantage of prescriptive materials, particularly in fields like family studies and gender studies.¹⁰⁰ Stearns' groundbreaking work on *emotionology* is also largely informed by this body of literature.¹⁰¹ Among scholars studying the history of emotions through advice literature, Pernau has examined the conceptualization of anger in twentieth-century Indo-Muslim advice literature.¹⁰² Since I consider this work a model for my study, I will discuss it in more detail in the following sections. Similarly, Tekgöl contributes to the history of emotions in the Ottoman Empire

⁹⁸ Çağrıçı, Mustafa. “Ahlâk.” *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Last modified November 9, 2023. <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/ahlak>.

⁹⁹ Peter N. Stearns, “Prescriptive Literature,” in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide*, ed. Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, and Peter N. Stearns (London: Routledge, 2021), 53.

¹⁰⁰ Stearns, “Prescriptive Literature,” 56.

¹⁰¹ Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology.”

¹⁰² Pernau, “Male Anger and Female Malice.”

through ethics books by analyzing *Ahlak-ı Alai* in the context of the concept of protection.¹⁰³

While Baki Tezcan's work does not directly address emotions, it provides an essential political analysis of how the Ottoman state's legitimacy was constructed. His examination of *Ahlak-ı Ala'i* delves into the political role of the *ulema* (religious scholars) in shaping the ethical and moral conduct of Ottoman society. In general terms, Tezcan's work focuses on the political structures and ethical principles of governance in the sixteenth century through *Ahlak-ı Alai*.¹⁰⁴ Similar to Tezcan, Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay's work focuses on *Ahlak-ı Alai*, but with a more biographical and philosophical emphasis. She explores Kınalızade's contributions to Ottoman philosophy, particularly through these ethical teachings. While her work does not address emotions, it provides a comprehensive analysis of Kınalızade's moral philosophy.¹⁰⁵

Books of *siyasetnames* and *nasihatnames* present idealized models of political, social, and economic structures rather than depicting them as they actually existed. However, while *nasihatnames* primarily focus on individual ethics, *siyasetnames* are more concerned with the ethical beliefs related to rulers and the state.¹⁰⁶ *Siyasetnames*, especially due to their style, provide insights into the administrative challenges of their time. Their narrative structure often includes cautionary and instructive events. Given that this structure also reflects the political landscape of the era, I believe it further aids in understanding and contextualizing emotions. Especially after the reign of I. Suleyman, the genres of *siyasetname* and *nasihatname* became increasingly intertwined.¹⁰⁷ This serves as evidence for why these two types of texts are often considered together.

¹⁰³ Tekgöl, *Emotions in the Ottoman Empire*.

¹⁰⁴ Baki Tezcan, "The Definition of Sultanatic Legitimacy in the Sixteenth Century Ottoman Empire: The Ahlâk-ı Alâ'i of Kınalızâde Alî Çelebi (1510–1572)" (MA diss., Princeton University, 1996)

¹⁰⁵ Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Ahlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," *Divan: Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 12 (2002): 185-233.

¹⁰⁶ Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Osmanlı İmparatorluk İdeolojisi: Klasik Dönemde Din, Toplum ve Kültür 1451-1603* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2021).

¹⁰⁷ For a detailed explanation of this issue, please see Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

As a text within the *ahlak* literature tradition, Kınalızade's work primarily focused on establishing and maintaining political stability within what he termed a virtuous city. A foundational text in this genre was *Ahlak-ı Nasiri* by Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201-74), which became a reference point for later *ahlak* works.¹⁰⁸ Tusi's predecessor Ibn Miskawayh (c. 932-1030) wrote *Tezhibü'l Ahlak* (The Refinement of Ethics) in Arabic. A major intellectual influence on the ethics tradition was Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which had been introduced to Muslim scholars through translations and adaptations starting in the tenth century, with Ibn Miskawayh's *Tezhibü'l Ahlak* being one of the earliest adaptations.¹⁰⁹ In the centuries following, his work was frequently reinterpreted and elaborated upon, particularly regarding the role of rulers in legislative matters. This tradition continued with Celaleddin Devvani (1422-1506) and his *Ahlak-ı Celali*, and later with Kınalızade's *Ahlak-ı Alai*.

Ethics books offer extensive insights into the idealized relationships expected both between the state and its subjects, as well as between husbands and wives. Since emotional experiences are shaped by emotion knowledge and emotion norms, these texts play a crucial role in understanding the conceptualization of anger.

3.1.2. Medical Knowledge

In this section, I will explore the medical knowledge of Ottoman society through the lens of Galenic humoral theory and demonstrate its compatibility with their philosophical framework, both of which were grounded in the concept of "moderation" (*adl*). This perspective is deeply reflected in Kınalızade's work and remained influential well into the late nineteenth century especially regarding the gendered perspective.

¹⁰⁸ The Nasirean Ethics by Nasir ad-Din Tusi, trans. G. M. Wickens (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964).

¹⁰⁹ Pernau, "Male Anger and Female Malice," 121.

In the Ottoman intellectual tradition, philosophical thought was deeply intertwined with medical knowledge. During Kinalizade's era, the medical framework was shaped by Galenic humoral theory, which emphasized maintaining a balance among bodily fluids to ensure health. According to Galenic humoral theory, the human body was believed to be composed of four primary humors- phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile- each corresponding to one of the four natural elements: earth, fire, air, and water collectively known as *ahlat-ı erbaa*. In this framework, good health was understood as the maintenance of a harmonious balance among these humors, whereas disease was thought to arise from their disruption or imbalance. Humoral balance was believed to vary not only between individuals but also based on factors such as sex, age, social class, and ethnicity, according to Ze'evi.¹¹⁰ He argues that a man's natural disposition-characterized as hot and dry- was thought to differ from a women's, just as the humoral composition of Turks was considered distinct from that of Jews or Arabs. Similarly, a young woman's bodily balance was assumed to be different from that of older women.¹¹¹ Women were characterized as cold and humid, a combination perceived as biologically and morally inferior. This humoral model of the body informed not only medical treatments but also broader social assumptions about gender roles and sexual behavior. The association of heat with masculinity and coldness with femininity became a foundational framework through which difference was conceptualized in both medicine and culture.¹¹² These classifications played a crucial role in shaping understanding of emotions. The perceived humoral disparities between men and women, for instance, were primarily used to justify their differing emotional practices and gender roles.

¹¹⁰ Dror, Ze'evi. *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*. (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2006, p. 25.

¹¹¹ Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 25.

¹¹² Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 24-27.

Kınalızade often draws parallels between ethical philosophy and medicine, arguing that ethics functions as a form of “medicine of the soul” (*tıbb-ı ruhani*).¹¹³ Just as medicine sustains physical health and treats disease, he asserts, ethics nurtures virtue and remedies vices.¹¹⁴ He argues that like a physician who works to sustain a patient’s health and restore what has been lost, individuals should strive to nurture the virtues within their souls and revive those that have weakened.¹¹⁵ At this point, Kınalızade addresses the possibility of altering one’s character traits and deliberates on the nature of humanity-whether humans are innately good or evil. He initially presents the negative perspective, which argues that character traits are immutable and that human nature is inherently inclined toward evil.¹¹⁶ He then introduces the opposing viewpoint, suggesting that character transformation is achievable and that humans were created good. Ultimately, Kınalızade adopts a middle-ground position, borrowing from Galen, asserting that while some traits can be changed, others cannot, and that human nature is neither inherently good nor evil but has a predisposition towards both. The possibility that at least some negative traits can be transformed into positive ones, he argues, establishes the need for the science of ethics.¹¹⁷

Medical thought influenced a lot of perceptions of the body and health as we can see. In the philosophical framework, maintaining harmony and balance was seen as essential for

¹¹³ Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 49. “Ve bu takrirlerden zâhir ü rûşen oldu ki ilm-i ahlâk tıbb-ı rûhânîdir, nitekim san’at-ı tıb ilm-i cismânîdir”

¹¹⁴ Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 49. “Nitekim ilm-i tıb ile bedenın sıhhat-i hâsılasını hıfz u idâmet ve maraz-ı ârızı def etmekle sıhhat-i zâyilesin i’âdet etmek mukarrerdir”

¹¹⁵ Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 53. “Ma’a zâlik ilm-i tıbbı ihtiyâç sahih ü sâbit ve sebze-i ne fi bûstân-ı kulûb-ı ukalâda nâbittir ki ilm-i ahlâk muhtâcun ileyh idüğü muhakkak ve hukemâ vü ulemâ arasında musaddaktır”

¹¹⁶ Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 50. “Birisi oldur ki tebdil-i hulk mutlaka emr-i münteni’dir. Bir hulk ki zat-ı ademide hasıl ola, asla tebeddülü na-mukadder ve izalesi gayr-ı müyesserdir, zira hulk emr-i tabi’idir ve emr-i tabi’i avarızdan müte’essir ve mevzi’inden mütebeddil ü mütegayyir olmaz”

¹¹⁷ Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 50. “İkinci kavı oldur ki hulk iki nev’dir: Birisi tabi’idir, ya’ni asl-ı hilkatta merkez u mecbuldur, anın tebdili münteni’dir. Ve birisi dahi ülfı ve adidir, ya’ni me’luf ve mu’tad olmaktan hasıl olur ve anın tebdili mümkündür. Üçüncü kavı oldur ki ahlak bi-esriha tebdili mümkün ve izalesi makdurdur, zira hiç hulk tabi’i vü cibilli değildir, belki esbab-ı harice ve mu’addat-ı arzadan hasıl olur. Pes farz-ı tebeddül ve imkan-ı tahavvüteb olmaz. Ve amme-i hukema ve cumhur-ı ulema bu kavli tashih ve bu mezhebi ihtiyar u tercih eylediler. Ve bu, kavli fasıl ve mezheb-i cezldir. Enbiyanın da’vet ü şeri’atları bu kavle mebni ve meşayih-ı tarikat ve ulemanın terbiyet ü tarikatları bu mezheb üzerine caridir.”

overall well-being. The body also has a medical and gendered dimension. In her research on Greek philosophical texts, Luce Irigaray argues that these works are inherently male-centric, asserting that philosophers depict the male body as the universal human form while disregarding sexual differences.¹¹⁸ For these philosophers, women exist merely as a means of reproduction. This perspective aligns with Laqueur's "one-sex" theory.¹¹⁹ In *Making Sex*, Laqueur explores two distinct frameworks for understanding the sexual body, which he terms the "one-sex" and "two-sex" models. The "one-sex" model, which prevailed in Western thought from ancient Greece until the eighteenth century, maintained that there was essentially one human body-the male body. According to this perspective, female reproductive organs were seen as inverted versions of male anatomy rather than as entirely separate structures. Women were considered inferior to men, but not fundamentally different in biological terms. In contrast, the "two-sex" model introduced the idea that male and female bodies are entirely distinct and independent of one another. This framework, which gradually replaced the earlier model, laid the foundation for modern understandings of biological sex differences. This model is open to debate- not only because we no longer adhere to a strict binary gender system today, but also because its applicability to the early modern Ottoman context is questionable.¹²⁰ One of the central themes in *The Age of Beloveds* is the cultural and aesthetic significance attributed to beardless boys in the early modern Ottoman Empire. Andrews and Kalpaklı argue that the youthful, clean-shaven male figure became a powerful symbol of beauty and desire, deeply rooted in the poetic traditions of the time. These boys, often idealized in literature and depicted as passive objects of male affection, were not only eroticized but also represented broader ideals of refinement, vulnerability, and longing. The authors point out that the lack of a beard signified

¹¹⁸ Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One* translated by Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 26.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

¹²⁰ For example, the discussion on the "beardless boy" in this book is significant in this regard, for more information please see: Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*.

both physical immaturity and moral purity, allowing these figures to occupy a liminal space between child and adult, innocence and sensuality.¹²¹ However, since my aim in this study to analyze society, I consider the one-sex model to be a useful theoretical framework for understanding early modern Ottoman society. Ze'evi examines this theory within the context of the Ottoman world, arguing that Ottoman medical thought remained deeply rooted in the Galenic-humoral tradition, which reinforced the idea of a “one-sex” spectrum.¹²² Drawing on Laqueur’s work on historical gender perceptions in the West, Ze’evi suggests that Ottoman society did not conceptualize men and women as strictly distinct categories but rather positioned women as incomplete or underdeveloped versions of men.¹²³ Within this framework, men and women were placed on a continuum of perfection, with men regarded as the highest form of earthly beings and women seen as an incomplete or underdeveloped version of men, both physically and mentally. Ze’evi further contends that this traditional medical perspective persisted until the nineteenth century when the introduction of modern Western medicine led to a paradigm shift.¹²⁴ The long-standing “imperfect man” model was gradually abandoned in favor of a “two-sex” framework that recognized men and women as fundamentally distinct.¹²⁵ He also highlights that this earlier understanding was not only a medical construct but was also closely aligned with Islamic religious discourse.¹²⁶ Therefore, in this chapter, it is valuable not only to focus on medical knowledge but also to examine *Ahlak-ı Alai*, as it is an integral part of the Islamic religious discourse. These can be considered key aspects of medical knowledge. When discussing gendered understandings, we will encounter perceptions of female sexuality more frequently.

¹²¹ Andrews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*, 70-74.

¹²² Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 11.

¹²³ Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 23–24.

¹²⁴ Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 27.

¹²⁵ Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 47.

¹²⁶ Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*, 23.

3.2. Emotion of Anger in *Ahlak-ı Alai*

In this section, I will first provide background information on Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, followed by a general overview of his book. My primary focus will be on how he conceptualizes the emotion of anger. Through this analysis, I aim to uncover how anger was understood and framed in the early modern Ottoman context, in other words, anger knowledge. Lastly, I will examine the gendered aspects of the book.

3.2.1. Kınalızade and His Ethical Framework

Kınalızade's *Ahlak-ı Alai* is considered the first Turkish ethics book written in the tradition of *Ahlak-ı Nasiri* and *Ahlak-ı Celali*.

Due to his family's status, Kınalızade received a high-quality education and studies under the leading scholars of his time.¹²⁷ After completing his education, he began waiting for an appointment as a *kadı* (judge).¹²⁸ However, at the time, Ebussuud Efendi, who was serving as the *kazasker* of Rumelia, had a strained relationship with *Seyhulislam* Çivizade. Since Kınalızade was a student of Çivizade, his appointment was delayed.¹²⁹ According to Oktay, Kınalızade eventually presented his scholarly works to Ebussuud Efendi, who was pleased with this initiative.¹³⁰ As a result, Kınalızade's bureaucratic career began, and he continued until his death. He passed away at the age of 63 due to an illness. There is no definitive information regarding the location of his death.¹³¹

At the beginning of his book, Kınalızade explains his reason for writing *Ahlak-ı Alai*, stating that the science of ethics and its subjects concern everyone. He emphasizes that in order

¹²⁷ Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Âhlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," *Divan:Disiplinlerarası Çalışmalar Dergisi* 12 (2002), 190.

¹²⁸ Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Âhlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," 192.

¹²⁹ Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Âhlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," 192.

¹³⁰ Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Âhlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," 200.

¹³¹ Oktay, "Kınalızâde Ali Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Âhlak-ı Alâî İsimli Eseri," 196.

to attain happiness, one must acquire this knowledge.¹³² Kınalızade's text centers around the concept of practical wisdom (*hikmet-i ameliye*), in which emotions are framed as aspects of human behavior and practices. Within this framework, he defines practical wisdom as a science of human actions that aims to direct the soul toward virtuous deeds, which he views as the foundation of genuine happiness,¹³³ while avoiding detrimental behaviors that lead to moral corruption.¹³⁴ He structures practical philosophy into three categories, each addressed in separate volumes: ethics (*ilm-i ahlak*), household management (*ilm-i tedbirü'l-menзил*), and city governance (*ilm-i tedbirü'l-medine*).¹³⁵ The second volume focuses on domestic relations, while the third examines the dynamics between rulers and their subjects. The first volume, on the other hand, is solely dedicated to the individual's conduct and personal discipline rather than collective behavior.¹³⁶ According to Kınalızade, true perfection involves the governance of the self, household, and political relationships, which are all interlinked and dependent on one another. For the purposes of this study, however, I will limit my analysis mainly to the first volume, which addresses the regulation of the self, focusing specifically on the emotion of anger.

According to Kınalızade, each fundamental virtue has two corresponding vices: one representing an excess and the other a deficiency of the virtue. He characterizes the diseases of the soul through these vices, outlining their causes, symptoms, and treatments. When the two parts of the human soul are divided into two subcategories, these four faculties give rise to various actions within the human body. If these actions are balanced and directed toward a

¹³² Koç, ed. *Ahlak-i Ala'i*. 40. "Ol umurun beyânındadır ki bu kitâbda beyân olunacak fûnûn ol umurun ma'rifetine mevkuf yâhud mevkufun aleyh değilse bâri fi'l-cümle müfid ü mu'in olmakla mevsuftur. Ma'lûm u mukarrer ve sahife-i zihnde merkum u muharrer ola ki fenn-i maksuda şûrû' etmek ve umûr-ı ihtiyâriyyedendir, ya'nî irâdet ü ihtiyâr üzerine câri ve ikrâh u ızdırârdan âridir."

¹³³ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 42. "Nefs-i insaniyeye mûcib-i kemâl-i sa'âdet-i hakîkiyyedir"

¹³⁴ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 42. "zât-ı âdemîye mûris-i noksân u şekâvet-i uhreviyyedir"

¹³⁵ For the translations, I used Baki Tezcan's terms: Tezcan, "The Definition of Sultanîc Legitimacy," 65.

¹³⁶ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 44–45. "Evvel kısm ol ef âl ü a'mâldir ki âdemîden şahs-ı vâhid olduğı cihet-ten sâdır olup gayr-ı şahs mülâhaza olunmadığı zâhir olur. Bu makûleden bahs eden hikmet-i ameliyyeye 'ilm-i ahlâk' derler ... Meselâ âdemî hadd-i nefsinde ten-i tenhâ ve bi-mesken ü me'vâ dahi olsa halîm ve sehî ve afîf olup gazûb ve bahîl ve hafîf olmamak gerek, ilâ gayri zâlik,"

positive outcome, they result in virtue (*fazilet*); however, if they tend toward excess (*ifrat*), or deficiency (*tefrit*), they lead to vice (*rezilet*).¹³⁷

3.2.2 Conceptualization of Anger in *Ahlak-ı Alai*

Describing anger as the faculty of repulsion, Kınalızade defines it as the movement of the soul, conceived as the natural heat within the heart, outward from the body, causing the blood in the heart to boil.¹³⁸ He then proceeds to categorize different types of anger.

The balanced state of the faculty of repulsion is courage (*şecâ'at*). Its excessive form manifests as wrath (*tehevvür*), while its deficient state results in cowardice (*cübn*).¹³⁹ If a person disciplines and controls their anger, directing it towards positive behavior, it transforms into courage. The excessive form (*ifrat*) is called wrath (*tehevvür*), which refers to those who recklessly engage in actions deemed inappropriate by balanced individuals and cause harm to their bodies, which are entrusted to them. The deficient form (*tefrit*) is called cowardice (*cübn*), describing those who exhibit unnecessary fear, impatience, and anxiety in situations where reason does not deem fear to be warranted.¹⁴⁰ These excesses and deficiencies are defined as diseases (*emraz*) by Kınalızade, which he categorizes as vices (*rezilet*). Thus, anger is also considered a form of disease. (*emraz-ı kuvvet-i gazabiyye*).

What stands out most here is the richness of vocabulary used to describe emotions. The use of the word *gazab* is particularly interesting. In modern Turkish, *gazab* corresponds to intense anger or wrath. However, in this text, Kınalızade referred more broadly to anger, with

¹³⁷ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 94. "Eğer bu kuvâdan sâdır olan ef'âl muktezâ-yı akl-ı sahîh ve vech-i cemîl üzere vâki' ve had-i i'tidâl üzerine sâdır olursa hulk ki bu nev' ef'âle sebeb ola, "fazilet" olur. Ve eğer i'tidâlden hâric olup yâ ifrât yâ tefrît cânibine mâyil vâki' olursa bu makûle ef'âle sebeb olan kuvvet "rezilet" olur"

¹³⁸ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 174. "Gazab bir keyfiyyet-i nefsâniyyedir ki anın sebebi ile cevher-i rûh -ki dâhil-i kalbde olan harâret-i garîziyyedir- hâric-i bedene hareket eder ve dem-i kalb cûş u galeyân eder."

¹³⁹ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 95. "Ve kuvvet-i gazabînin iti'dâli "şecâ'at"tir; ve cânib-i ifrâtı "tehevvür" ve cânib-i tefrîti "cübn"dür."

¹⁴⁰ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 96. "Ve eğer ifrât ederse tehevvür olur ki insân kendisini bî-nef' mehâlike ilkâ ve mukâvemeti hadd-i imkan ve dâyre-i kudretinden bîrûn olan düşmenle mukâbeleyi bî-vech ve mukâteleyi nâ-ma'kûl edip kendiyi yâ ihlâk yâ ızrâr etmektir. Ve bu kuvvetin tefrîti cübdür ki aklen sabr u sebât müstahsen ve mukâbele vü mukâtele memdûh olan yerlerde ceza' u feza'-ı kabîh ve inhizâm u hürûb-i na-mahall edip muhannesler zümresine dâhil olmaktır."

tehevvür specifically denoting wrath. This distinction suggests a nuanced understanding of *gazab*. This suggests that *gazab* was understood more generally, corresponding to anger as a whole, not just its extreme forms. Furthermore, the term *şeca'at* is used to denote bravery, which at the time seems to have been considered an emotion in itself. The interconnectedness of emotions is another fascinating aspect of the text. For instance, a deficiency in anger-which was tied to cowardice or fear- was seen as the root cause of unnecessary fear. In other words, fear and anger were seen as closely intertwined; lacking sufficient anger was perceived as a lack of bravery. This view of excesses and deficiencies in emotions as *emraz* (diseases) also echoes modern-day understandings of mental illness, but there, it applies broadly to the emotional landscape. For the author, being overly wrathful (*tehevvür*) was considered a disease.

The shared view of Ibn Miskawayh, Tusi, Devvani, and Kınalızade is that the first faculty to manifest in a human is the faculty of nourishment.¹⁴¹ When a child is born, they feel the need to be fed and nursed by their mother. However, Kınalızade differs from the others regarding the subsequent faculty. While Tusi and Devvani mention the faculty of imagination (*tahayyul*), Kınalızade skips this and instead focuses on the repulsive faculty. He notes that as the child's strength increases and they become focused on obtaining what they desire, new faculties emerge, such as raising their voice or crying to demand food. As the child progresses further, the faculty of repulsion becomes apparent. The emergence of this faculty is due to the child's need to repel harmful things from their surroundings. If the child feels inadequate in this effort, they seek help from the mother or father.¹⁴² After this, the faculty of *temyiz* (ability to distinguish between good and evil behavior) emerges. The first manifestation of this faculty is

¹⁴¹ Ayşe Sıdıka Oktay, "Kınalızade Ali Efendi ve Ahlak-i Ala'i" (Kınalızade Ali Efendi and Ahlak-ı Alai) (PhD diss., Marmara University, 1998), 153.

¹⁴² Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 144. "Ve bu mertebeden dahi terakkî edip kuvvet-i gazabiyye zâhir olup def'-i mazârr ve ref'-i müzâhmet-i agyâr etmeğe başlar. Ve eğer def'-i mezbûrda kendinin müstakill ü kâfi olmadığın fehm ederse ve kendiye kemâl-i şefkat ve vüfur-ı inâyet üzerine olduğunu bildiği eşhâs u efrâddan isti'ânet ve anlara istizhâr u istigâset eder, mâderi ve pederi ve dâyesi gibi."

haya (shame). As the *temyiz* faculty develops day by day, it begins to influence the faculties of repulsion and appetitive.

Meanwhile, the excess nourishment in the body transforms into human sperm, leading to behaviors associated with the culmination of the appetitive faculty, such as marriage and reproduction. When the repulsive faculty reaches a sufficient level and enables the person to protect themselves, men also begin to protect those under their care, such as their wives and children. All of these are stages and outcomes of the repulsive faculty that originally emerged during childhood.¹⁴³ According to this view, if a person who wishes to be virtuous aims to acquire and develop the desired virtue through practical wisdom, they must act following their nature and follow the natural order when disciplining their faculties. This means that they should first rectify the appetitive faculty, then train the repulsive faculty, and finally reach wisdom. Since this perspective aligns with “*tıbb-ı ruhanî*” (medicine of the soul), it should also be interpreted as the endeavor of a person seeking to achieve mental well-being. So, for Kınalızade, the upbringing and education a child receives at a young age are crucial in attaining wisdom (*kemâlât*).¹⁴⁴

The above discussion suggests that Kınalızade is much more focused on the emotion of anger compared to his predecessors. One example of this is his presentation of the development of the repulsive faculty as the next stage following nourishment in a child’s growth. For example, Tusi does not evaluate nourishment in this way and brings a different interpretation. According to him, the intelligent man should content himself with sufficient nourishment to preserve the equilibrium of temperament and maintain life. The fundamental purpose of

¹⁴³ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 145. “Amma kuvvet-i gazabî old ahi kemâle yetişip kendi şahsını hıfz u zabt ve isti’ânet-i gayra gâliben muhtâc olmamak mertebesine vâsıl olduktan sonra sâyir efrâd-ı insânî ve ekârib ü etbâ’ vü ehl ü iyâl gibi, hıfz etmeğe dahi şürû’ eyler. Ve buradan riyâset ü isti’lâ ve tefevvuk u tere’üs zuhûr eyler. Ve bu cümle kuvvet-i gazabî merâtibi ve anın muktezîyâtıdır.”

¹⁴⁴ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala’i*, 145. “Ve bu mertebeye gelicek tabî’attan sâdır olan kemâlât nihâyetin bulur. Bundan sonra nevbet tedbir ü sinâ’at sebebi ile olan kemâlâta erişir. Eğer bu kemâlât dahi hâsıl olursa ol insâniyyet-ki tabî’at sebebi ile hâsıl olmuştu-sinâ’at sebebi ile bekâ-yı hakîkî ve devâm-ı ebedî bulur.”

nourishment should be to seek health.¹⁴⁵ Tusi also includes the search for nourishment within the appetitive faculty.¹⁴⁶ Kınalızade views the repulsive faculty as a key step in a child learning how to protect themselves. Another interesting point is Kınalızade's claim that once a person has mastered in this, they have attained wisdom. By characterizing anger as a disease, he seems to overlook the possibility of relapse after recovery. He treats the disease and its cure as a one-time process. One reason for this could be his strong emphasis on childhood education. He seems to believe that if a child does not receive the necessary education from their parents early on, it is extremely difficult to correct these deficiencies later in life. These individuals likely fall into the group that must exert significant effort to rid themselves of their vices.

3.2.3. How to Treat One's Anger?

After providing his readers with a detailed explanation of the emotion of anger, Kınalızade proceeds to describe how one can rid oneself of this emotion (or, disease). One can manage and train it by generously distributing wealth that was meant to be preserved and not to be spent, thereby curbing the soul's inclination toward anger.¹⁴⁷ He recounts a story about Socrates. According to rumors, Socrates rejected the well-mannered women offered to him and instead chose to marry a woman known for being rude and argumentative. When asked why he made such a choice, Socrates replied: "If one must associate with someone of weak character, it would at least benefit the soul to become accustomed to enduring her rudeness and disrespect, thereby cultivating the habit of controlling one's anger and eliminating rage."¹⁴⁸ A disease should be treated with its opposite. Just as temperament is altered by treating hot diseases with cold medicines and cold diseases with hot medicines, the same principle applies. The book does

¹⁴⁵ Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, 56.

¹⁴⁶ Tusi, *The Nasirean Ethics*, 79.

¹⁴⁷ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 179. "Ve ilâc-ı gazab oldur ki bu esbâbın def'ü ref'ine tedbîr oluna, zîrâ bir şey'in esbâb u ileli mürtefi' olıcak lâbüdd müsebbib ü ma'lûl olacak nesne dahi mündefi' olsa gerek."

¹⁴⁸ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 157. "Çün musâhabet-i nâkısâtü'l-akl lazım oldu, bârî bu fâyide olsun ki nefsi anın selâat u vekâhatına mübtelâ edip mukâbelesinde kazm-ı gayz ve def'-i gazabı âdet edip bu hulk ile mu'tâd u mütemerrin olam."

not provide specific information on whether anger is considered as hot or cold disease. However, since it generates heat in the heart, it can be categorized as a hot disease. Kınalızade explains that these diseases of anger are divided into two categories: qualitative and quantitative. Excess (*ifrat*) and deficiency(*tefrit*) refer to the quantitative aspects of anger. However, Kınalızade introduces a different explanation when discussing the qualitative disorder of anger, which he identifies as *redaet*. It refers to engaging in irrational acts of vengeance that are contrary to reason. For instance, striking inanimate objects out of anger is such a behavior. When a person hits an inanimate object, it is not the object that feels pain, but rather the person's limbs that suffer, as seen with some ignorant individuals. Similarly, striking or tormenting animals, harming children who lack awareness, or becoming angry for no reason are also examples of such behavior.¹⁴⁹ The author employs the term *havf* which typically signifies fear, to describe *redaet*-a form of anger that manifests without any justifiable cause.¹⁵⁰

Notably, Kınalızade employs the term *havf* to describe this disordered form of anger. The choice of a term associated with fear to describe a disorder of anger underscores the richness of emotional vocabulary in the text and highlights how the meaning of emotions evolves across historical contexts. The use of *havf* in this instance refers to the act of causing harm to others or to inanimate objects for no reason, without any benefit, and ultimately only causing pain to oneself. This evolution of emotional terminology reveals how the boundaries between emotions like fear and anger were fluid and expressed in interconnected ways throughout different periods. It also shows how these emotions need to be contextualized through the lived experiences of individuals within their specific historical and cultural

¹⁴⁹ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 166. "Meselâ gazabından cemâdâtı vurmak ve döğmek gibidir ba'z-ı ceheleden vâki' olur ki kendi darbından yine kendi uzvu müte'ellim olur cemâd-ı bî-idrâk hod müte'essir olmaz ve behayim ü etfâl-i bî-idrâk gazabından darb u îzâ etmek ve hışm mevzi'i olmayan yerlerde bilâ-sebeb hışm etmek dahi bu kısımdandır"

¹⁵⁰ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 174. "Her çend bu kuvvete müte'allik olan emrâz nâ-mahsur. Ba'z-ı müsemma, ba'zı bî-ismdir. Ammâ ızrârı fevka'l-hadd ve mühlük ü müzmin ü mümtedd olanlar bu üç kısımdır: evvelkisi gazab, ikincisi cûbn, üçüncüsü havftır."

frameworks to understand their nuanced meanings. It is not surprising to see that emotions of fear and anger interconnected historically. In his discussion of ancient medical and philosophical approaches to emotions, Harris highlights how Galen considered both fear and anger within a shared framework of psychic disturbance. Although anger occupies a more central role in Galen's writings, fear is by no means absent from his analysis. Rather, both are treated as symptoms of a disordered soul that require diagnosis and therapeutic intervention. What makes Galen's approach notable is his attempt to understand these emotions not simply as fleeting reactions but as conditions that can undermine mental and physical balance. This perspective reflects a broader ancient tendency to medicalize emotional states, suggesting that managing fear and anger was not only a moral or philosophical task but also a matter of health. The inclusion of both emotions in Galen's framework underlines the degree to which they were seen as interconnected in the maintenance of inner order.¹⁵¹

He explains that there are four types of treatment in physical medicine: nourishment (*tenavül-i gıda*), using drugs for remedy (*isti'mâl-i devâ*), throwing up to get rid of the poison (*semm ü zehri irâdından kayy etmek*), and cauterization or surgery (*urûku kat' u keyy etmek*).¹⁵² After outlining these methods, he states that the same approach is applied in the medicine of the soul and divides it into four corresponding categories. The first method is comparable to strengthening the body through various foods. In this context, it involves reinforcing the soul with good deeds and virtuous behavior to help it abandon its vices.¹⁵³ The second method involves reflecting on the soul's condition, criticizing and reprimanding it to help it avoid negative traits and behaviors. Just as harmful mixtures are removed and diseases cured through medicine in physical medicine, here, advice and reprimand function as purgative or laxative

¹⁵¹ Harris, *Restraining Rage*, 411.

¹⁵² Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 168. "Ve mu'âlecât-ı külliyye tıbb-ı cismânîde dört nev'dir: Birisi tenavül-i gıdâ ile olandır ve birisi isti'mâl-i devâ ile olandır; üçüncüsü semm ü zehri irâdından kayy etmekledir, dördüncüsü ba'z-ı urûku kat' u keyy etmekle olur. Kezâlik tıbb-ı rûhânî bu minvâl üzere cârî ve bu semtle müttesimdir".

¹⁵³ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 168. "Tarîk-i evvel ef'âl-i hasene ve tarâyık-ı mahmude isti'mali ile nefse kuvvet vereler ki evvel hulk-ı kabîhi terk ede"

medicines.¹⁵⁴ The third method is used when it becomes difficult to remove a vice entrenched in the soul. In such cases, an opposing vice is employed to counteract and eliminate the existing one, akin to using poison in physical medicine. However, the administered vice should not cause harm to the soul or take root within it, and must therefore be used in a measured manner, just as poison should be taken in a controlled dose.¹⁵⁵ The fourth method is applied when a vice has become deeply rooted and established in the soul, rendering the previous methods ineffective. At this stage, the soul must be purified through worship, such as vows, pledges, and commitments, along with virtuous practices to rid itself of the vice and ensure it does not relapse. Just as cutting and cauterizing the veins is the final treatment in physical medicine-when it is confirmed that other methods are not working-this method, too, and should only be implemented when all other spiritual treatments have proven ineffective.¹⁵⁶ After outlining these general treatment methods, Kınalızade states that a wise person, having thoroughly understood these diseases and their opposing virtues, can treat each ailment using appropriate methods. He then begins to explain the specific treatments for the diseases.

The cause of anger is the soul's desire to seek revenge against the one who inflicts harm. When this arises in the soul, its effect is felt in the body: warmth increases and the blood starts to boil. The arteries, through which the animal soul flows, become filled, and the mind cannot think clearly due to the darkness caused by the fumes.¹⁵⁷ This, in turn, weakens the faculty of

¹⁵⁴ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 168. "Târîk-i sâni nefse hulk-ı zemîm ve fi'l-i şenî' sebebi ile ârız olan marazı tezekkür ü tefekkür edip nefse tevbi' ü melâmet ve takrî' u garâmet ede ki nefse ahlâk-ı rediyye-i mezbûreden inzicâr u imtinâ' gele, nitekim tıbb-ı cismanide isti'mâl-i devâ etmekle def'-i ahlât-ı rediyye olunup şifâ-yı maraz hasıl olurdu"

¹⁵⁵ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 169. "Tarîk-i salis oldur ki meselâ bir rezilet nefste müstahkem olup izâlesi gayet asîr olsa, anın zıddı olan rezileti isti'mâl etmekle rezilet-i ûlâ izâle vü i'dâm oluna. Meselâ bir kimesnede sıfat-ı buhl mütemekkin ü mütekarrir ve izâlesi gâyetle müşkil ü müte'assir olsa, ol kimesne sıfat-ı isrâfî-ki zıdd-ı bühldür-kendiye sıfat u menil ve isti'mâlinde aksa'l-gâye sa'y u verziş ede ki bi'l-âhere sıfat-ı vasat u i'tidâldır"

¹⁵⁶ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 169. "Tarîk-i râbî' oldur ki rezilet gâyet mütemekkin ve şehristân-ı bedende müddet-i medid mütevattın olmakla ilâcât-ı mezbûre ile def' olmayacağı müte'ayyin olsa, nefse tahmil-i ibâdât-ı şâkka ve teklif-i ri'yâzât-ı sa'be edip fi'l-i mezbûr ve hulk-ı mezkûra rücû' etmemek için uhdesinden hurûc etmesi müte'assir nezirler ve nakz u feshi kâbil değil ahdler ede ki nefsi ibâdât u ri'yâzât envârından safâ ve îmân u nüzûr ve mevâsik u uhûd sebebi ile ol hulk-ı mezmûmdan râh-ı rehâ bula."

¹⁵⁷ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 174. "Gazab bir keyfiyyet-i nefsanıyyedir ki anın sebebi ile cevher-i rûh – ki dâhil-i kalbde olan harâret-i garîziyyedir-hâric-i bedene hareket eder ve dem-i kalb cûş u galeyân eder. Lâbüdd anın hârice

reasoning, making it extremely difficult to extinguish the fire of anger in such a state. How individuals express their anger varies as well. Some are like oil, producing high flames and loud sounds¹⁵⁸; others are like dry wood, which ignites easily but burns with a lower intensity compared to oil.¹⁵⁹ The third type is like wet wood, which is slow to ignite and, even when it catches fire, is easily extinguished with little effort. When the causes of anger are removed, such a person's anger also subsides quickly.¹⁶⁰ According to the righteous, the best type is the one who becomes angry slowly and calms down quickly.¹⁶¹ He further notes that these stages of anger are only applicable at the initial phase when the anger has just ignited. However, if anger fully flares up and the individual becomes determined to exact revenge, all these stages become indistinguishable.¹⁶² In fact, a person who falls into the last stage will become even more intensely angry and continue burning for a long time because the causes of anger have multiplied, and all barriers preventing the anger from spreading have been completely removed.¹⁶³ Since anger is considered a vice, the less it is present in a person, the more desirable it is. Kınalızade notes that when an angry person is consumed by fire of anger (*şule-i gazab*), their face turns red, their veins and nerves swell, their voice becomes louder, and they engage

hareket ve cûş u gâleyanından zâhir-i bedende harâret ü humret zâhir olup hususen beşer-i vechde ki latîf ve cildi nâzik olmakla katı zuhur eder ve urûk hâseten urûk-ı gerden dem ile mümtelî olmakla galîz olur”

¹⁵⁸ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 175. “Ba’z-ı emzicenin kabul-i gazaba isti’dâdı kibrit ü barutun işti’ale isti’dâdı gibidir, nitekim kibrit ü barut bir şerer dokunmakla fi’l-hâl ihtirâk u işti’âl eder kezâlik bu mizâcın sâhibi intikâmı mûcib bir kelime istimâ’yâ bir vaz’ müşâhede etse fi’l-hal müte’ellim ü muztarib ve âteş-i gazab ile mültehib olur ki mir’ât-ı derûnu tîre ve menâzır-ı havâssı hîre olup nush u pend bel kayd u bendle müte’essir ü mündefî’ olması müte’azzir ü mümteni’ olur”

¹⁵⁹ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 175. “Ve ba’zı rугan gibidir ki fi’l-cümle âteş isâbet eylese zebâne-i şu’le-i bâlâ ve derûn-ı tâbeden avâz u alâlâ zâhir olur lâkin barut u kibrit gibi değildir ki bir şererden ân-ı vâhidde kûh-ı nâr ve tâk u tarâkından asvât-ı sâ’ika-kirdâr zâhir ü bedîdar ola”

¹⁶⁰ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 175. “Ve ba’zı dahi hîzem-i ter gibidir ki işti’âli uddet ü müddet ister ve müşte’il olduktan sonra yine ednâ ferâgatle müntafî vü müntefî olur bu mertebe-i ahîre âkıl-ı halîm ve vakur-ı selîm kimesne misâlidir ki temâm-ı esbâb-ı gazab u hamîyyet müatemi’ olmayınca şu’le-i gazabı derûn-ı sînesinde mültemi’ olmaz ve esbâb-ı gazab mün’adim ü müntefî olucak hemân şerâre-i gazabı dahi münhedim ü müntafî olur”

¹⁶¹ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 176. “Ve bu aksâmın efdali ve erbâb-ı fezâyil katında ekmeli oldur ki gazaba geç gel eve tîz geç”

¹⁶² Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 176. “Ve dahi ma’lûm olsun ki gazabda zikr ettiğimiz merâtib, âteş-i gazabın ibtidâ-yı işti’âl ve evâyil-i izdirâbındandır ve illâ şu’le-i nâyire-i gazab temâm müşte’al ve nefis-i serkeş ve âteş-i hışm ve ta’allî vü tekevvün ettikten sonra irâdet-i intikâm etmekle bi’l-küllîyye müştâ’il olup sıfat-ı gazab temekkûn edicek cümle merâtib gâliben ittihâd-ı temâm bulur ve gazûb u halîm mütessâviyyü’l-akdâm olur”

¹⁶³ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 176. “Belki mertebe-i ahîr sâhibinin gazabı müştedd ve zemân-ı iltihâb u işti’âli mümtedd olur zîrâ esbâb u devâ-i-i gazab ale’t-tedric ve’ d-devâm müctemi’ ve mevânî’ ü avâyık-ı işti’âl u iltihab bi’t-temâm mürtefi’ olmuştur”

in irrational actions. Observing such a person, one can easily see how irrational and inhuman anger is.¹⁶⁴ He highlights the various physical and psychological harms caused by anger and even adds that it can lead to sudden death (*mevt-i füc'eye mü'eddî olur*).¹⁶⁵

As we can see, Kınalızade provides a detailed explanation not only of the mental effects of anger but also its physical manifestations. His description of physical signs, such as the face turning red, evokes comparisons to “basic emotions theory”.¹⁶⁶ However, it is important to note that recent studies have challenged Ekman’s Basic Emotions Theory.¹⁶⁷ Emotions are not universally expressed or biologically hardwired in the same way across all cultures. These critiques suggest that emotions are far more fluid and context-dependent than Ekman initially proposed. While Kınalızade offers a significantly more detailed and systematic account of anger than his predecessors, his discussion of its stages also suggests a recognition of individual differences in how anger is experienced. Nonetheless, his close attention to the physical symptoms of anger implies that, despite this variability, he considers its bodily manifestations to exhibit a certain degree of commonality.

3.2.4. Gendered Aspect of Emotion of Anger in *Ahlak-ı Alai*

Everything discussed so far within the book is intended for men. The gender discourse in ethics books aims to create an ethical framework that excludes women. However, this

¹⁶⁴ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 176. “Çün şule’-i gazabdan havâlî-i kalb pür-leheb ü şerâr ve duhân tîresinden dimâğ tîre vü târ ola, âyîne-i akl nice berrâk ola ve şem’-i fikret ne kadar izâ’et ü işrâk ede ki mahall-i ilm kalb ve menzîl-i fikret dimâğdır ikisi dahi teng ü târ ve pürdûhan u şerâr olıcak dekâyık-ı adl ve hikem-i fazl nice zâhir ve tâbân olur ve gazab-nâk olan kimesneden âteş-i gazabı iltihâb ve ihmîrâr-ı vech ve intifâh-ı urûk u a’sab ve ref’-i savt u evzâ’ ve harekât-ı nâ-savâb sudur edicek nâzır olan bilir ki gazab nice dâyre-i akl u insaniyetten bîrûn ve nice müşâkil-i ef’âl ve evzâ-ı ashâb-ı cünundur”

¹⁶⁵ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 177. “Pes gazabı müştedd olup harâret-i garîzî hâric-i bedene müteveccih olıcak merkezinde kifâyet mikdârı rûh kalmayıp mevt-i füc'eye mü'eddî olur”

¹⁶⁶ According to Ekman and Friesen, there is a set of biologically hardwired, universal emotions that are expressed similarly across all cultures, with anger being one of them. These emotions, which also include fear, disgust, sadness, happiness, and surprise, are identified by their distinct facial expressions and physical signs. For instance, one of the primary physical signs of anger in Ekman’s theory is the face turning red, which mirrors Kınalızade’s observation of the face becoming flushed during episodes of anger: Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, “Constants Across Cultures in the Face and Emotion,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 17, no. 2 (1971): 124-129.

¹⁶⁷ See also: Lisa Feldman Barrett, *How Emotions Are Made: The Secret Life of the Brain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), 15-22.

exclusion is not easily discernible without a detailed examination. In this section, I aim to analyze how gender is constructed in *Ahlak-ı Alai* and the gendered context surrounding the emotion of anger.

It is important to underline that Kınalızade was part of a larger tradition of ethical thought, frequently referencing scholars like Al-Ghazali and his predecessors like Nasir al-Din Tusi. Among the existing literature, two significant studies have examined the gendered structure of ethical texts written by Kınalızade's predecessors. I consider it essential to engage with these studies in detail within this thesis. Since the 1990s, Islamic studies have grown in scholarship addressing gender in the pre-modern Islamic world, and Zahra Ayubi stands out as one of the prominent historians of the field. In her analysis, Ayubi turns to classical Islamic ethical texts by three key thinkers: Al-Ghazali's *Kimya-i Saadet* (The Alchemy of Happiness), Nasir al-Din Tusi's *Ahlak-ı Nasiri* (The Nasirean Ethics), and Celaledin Devani's *Ahlak-ı Celali* (The Jalalean Ethics), all composed in Persian. In the first chapter of her book, titled "Epistemology and Gender Analytics of Islamic Ethics," she introduces the *ahlak* genre and maps its intellectual genealogy in Islamic history. She presents these texts as constituting a unified philosophical tradition concerned with metaphysics, humanity, and morality.¹⁶⁸ In the succeeding chapters, she analyzes how these texts define the "virtuous self," which Ayubi argues is framed exclusively as the elite male. She explores tension within Islamic ethical philosophy between metaphysical principles, where men and women are theoretically equal as bearers of individual souls (*nefs*), and epistemological structures, where this equality is systematically denied.¹⁶⁹ The ethicists claimed that women were created inherently inferior and lacked the rational faculties necessary for moral self-perfection. Within this framework, women and socially subordinate men are relegated to passive roles, aiding elite men in their moral

¹⁶⁸ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 23.

¹⁶⁹ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 89.

cultivation.¹⁷⁰ Ayubi critiques what she terms the “elite male-centered nature of Islamic virtue ethics.”¹⁷¹ Rather than transcending gender norms, she interprets these texts through a gendered lens, exposing contradictions in the ethical philosophies of Ghazali, Tusi, and Devani. For example, while the texts posit that all human beings possess souls, they simultaneously assert that women are emotionally unstable and intellectually deficient and thus must be governed by their husbands. In Chapter 3, “Ethics of Marriage and the Domestic Economy,” Ayubi examines how gendered virtue is articulated within the family. Ethical subjecthood is reserved for men, whereas women are treated as ethical objects, recipients rather than agents of moral instruction. Men are portrayed as disciplinarians of their household, responsible for the moral refinement of their wives and children. Women, in turn, are expected to prioritize the ethical development of their husbands and household harmony over their own autonomy.¹⁷² Chapter 4, “Homosocial Masculinity and Societal Ethics,” shifts the focus to male-male relationships within public and political life.¹⁷³ Ayubi argues that these texts valorize bonds between elite men, characterizing them as spaces where love-spiritual and intellectual-is cultivated. Unlike the emotionally distant, hierarchical relationship between husband and wife, homosocial bonds are idealized through the ethicists’ concept of “macrocosmic ethical love,” a love that is believed to mirror the vicegerency of God.¹⁷⁴ Crucially, Ayubi highlights that not all men are seen as equal-only elite men are considered capable of achieving such moral refinement, while other men, like women, are cast as morally and rationally subordinate. One of Ayubi’s most critical interventions lies in exposing the disconnect between the universal claims of ethical philosophy and its exclusionary framework. By interrogating the foundational assumptions of these

¹⁷⁰ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 81.

¹⁷¹ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 35.

¹⁷² Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 143-215.

¹⁷³ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 215-291.

¹⁷⁴ Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 251.

canonical texts, she demonstrates how the gender hierarchies embedded in Islamic virtue ethics reflect broader structural inequalities of the time.

Another important study that uncovers the gendered structures in the writings of Kınalızade's predecessors is Havva Özçay's dissertation.¹⁷⁵ Özçay argues that incorporating feminist theoretical approaches into the study of Islamic ethics texts makes a valuable contribution to the field. Within this framework, she focuses on theoretical philosophical texts in the Islamic tradition to explore their gendered dimensions. After initially discussing gender theory and feminist approaches, she turns to Islamic ethics literature to identify its embedded gendered structures. For the purposes of this thesis, Chapter 2 is particularly significant. In this chapter, she begins by offering definitional frameworks for Islamic ethical literature. Like Ayubi, Özçay draws attention to the presence of individual souls (*nefs*) in Islamic ethics. Ayubi had also emphasized the body and used medical ethics texts to reveal the gendered structure within them, citing the example of Ebu Zeyd El-Belhi (d.322/934). According to Belhi, for instance, women are less tolerant of alcohol consumption, a claim he attributes to the inherent weakness of women's brains and nervous systems.¹⁷⁶ Özçay examines various sources to highlight different perspectives on this issue. Her argument is that Belhi's distinction is absent in Farabi's thought, where there is an emphasis on the shared physiological structure of men and women. As noted earlier, this idea appears to have been largely dominant in the Ottoman context as well. Later in her dissertation, Özçay returns to one of the central research questions: whether discussions of the soul in Islamic ethical texts reflect a gendered structure. She finds that the sources divide into two categories: those that clearly assert that the soul exists in all human beings regardless of gender, and those that emphasize the differences in intellectual

¹⁷⁵ Havva Özçay "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır? İslam Ahlak Literatürü Bağlamında Bir Araştırma" (*Is there any Gender of Virtues?: A Research in the Context of Islamic Moral Literature*)(PhD. Diss., Marmara University, 2022).

¹⁷⁶ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 49.

capacity between men and women.¹⁷⁷ Like Ayubi, Özçay notes that Tusi acknowledges the existence of the *nefs* in everyone, and interprets Tusi's reference to "human" as a potentially inclusive category.¹⁷⁸ However, she also recognizes the limitations of such generalizations and therefore delves deeper into how *nefs* and reason are conceptualized in the texts, continuing her investigation across a range of sources, including treatises, medical books, and ethics books, to determine whether Islamic ethics is inherently gendered. Further in the texts, Özçay points out, again in line with Ayubi's findings, that Tusi explicitly mentions the intellectual inferiority of women.¹⁷⁹ When turning to Ghazali, Özçay finds further support for Ayubi's interpretation, particularly in Ghazali's comments on women's intellectual capacity.¹⁸⁰ For Ghazali, the cultivation of good character in the household requires not harming family members and showing patience with wrongdoing. However, women in his texts are often equated with vice and bad character.¹⁸¹ Özçay argues that her initial hypothesis is only partially confirmed, as the textual data do not demonstrate a consistent ontological position. She notes that while some statements appear to support ontological gender differentiation, others reflect sociocultural interpretations for the *nefs* part. Following this, Özçay turns to the virtues and vices, a section that forms a major part of her thesis. It is here that she identifies overtly gendered structures, especially in discussions about the ideal traits of women in marriage.¹⁸² Like we saw in Kınalızade, she notes that Tusi considers anger not suitable emotion for men, since it is more often associated with women.¹⁸³ Özçay's reading of a passage from Ibn Rushd further supports this point and can be analyzed in relation to Kınalızade's framework. She argues that the main barrier preventing women from becoming virtuous is the way in which social structures are

¹⁷⁷ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 53.

¹⁷⁸ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 54.

¹⁷⁹ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 60.

¹⁸⁰ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 60.

¹⁸¹ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 61-62.

¹⁸² Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 70.

¹⁸³ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 73-74.

organized.¹⁸⁴ This is also why, I give importance to examine the legal position of women in order to better understand how these societal structures were formed. In her conclusion, Özçay states that gendered language in ethical texts has no ontological consistency. Nevertheless, she emphasizes, through a rich variety of sources, that gendered assumptions remain pervasive. In particular, she highlights the contributions of sources such as *İhvan-ı Safa*, Ibn Sina, Ghazali, and Tusi in reinforcing gendered structures within Islamic ethical thought.¹⁸⁵

Like the ethical texts that preceded his, Kinalızade defined women as irrational beings (*noksan-ı akl*) whose sole role is to bear children. Women's souls are considered weak, and they are seen as more prone to emotions. For Kinalızade, excessive jealousy, and excessive anger are among the primary consequences of women's lack of rationality. He notes that due to these vices, women are inclined to disrupt household order and cause significant scandal and harm.¹⁸⁶ The issue of jealousy is interesting because, when we examine it in a global context, for instance, Keetley argues that until the nineteenth century, jealousy, like anger, was seen as a masculine emotion in America. Initially, jealousy was considered a wild passion that men needed to control, much like anger. However, over time, jealousy came to be viewed as an instinct inherent in men, and it became normalized from a male perspective.¹⁸⁷ In contrast, when we look at Ottoman society, we observe that both excessive jealousy and excessive anger were emotions attributed to women. On the other hand, we see a similar understanding in early modern England, much like in the Ottoman Empire. According to Pollock's article, women were perceived as more prone to anger due to their weaker nature, being viewed as characters who easily get angry.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 79.

¹⁸⁵ Özçay, "Erdemlerin Cinsiyeti Var Mıdır?", 130.

¹⁸⁶ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i* 348 "Ba'z-ı ukalâ mutiakâ bu ma'nâyı mekrûh gördüler, zîrâ çün nisâ noksân-ı akl ile ma'rûf ve gayret-i müfrita ile mevsûflardır. Yahtemil ki kemâl-i gazab u gayretinden ba'z-ı umûr irtikâb edeler ki mûcib-i ihtilâl-i nizâm-ı menzil ve mûris-i fezâhat ü hasâret-i kâmil ola."

¹⁸⁷ Keetley, "From Anger to Jealousy."

¹⁸⁸ Pollock, "Anger and the Negotiation."

The faculty that ethicists and consequently Kınalızade focused most on women is the appetitive faculty. This is because women were considered insatiable in terms of sexual desire, which in turn made them prone to creating social disorder.¹⁸⁹ The emotion of anger, when considered as a virtue, was seen as a masculine emotion. We can observe Kınalızade's views on this in the third section of his book, titled The Science of Household Management (*İlm-i Tedbirü'l-Menzil*). According to Kınalızade, the most virtuous women are those who possess modesty (*haya*), show love for their husbands, prioritize what pleases their husbands, and aim to protect their chastity. They should not be argumentative or ungrateful, which, he adds, are traits commonly found in women.¹⁹⁰ He provides an example by recounting a story about the Prophet Muhammad, stating that women curse often and are ungrateful to their husbands.¹⁹¹ So far, I have provided two examples from the text: one related to the Prophet Muhammad and the other one from Socrates. In both instances, the figures in question were "immoral women" to their husbands. Excessive cursing and anger are consistently portrayed as traits associated with women. Above, I mentioned that the balanced state of anger-its virtuous form-is courage (*şecaat*). Kınalızade also emphasizes this, stating that while courage is a virtue in men, it is a vice (*rezilet*) in women. This is because when a woman possesses bravery, she no longer fears her husband or others, and might venture into deserted places at night, leading to undesirable situations.¹⁹²

He warns his male readers that female slaves are more prone to anger. He advises not to be deceived by the makeup applied by slave traders and even suggests washing their faces to get a clearer view. He mentions that slaves and concubines often secretly carry sharp objects

¹⁸⁹ Kecia Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith and Jurisprudence*. (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006), 9.; Ayubi, *Gendered Morality*, 177.

¹⁹⁰ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 344. "Ve hatunların efdali vü ekmeli oldur ki akl u diyânet ve iffet ü hasânet ve edeb ü hayâ ve zevcine mahabbet ü safâ ile mevsûf olup rızâ-yı zevci kanda ise ehemmi-i mehâmî olup hıfz-ı nâmûsu gâyet-i merâmî ola. Ve zebân-dırâz u nâ-hak-şinâs olmaya, eğerçi bu iki sıfat nisâda katı çok olur."

¹⁹¹ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 344. "Çok la'net edersiz ve mu'âşeret ettiğiniz zevclerinizin ni'metine kufr edersiz."

¹⁹² Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 350. "Hattâ ba'z-ı ulemâ zâhib oldular ki iki haslet, ricâlde fezâyilden ve nisâda rezâyildendir: Birisi şecâ'at ve birisi sehâvettir zîrâ hatunda şecâ'at olıcak havf-ı zevc ve gayruhu olmayıp zılâm-ı şeb ve mevâzi'-i tenhâya varmaya ikdâm edip mefâsid zuhûruna sebep olmak ihtimâldir"

like knives and daggers, posing a potential threat, since some slaves and concubines up for sale have exhibited angry behavior.¹⁹³ The author distinguishes between free women and enslaved women, explicitly stating that enslaved women are regarded as being even lower in status, I claim that there is a subtext in this part of the text that suggests enslaved women are seen as more prone to anger. They are directly associated with anger, and there is an implication that their anger might be more dangerous. When discussing free women, the author does not mention such danger, for instance, the text does not mention free women carrying knives and daggers but rather suggests that they might cause undesirable situations. These situations include not fearing their husbands or going out alone at night. This demonstrates that in Ottoman society, the gender-based social hierarchy internalized and conceptualized enslaved women as being positioned much lower.

In this chapter, I aimed to explore how anger was conceptualized within the moral and philosophical framework of *Ahlak-ı Alai*, and how this conceptualization reflected gendered assumptions of the period. By examining Kınalızade's treatment of anger as both a moral challenge and a potential virtue, I sought to uncover the expectations placed on individuals regarding emotional regime. Furthermore, I investigated whether and how male and female expression expectations were differentiated, and that these distinctions reveal the broader gendered hierarchy of early modern Ottoman society. In the next chapter, I will try to examine its practical expressions. Were the angry women mentioned here actually able to express their anger in daily life as well?

¹⁹³ Koç, ed., *Ahlak-i Ala'i*, 384. "Ve kesret-i arz u taklîbden fârig olmaya, ammâ hîn-i taklîbde ihtirâz ede ki gulâm belki câriyede bıçak ve hançer-i mahfî olup zarar erîştirmeye ki bey'a arz olunan gulâm belki câriyede gazab olmak şâyi'dir"

CHAPTER IV: DOINGS AND SAYINGS OF ANGER

The title of this chapter is inspired by the work of Monique Scheer. A cultural anthropologist, Scheer put forward a powerful framework for understanding emotions not as innate or timeless reactions, but as bodily practices shaped by specific historical and cultural contexts. One of her most influential contributions is the idea that the body should not be seen as a neutral, universal vessel for emotional expression. Rather, it is socially embedded, trained, and historically contingent-echoing the notion of “plasticity” found in neuroscience.¹⁹⁴ Scheer emphasizes that emotions are better understood as culturally meaningful acts by a conscious and socially conditioned body.¹⁹⁵ This perspective allows historians to move beyond the traditional divide between how emotions are experienced versus how they are expected to be displayed. It opens up space to see emotional change not just as a shift in expression norms but in the emotional experience itself.¹⁹⁶ She encourages scholars to explore “doings and sayings”, everyday actions, and utterances as key evidence for studying emotional practices. Furthermore, I also draw on Judith Butler’s theory of performativity.¹⁹⁷ I suggest that anger can also be understood as a performed emotion-one that is enacted through repeated bodily acts, gestures, and speech within specific social and gendered frameworks. According to Butler, gender is not just something, but is something one does, emotions like anger are not simply expressed and felt but performed in ways that are intelligible within a given cultural context. In this light, the practices recorded in court, whether verbal, or non-verbal, can be read as performances of anger shaped by and responding to the gender norms of early modern Ottoman society.

For this reason, it is important to examine how anger was expressed and experienced by both women and men in order to understand not only its emotional dimensions but also its

¹⁹⁴ Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?”, 193.

¹⁹⁵ Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?”, 205.

¹⁹⁶ Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?”, 220.

¹⁹⁷ Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (1988): 519–531.

gendered aspects. As discussed in the previous chapter, according to Kınalızade, women were more prone to anger due to their lack of rationality. This raises the question: do we observe this perception reflected in everyday practices? Do factors such as whether a woman was free or enslaved, her age, or her social class influence how anger was expressed? In pursuit of these questions, this chapter draws on judicial court registers and fatwas as primary sources.

In this context, I also aim to explore the vocabulary related to anger. In *Ahlak-ı Alai*, which is written in a highly elaborate style, we encountered several terms corresponding to anger. However, we do not know how these terms were reflected in everyday usage. Drawing on judicial court registers and fatwas, I will attempt to shed light on the words used to express anger in the legal and colloquial language of the early modern Ottoman period. Within this framework, I also draw upon the work of Barbara Rosenwein. As I mentioned before, emotional vocabulary plays a crucial role in understanding how people felt and how they expressed those feelings.¹⁹⁸ While emotions are often conveyed through bodily gestures such as crying or laughing, Rosenwein suggests that even these expressions can be inferred by historians through the analysis of words and phrases in primary sources.

I will search for expressions of anger in judicial court registers, guided by the questions posed in both this and the second chapter. This approach will allow me not only to trace the vocabulary of anger as reflected in the judicial court registers but also to offer a methodological perspective on how to engage with these sources. By considering both the limitations and the potential of judicial court registers, I aim to identify how anger was expressed, with particular attention to gendered expressions. While Chapter II discussed the existing scholarly literature on these registers, my aim here is to offer a fresh reading of these sources through the lens of emotional expression, specifically the emotion of anger, and to examine how the practices of expressing anger differed between men and women based on the available records.

¹⁹⁸ Rosenwein, *Generation of Feeling*.

The term most consistently used to signify anger in judicial court registers and fatwas is *gazab*. This finding aligns with my earlier observations in Chapter III on the historical transformation of emotional vocabulary. While *gazab* in modern Turkish denotes a particularly intense form of anger, its exclusive use in judicial court registers to refer to anger indicates that other terms such as *öfke* (anger) were absent from the judicial lexicon of the time. This suggests a significant semantic shift referring to anger word in emotional terminology over time. How we understand anger today does not necessarily correspond to how historical actors perceived and expressed it. Emotions and their practices evolve, and so too does the language used to describe them. It highlights a gap of close textual analysis which is the gap this study's one of the aims to address. However, more comprehensive and detailed research is still needed to fully uncover the emotional vocabulary and its shifts across time.

Moreover, as noted above, some documents may reflect the practices of anger even if they do not contain explicit emotion keywords, such cases are particularly valuable for this study. In line with this, I did not limit my search to the term *gazab* while analyzing sources for this study. I also included documents that contain the term *şetm*, often appearing in the compound form *şetm-i galiz*, which refers to verbal insults or cursing. I consider the use of swearing words and the swearing itself significant practices for expressing anger, which is I included them in my analysis. In fact, these documents have provided particularly intriguing cases that reveal gendered patterns in the expression of anger. In her work on sexual crimes and notions of honor, Başak Tuğ offers a detailed analysis of *şetm* cases. She emphasizes that such cases were not limited to sexual offenses but frequently arose in contexts of verbal altercations and physical assaults resulting in injury.¹⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Tuğ also notes that in many instances,

¹⁹⁹ Başak Tuğ, *Namus Siyaseti: 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Anadolu'su'nda Irz, Şiddet, Hukuk* trans. Gülbin Akgün (İstanbul:İletişim Yayıncılık, 2023), 222.

şetm was closely associated with verbal harassment and acts considered morally or sexually inappropriate.²⁰⁰

On September 15, 1662, Hüseyin, the plaintiff, a resident of the Kürkciyan neighborhood, one of the neighborhoods of Antep, claimed against Ali. Hüseyin stated in his allegation that ‘‘Ali Bey invited me into his room and struck me with several hundred blows from a stick. He cursed at me using words related to *zina* (*zina lafzıyla ağzıma ve burnuma şetm ederek*). He also tied me on the foot.’’ Witnesses were called and, in their testimonies, they confirmed Hüseyin’s allegations.²⁰¹

Kürkciyan mahallesinde sâkin Hüseyin bin Halil nâm kimesne mahfil-i kazâda Ali Bey bin Osman Bey mahzarında üzerine da’va ve takrîr-i kalam idüb târih-i kitab gicesi merkûm Ali Bey beni odasına da’vet idüb birkaç yüz değnek urub zinâ lafzıyla ağzıma ve burnuma şetm ederek bigayr-i vech ayağıma bukağı urub habs eylemişdir suâl olunub müceb-i icrâ olunmasın taleb ederim dedikde gıbbe’s-suâl ve’l-inkâr müdde’î-i mezbûrdan müdde’âsına mübeyyin beyyine taleb olundukda udûl-i müslimînden Hüseyin Reîs ve Ahmed bin Abdülgani nâm kimesneler li ecîlî-ş-şehade meclis-i şer’e hâzıran olub isrû’l-istişhâd fi’l-vâki’ târih-i kitab gicesi mezbûr Ali Bey odasında feryâd ve istimdâd istimâ’ idüb varduğumda merkûm Ali Bey müdde’î-i mezbûr Hüseyin’i değnek altından kaldırub zinâ lafzıyla ağzına burnuna şetm ederek bukağıya urmuşdur bu hususa bu vecih üzere şâhidleriz şehâdet dahi ederiz deyü her biri edâ-yı şehâdet-i şer’iyye eylediklerinde ba’de ri’âyeti şerâiyiti’l-kabûl şehâdetleri makbûle olmağın mücebiyle ba’de’l-hükm mâ-vaka’a kayd olundu.

In this document, we see that Hüseyin was the target of Ali’s anger was physically assaulted. While the word *şetm* is clearly present in the text, there is no explicit mention of anger itself. Nevertheless, it is difficult to interpret Ali’s actions as anything but an expression of anger. What makes the case even more striking is Hüseyin’s use of the phrase *zina lafzıyla* (with words of fornication) when describing the verbal insults. Although we cannot know the exact words or phrases Ali used, it is reasonable to infer that the insults were sexually explicit in nature. Colin Imber argues that in Islamic law, *zina* is generally defined as sexual intercourse that occurs outside the bounds of a lawful union—typically expressed through the term *mülk*

²⁰⁰ Tuğ, *Namus Siyaseti*, 222.

²⁰¹ Özlem Aydın, *26 Numaralı Ayntâb Şer’iyye Sicili’nin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi (s.138–275)* (MA thesis, Bingöl University, 2024), 137. Quoted from: Antep Judicial Court Registers: 157/1.

(ownership or legal possession). In his view, this means that any sexual relationship outside of marriage or a recognized bond such as slavery constitutes a legal violation.²⁰²

On November 28, 1686, Abdurrahman Halife, a resident of the Medrese neighborhood in Konya, claimed against Mehmed, who resided in the same neighborhood. Abdurrahman stated in his allegation that: “The evening before, around the time of the evening prayer, Mehmed became angry (*gazab idüb*) with me and cursed at me (*lisanını dübürüne sok deyu şetm eyledi*).” Witnesses were called and confirmed Abdurrahman’s account.²⁰³

Mahmiyye-i Konya’da Medrese Mahallesi sâkinlerinden bâisü’l-kitâb ‘Abdurrahman Halife ibn Nasrullah Halife meclis-i şer’-i hatîr-i lâzımü’t-tevkîrde mahalle-i merkûme sükkânından Mehmed bin Abdullah mahzarında üzerine da’vâ ve takrir-i kelâm idüb târih-i kitabdan bir gün mukaddem mezbûr Mehmed akşam namazı vakinde mescid önünde bana gazab idüb lisânını dübürüne sok deyu şetm eyledi su’âl olunub mücib-i şer’îsi icrâ olunması matlubumdur didikde gıbbe’s-su’âl ve akîbe’l-inkâr ve ba’de’l-istişhâd ‘udûl-ı müsliminden mahalle-i mezbûrda sâkineyn Mevlûd bin Pîr ‘Ali ve İbrahim bin Kadri nâm kimesneler li-ecli’ş-şehade meclis-i şer’a hâzırın olub eserü’l-istişhâd fi’l-vâki’ târih-i kitâbdan bir gün mukaddem mezbûr Mehmed akşam namazı vaktinde mescidimiz önünde bizim huzurumuzda mezkûr ‘Abdurrahman Halife’ye lisânını dübürüne sok deyu şetm eyledi ve biz bu huzûr-ı şâhidleriz şehâdet dahi ideruz deyu edâ-i şehâdet-i şer’iyye eylediklerinde ba’de’t-ta’dîl ve’t-tezkiye şehâdetleri hayyiz-i kabulde vâkı’a olmağın mucibiyle mâ-vaka’a bi’t-taleb ketb olundu

In this case, which took place in another city in Anatolia, Konya, and again involved two men, we encounter the words *şetm* (cursing) and anger (*gazab*) used together. This provides a more concrete example of emotional practice: the man becomes angry and utters curses. The mention of the timing, during the evening prayer, also holds significance, as it reveals that men were able to express their anger toward one another in public spaces and during busy hours in the streets.

In the cases I have examined so far, the practice of anger has all occurred between men, with male victims. However, women were not exempt from being subjected to men’s anger. Some of the cases issued before the court consists of discovery cases (*keşif davaları*), which involve incidents resulting in injury or death. In one such case from 1738, Konya, the plaintiffs alleged that their sister Emine had been brutally killed by a man named İsa. According to their

²⁰²Colin Imber, "Osmanlı Hukukunda Zina," trans. Muharrem Midilli, *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 29 (2017): 506.

²⁰³ Mehmet Dereci, *31 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili (1097–1098/1686–1687): Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyon* (MA thesis, Selçuk University, 2020), 409. Quoted from: Konya Judicial Court Registers: 190/3.

testimony, İsa had threatened Emine with curses, saying, ‘‘I will stab you, thrusting the dagger into your stomach and pulling it out through your throat’’ (*hançeri senin karnına sokup boğazından çıkarırım deyü şetm iyleyüb*). What makes this case particularly striking is that Emine, from fear (*havf*), miscarried her unborn child (*naşe bir cenin ilka idüb*) and died six days later (*altı gün mürûrundan sonra ödü sıdub*).²⁰⁴

Medine-i Konya’da Şeyh ‘Alimân Mahallesi sâkinlerinden Molla Ahmed bin Ahmed nam kimesne meclis-i şer’î hâzır olub takrîr-i kelâm ve ta’bîr-i ‘anî’l-merâm idüb târih-i kitâbdan yirmi gün mukaddem mahalle-i mezbûre sâkinlerinden gice ile ‘İsa beşe ibn Hasan ve Veli beşe ibn Tuşoğlu Süleyman nam kimesneler su-i kasd ile menziline girüb kızkarındaşım Emine’nin üzerine varub merkûme Emine’ye merkûm ‘İsa beşe hançeri senin karnına sokub boğazından çıkarırım deyü şetm iyleyüb mezbûre Emine dahî havfından nâşe bir havfından naşi bir cenin ilkâ idüb altı gün mürûrundan sonra ödü sıdub kızkarındaşım mezbûre Emine ol-vechden fevt olmağla taraf-ı şer’den üzerine varılub keşf olunması matlubumdur kıbel-i şer’den Mevlânâ İbrahim Efendi irsâl olunub ol dahî hala eyalet-i Karaman mütesellimi umdetü’l-emâcid ve’l-Hüseyn Efendi tarafından mübâşir ta’yîn olunan Süleyman Efendi ibn ‘İvaz ve zeyl-i vesikada muharrerü’l-esâmi mislimin ile mahalle-i mezbûrede vâki’ mezbûre Emine’nin menziline varub mezbûre Emine’yi bulub ba’de’l-keşf ‘izâsına nazır olundukda mezbûre Emine’nin ‘izâsında asla kara bere ve cerh eseri olmamağla müteveffıye-i mezburenin vârisleri erkarındaş mezbûr Ahmed ve vâlidesi ‘Alime bint ‘Abdullah ve zevci Molla ‘Ali bin ‘Abdüllatif nam kimesneler istintâk olundukda mezbûre Emine merkûm ‘İsa beşe ve Veli beşenin vech-i meşrûh üzere ancak nâşi fevt olmağla ahâli mahalleden ve gayri bir ferden husûs-ı mezkûre müte’llik kat’â da’vâ ve nizâ’ımız yokdur didiklerini mevlânâ merkûm mahallinde ketb ve tahrir ve ma’â ba’s olunan emnâ-yı şer’le meclis-i şer’î gelib ‘ale’l-vuku’a inhâ ve takrîr itmeğın mâ hüve’l-vâki’ bi’t-taleb ketb olundu

Although the document does not contain a word directly corresponding to anger, I believe that cases like this vividly reflect practices of anger even in the absence of explicit emotional terminology. Moreover, while an explicit expression of anger is absent, it is notable that the term *havf* (fear) appears, a term much rarer in judicial court registers. The presence of such a specific emotional term in judicial court registers, which usually employ very formulaic expressions regarding the emotional experiences of both genders, is particularly noteworthy. This case opens a path for addressing the question of whether practices of anger such as *şütüm-ı galize* and *şetm eylemek* were exclusively confined to interactions between men.

In the process of research on the doings and sayings related to the emotion of anger, I found that divorce cases were the most frequently encountered type of case. In this chapter, I will focus on cases where divorce was initiated in moments of male anger, a phenomenon that

²⁰⁴ Hatice Sevici, *54 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili’nin (1–190) Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirmesi (H. 1150–1152 / M. 1738–1740)* (MA thesis, Selçuk University, 2011), 558. Quoted from: Konya Judicial Court Registers 160/5.

appears quite frequently in Anatolia. In cases where divorce occurred in a state of anger, different Islamic legal schools in the Ottoman Empire could express divergent views. They generally required certain conditions to be met for a divorce to be valid, such as the mental soundness of the person pronouncing the divorce, the husband, a genuine intention to divorce, and the exercise of free will. While Shafi'i and Maliki scholars argued that a divorce pronounced during anger was valid regardless of the intensity of the anger, Hanafi and Hanbali scholars maintained that a divorce issued in anger was not valid.²⁰⁵ Reflections of this Hanafi understanding are evident in the court registers from the Anatolian region. We can see this in Hocaşade Esad Efendi's (d.1034/1625) fatwa:

Question (*Mes'ele*): If Zeyd, while angry and without intending to initiate a divorce, says to his wife Hind, "Let your will be in your hand" (*iradetin yedinde olsun*), and Hind, without explicitly divorcing, goes to stay at her mother's house for a few days, can Zeyd bring her back home and resume marital life with her? Answer (*el-Cevab*): Yes, he can.²⁰⁶

In this fatwa, it may be assumed that the husband did not actually intend to divorce his wife; however the expression "let your will be in your hand" (*iradetin yedinde olsun*) suggests the opposite. Even, in some cases, it directly corresponds to divorce.²⁰⁷ According to Midilli's article, when a husband tells his wife "your will is in your hand" or "the matter is in your hands", he authorizes her to make the decision regarding divorce (*emir bil-yed*).²⁰⁸ This expression is often encountered in situations where the husband is in a state of anger. Midilli interprets this phenomenon through the fatwas of Hocaşade Esad Efendi, noting that in such cases since the husband's intention was not actually to divorce, no divorce is issued.²⁰⁹ Hocaşade Esad Efendi

²⁰⁵ Sabri Erturhan, "İslam Hukuku Açısından Öfkeli Şahsın Talakı," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 6, no. 2 (2002): 209-210.

²⁰⁶ Muharrem Midilli, *Müşahhas Meselelere Dair Osmanlı Aile Hukuku Fetvaları* (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2024), 194, translation belongs to the author. "Mes'ele: Zeyd zevcesi Hind'e hîn-i azabında talak niyyet etmeyip 'ihtiyârın elinde olsun' dese Hind ihtiyar-ı talak daği etmeden kalkıp validesi evinde gidip birkaç gün sâkine olsa Zeyd Hind'i evine getirip ve Hind ile izdivâca kâdir olur mı? El-Cevab: Olur."

²⁰⁷ Midilli, "Gelmezsem İrâdetin Elinde Olsun.", 8.

²⁰⁸ Midilli, "Gelmezsem İrâdetin Elinde Olsun.", 6.

²⁰⁹ Midilli, "Gelmezsem İrâdetin Elinde Olsun.", 7.

typically prioritizes the husband's statements in these scenarios.²¹⁰ Another example can be found in a fatwa by Minkarizade (d.1088/1678):

Question (*Mes'ele*): If Zayd, while angry, says to his wife Hind, 'Get out of here!', and pushes her out of the house, does this constitute a divorce?

Answer (*el-Cevab*): If he intended it as a divorce, then yes.²¹¹

This example shows that the determining factor is intention (*niyet*). The husband, in a state of anger, expresses a desire to divorce; however, whether or not the divorce is valid depends on his intention. We encounter similar instances in judicial court registers, for example, in the following case:

On July 13, in Konya, Mustafa, a resident of the Aklan neighborhood, claimed against his wife Meryem. Mustafa stated in his allegation that: "Three months ago, while we were sitting together in our vineyard, I experienced a moment of anger (*gazab arız olmağla*), and told my wife, 'If I ever bring you to this vineyard again, consider yourself divorced from me.' Since then, whenever it is time to go to the vineyard, I no longer take her-I leave her at home. But now, she has gone to the vineyard without my permission. Therefore, I consider the oath invalid." Meryem confirmed this account and the case was closed.²¹²

Mahmiye-i Konya'da Aklân Mahallesi sâkinlerinden bâ'isü'l-kitâb Mustafâ bin Mehmed nâm kimesne meclis-i şer'-i hatîr-ı lâzîmü't-tevkîrde zevcesi Meryem bint-i 'Alî nâm hatun mahzarında takrîr-i kelâm idüb ve ta'bîr-i 'anî'l-merâm idüb târîh-i kitâbdan üç ay mukaddem zevcem mezbûre ile ma'â bağımızda otururken bana gazab ârız olmağla zevcem merkûmeye hitâb idüb eğer ben seni bir dahâ bu bağa çıkarırsam sen benden üç talâkla boş ol dimiştim hâlâ 'âdet-i ehl-i beled üzere bağa çıkmak zemânî geldikde ben merkûmeyi bağa çıkarmayub ve kendi çıkmağa dahî izn virmeyüb menzîlim içinde koyub karyeye gittiğimde ben karyede iken benim iznimsiz mezbûre Meryem kendi san'ıyla bağ-ı merkûma çıkub yemîn-i münhall olmağla ben dahî hâlâ merkûme ile ma'â bağa çıkmağa cânib-i şer'-den izn taleb iderin hakikat-ı hâl mezbûre Meryem'den dahî su'âl olunsun didikde gıbbe's-su'âl mezkûre Meryem cevâbında zevcim mezbûr karyeye girdikde izni yoğiken ben kendi ihtiyârım ile bağ-ı merkûma çıkdım mezbûr Mustafâ ilâ hâze'l-ân bağa gelmeyüb ve benim çıkdığımda izn ve rızâ virmemişdir didikden sonra bu âna gelince mezbûre Meryem bağ-ı merkûma çıkdığına kavlen rızâ virmeyüb ve mukaddemâ dahî izn virmediğine ihtiyâten mezbûr Mustafâ'ya yemîn teklîf olundukda 'alâ vefki'l-mes'ûl yemîn-i billahî'l-'azîm itmeğîn bağ-ı merkûmda ma'â sâkin olmağa ba'de'l-izn mâ-vaka'a bi'ttaleb ketb olundu

²¹⁰ Midilli, "Gelmezsem İrâdetin Elinde Olsun.", 7.

²¹¹ Midilli, *Müşahhas Meselelere Dair Osmanlı Aile Hukuku Fetvaları*, 186, translation belongs to the author. "Mes'ele: Zeyd zevcesi Hind'e gazab edip 'Var yıkıl git' deyip elinden yapışıp dışarı kovsa Hind Zeyd'den mübâne olur mı? El-cevâb: Talâk niyyet ettiyse olur."

²¹² Mehmet Dereci, *31 Numaralı Konya Şer'îye Sicili (1097–1098/1686–1687): Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyon* (MA thesis, Selçuk University, 2020), 239. Quoted from: Konya Judicial Court Registers 103/2.

I consider this case as an excellent example for understanding the gendered emotion of anger in the early modern Ottoman Empire. It also offers valuable semantic clues. The term *arız* meaning “malfunction”, is rarely seen in conjunction with anger in the court records, making its use here particularly noteworthy. The incident itself is striking-based solely on the document, it appears to involve a sudden and seemingly unprovoked anger, where the husband tells his wife not to come to the vineyard anymore. It also seems that the divorce did not actually take place. However, given the husband’s declaration, the wife’s decision to go to the vineyard despite this may suggest her own motivations; perhaps she sought to provoke the divorce, or perhaps she did not expect the oath to be considered invalid. Another interesting detail is that it is the husband himself who invalidates the oath, without relying on a judge, which raises the question of why they came to the court at all. Did the women insist they were already divorced? Although we cannot know for certain, this document may reflect a defiant woman.

In 1645, in the Kerimdede neighborhood of Konya, we find another case of a man, Mustafa, who expressed a desire to divorce his wife in anger but later regretted it. His wife, Mümine claimed against him. Mümine stated in his allegation that: “Previously, my husband Mustafa told me, ‘Get out of the house—if you're of no use to the neighbors, you're of no use to me either.’ Thus rejecting me, yet he also insisted that we were still married. During a heated argument about our marriage (*hıyn-ı müşahade*), if he says that he spoke in anger (*gazab ile bir söz söyleyüb*) and did not intend to divorce me, I am willing to remain his wife.” Mustafa swore under oath that he had no intention of divorcing her, and the marriage was officially upheld.²¹³

Mahmiye-i Konya mahallâtından Kerimdede Mahallesi sâkinlerinden bâ’is hâze’lkitâb Mustafa bin Seydi nâm kimesneyi zevcesi Mümine bint-i Yusuf nâm hatun meclis-i şer’a ihzar ve mahzarında takrîr-i kelâm idüp zevcim mezbûr Mustafa bundan akdem bana var git evden komşulara yaramağın bana yaramaz deyü beni red etmiş iken yine benimle zevciyyet müamelesin murad ider didikde gıbbe’s-su’âl mezbûr Mustafa cevâbında fi’l-hakika hal zikr olunan minval üzere olmuş idi lakin hıyn-ı müşahadede ben ancak gazab ile bir söz söyleyüb talâka niyet eylemedim didikde talâk-ı selaseye niyet veya zikr eylemediğine yemin iderse yine kel-evvel zevciyyete râziye olayın dimeğın merkûm

²¹³ İlknur Kaçar, *9 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili (1055–1056 / 1645–1646): Değerlendirme ve Transkripsiyon* (Master’s thesis, Selçuk University, 2025), 145. Quoted from: Konya Judicial Court Registers 45/4.

ile beyinlerinde müşahede vâki' oldukda talâk-ı selaseye niyet itmeyüp ve tekellüm dahî itmediğine mezbûr Mustafa'ya yemin teklif olundukda ol dahî alâ vefki'l-mes'ûl yemîn-i billahi'l-'azîm itmeğin tarafeynin rıza ve talebleriyle kel- evvel zevciyyet üzere

We observe that the couple had a heated argument, yet the fact that the case was brought before the court is still striking. Although the wife had been subjected to verbal insults and knew that her husband did not initially intend to divorce her, she still took the matter to court, wanting to be certain whether he truly meant to divorce her. She claimed that he had rejected her during the argument. However, after the husband firmly insisted that he had no intention of divorcing her, stating that he did not mention divorce (*talâk-ı selase*), the case was dismissed. For Mustafa, it was merely something said in a state of anger (*gazab ile bir söz söyleyüb*) and carried no real meaning.

Several cases reveal that women articulated their anger within both public and private spheres. What is particularly striking about these instances is the specificity of the settings in which their emotions were voiced, suggesting that space itself played a significant role in shaping the modes and visibility of female anger.

In 1713, a woman named Ümmü Gülsüm, daughter of Ali, a resident of Kebe İlyas neighborhood from Kayseri claimed against another woman, Esma, daughter of Hacı Abdülfettah. In her testimony, Ümmü Gülsüm stated: “About a month and a half ago, while we were in the bathhouse, Esma struck the left side of my face with her fist, and as a result of the blow my tooth came out. I demand the fulfillment of what is required by Islamic law.” Esma did not attend the court herself but was represented by a legal proxy, her brother Hacı Mustafa. Esma’s legal representation by her brother was confirmed by witness testimony. The court first asked Ümmü Gülsüm to present witnesses, but she was unable to do so. Then, the court requested Esma to take an oath. However, since Esma was not present in court and her proxy could not swear the oath on her behalf, a court official was sent to Esma’s home. The court appointed Mevlana İsmail Efendi -probably the *nâib*- in order to have Esma swear an oath. *Muhzır* and *çukadar* was also present in Esma’s house, acting as the witnesses of Esma, taking

an oath. and requested that Esma swear that she had not committed violence against Ümmü Gülsüm. Esma took the oath, stating she had not harmed Ümmü Gülsüm. The oath was officially recorded with the statement: “The oath was taken in our presence.” Since Ümmü Gülsüm was unable to present witnesses and Esma swore under oath that she had not committed violence, the court ruled that Ümmü Gülsüm must stay away from Esma. The court also decided that Ümmü Gülsüm could no longer bring a case against Esma on this matter.²¹⁴

Medîne-i Kayseriyye'de Kebe İlyâs Mahallesi sakinelerinden Ümmü Gülsüm bint 'Alî nâm hatûn meclis-i şer'-i hatir-i lazimü't-tevkîrde râfiâtü hazi'l-kitab Esma ibnet El-Hac Abdü'lfettâh nam hatûn tarafından husûs-ı atf'ül-beyana vekîl olduğu zât-ı mezbûre mârifet-i şer'iyye ile 'arifan olan Mustafa Bey ibn-i 'Alî ve Hüseyin ibn Mehmed nam kimesneler şehâdetleriyle şer'an sabit olan li ebeveyn karındaşı El-Hac Mustafa nam kimesne mahzarında üzerine da'va ve takrîr-i kelim idüb târîh-i kitabdan bir buçuk ay mukaddem Lüleke hammamında müvekkile-i mezbûre Esma yumruğu ile sol yüzüne darb idüb darb-ı mezkûrun tesîrinden alt tarafından bir azû dişim çıkmagla suâl olunub müceb-i şer'iyyesi icra olunması matlûbumdur didikde gibbe's sual ve'l inkar ve ba'd-ı talebi'l-beyyine müddeiye-i mezbûre ityân-ı beyyineden izhar-ı acz istihlaf itmeğin müvekkile-i mezbûreye mahallinde tahlîf için kıbel-i şer'den Mevlana İsmâ'il efendi bi'l-iltimas irsal olundukda ol dahi müvekkile-i mezbûre Esmâ hatûnun sakine olduğu menzile varub zeyl-i sahifede mestûr olan Müslimîn mahzarında mezbûre Esma'nın zat-ı ta'rîf-i şer'i ile ma'rûf olduktan sonra târîh-i mezkûrda hammâm-ı merkûmda müddeiye-i mezbûre Ümmü Gülsüm'ün sol yüzüne yumruk ile darb idüb tesîrinden naşî bir azû dişini çıkarmadığına mezbûre Esma hatûna yemin teklîf eyledikde ol dahi ala vakf'il-mes'ûl halef-i bi'llahi'l-allahü'l-ala itmeğin mevlana-yı merkûm vâki'-i hali müdde'i-i mezbûre muvacehesinde tahrîr ve ba'dehu ma'an irsal olunan çukadar Osman Beşe ve Muhzır Mehmed ile meclis-i şer'e gelüb 'ala vukû'-ihi inhâ ve ihbar itmeleriyle mücebince müdde'i-i mezbûre Ümmü Gülsüm bi vech-i şer'i mu'arazadan men ve def' olunub mâ vaka' bi't-taleb ketb olundu

As in some of the previously discussed cases, this document also does not contain a specific word that directly corresponds to anger. Nevertheless, it clearly depicts two angry women engaged in a physical fight. This case is intriguing in many respects and raises several important questions. Importantly, men and women did not share the same space in the bathhouse. As a significant part of social life, bathhouses were important spaces where women gathered, making them valuable spaces for historical inquiry. They functioned as public spaces. A Muslim woman could cite a visit to the bathhouse as a legitimate reason for going out in

²¹⁴ Rûmeysa Bilgili, *25 Numaralı Konya Şer'îye Sicili (1105–1106 / 1693–1695) Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirme* (MA thesis, Selçuk University, 2021), 149. Quoted from: Kayseri Judicial Court Registers 117, 58/77.

public.²¹⁵ It is noteworthy that Esma did not personally appear in the court and was represented by a proxy. Esma denied the allegation of violence. Then, Ümmü Gülsüm was placed in a disadvantageous position. In this particular case, there appear to be two possibilities: first, it is possible that there was a moment when the two women were alone in the bathhouse. Although they were not alone in the bathhouse the entire time, the fight may have broken out a moment when everyone else had already left, and everything may have happened at that time. So, rather than others being afraid, it could be that Ümmü Gülsüm genuinely did not have any witnesses she could bring to court. Yet, the second possibility is that Esma was a woman of higher status compared to Ümmü Gülsüm. Her decision not to attend court in person and instead send a proxy could be an indication of this. Additionally, we see that individuals with titles like *Es-Seyid* and *Çelebi* as *şuhûdü'l hâl* were present at the court where Esma's statement was heard, possibly to support her. That means it is possible that other women in the bathhouse could have been afraid to testify against her due to Esma's status. For this reason, we may never truly know whether Ümmü Gülsüm was subjected to violence. We can only make assumptions. Even so, I attribute particular significance to the fact that this incident took place in a bathhouse.

Building on William Reddy's concept of "emotional refuge" as spaces-both physical and social-that allow for emotional expressions outside the bounds of dominant emotional norms, one might consider both the public bath and the domestic sphere as such refuges for early modern Ottoman women.²¹⁶ While Reddy defines "emotional liberty" as the capacity to revise personal goals in response to ambivalent internal states, Ottoman women may have exercised a more spatially grounded version of this liberty.²¹⁷ Public baths, in particular, functioned as public zones where women could not only experience joy and companionship but

²¹⁵ Selma Akyazıcı Özkoçak, "Kamusal Alanın Üretim Sürecinde Erken Modern İstanbul Kahvehaneleri", in ed. Ahmet Yaşar ed. *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2009, p.26.

²¹⁶ Tekgül also defines bathhouses as emotional refuges for women, for a detailed information please see: Nil Tekgül, "A Gate to the Emotional World of Pre-Modern Ottoman Society: An Attempt to Write Ottoman History from 'The Inside Out'" (PhD diss., Bilkent University, 2016), 265-268.

²¹⁷ Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129.

also express socially restrained emotions such as anger. Judicial court records contain cases that reveal confrontations and expressions of anger occurring in these spaces as we saw. These records suggest that bathhouses served not only hygienic or social purposes but also acted as affective spaces-emotional refuges-where women could articulate grievances that might otherwise remain suppressed. However, it would be misleading to suggest that emotional expression was confined to public settings alone. The home, traditionally viewed as a private and regulated space, could also serve as an emotional refuge under certain conditions, although I have not been able to present an example of this in this thesis. Yet, these interiors, too, could momentarily function as spaces of emotional refuge and emotional liberty.

This time, again in Konya, Server, a resident of Gödene, filed a complaint against Mehmed on July 18, 1645. In her testimony Server stated: “Mehmed attacked me on the water and insulted me (*şetm eylediğinden*) by calling me a whore and prostitute (*kahbe ve orusbu*). Furthermore, even his *sipahi* struck me with a stick. I demand the fulfillment of what is required by Islamic law.” However, Server was unable to present any witnesses in court. When Mehmed was asked to swear on oath affirming that he had not assaulted her, he did so. As a result, Server’s claim was dismissed by the court.²¹⁸

Mahmiye-i Konya Kazâsı’na tâbi’ havali-i hümayundan karye-i Gödene sâkinelerinden Server bint-i Kellali nâm hatun meclis-i şer’de karye-i merkûmeden bâ’is-i hâze’l-kitâb Mehmed bin Ahmed mahzarında üzerine takrîr-ida’vâ idüp zikr olunan karyede cari olan su üzerinde mezbûr Mehmed benim ile mücadele idüp hılâf-ı şer’bana kahbe ve orosbu deyü şetm eylediğinden mâ-adâ sipâhisi dahî asa ile bena darb etdirdi su’âl olunup takrîr-i tahrîr olunmak matlûbumdur didikde gıbbe’s-suâl ve akîbel-inkâr müddeiye-i merkûmeden da’vâsını mübeyyin beyyine taleb olundukda imhal olundukda ityân-ı beyyineden âciz olmağla mukaddema husûs-i mezkûr için merkûm Server Hâtuna kahbe ve orusbu deyü şetm eylemeyüb seyamisi olan asa ile darb etdirmedigine mezkûr Mehmed’e yemin teklif olundukda ol dahî alâ vefki’l-mes’ûl yemin billahi’l-‘azim itmeğın da’vâ-i mezkûreden merkûm men’ bir le mâ-vak’a bi’t-taleb ketb olundu hurrîre fi’l-yevmi’r-râbi’i ve’l-ışrîn min Cemâziye’l-evvel sene hamse ve hamsîn ve elf

I do not claim that this case provided an emotional refuge as a space. However, what we see here is a woman standing up for herself against angry men. The argument took place over water in the village, and Server Hatun actively resisted. The fact that she could not bring any

²¹⁸ Kaçar, 9 Numaralı Konya Şer’iye Sicili, 121. Quoted from: Konya Judicial Court Registers 28/3.

witnesses to court, while the man she accused had a *sipahi*, suggests that he was a powerful figure. Nevertheless, this did not prevent Server from confronting him. She endured severe verbal abuse, and she even suffered physical violence by the *sipahi* as well; yet, even without being able to present a single witness, she brought the case to court. Based on the case of Melike Bula bringing her complaint to court after her son was unjustly executed by the *subaşı* without a judge's decision, Oğuz suggests, that we may assume that the allegations were likely true, given that Server took the case to the court in the first place.²¹⁹ This demonstrates that, even in the face of an aggressive man cursing (*şetm*), Server did not abandon her struggle and possibly out of hope, she takes the matter to the court.

Overall, comparing Kınalızade's elaborated language and terminology, legal documents' terminology suggests that the emotional vocabulary used to describe anger was relatively limited. In most cases, the word *gazab* appears as the primary term for anger. However, when examined alongside cases such as the women who reportedly died from her fear (*havf*), we can trace intersections between emotions and observe how they were experienced and narrated. As discussed in Chapter II, the scarcity of ego-documents in the Ottoman context presents a major challenge for historians of emotion. Working with ego-documents in women's history or gender history poses significant challenges across societies. While early modern European ego documents also have traditionally focused on elite male figures, Mihoko Suzuki studied on two aristocratic women's ego-documents. In her analysis of Anne Clifford(1590–1676), and Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans(1627–1693) from England and France, Suzuki argues that these women actively negotiated the limitations of their time. Contrary to the common assumption that women's autobiographical texts are confined to private reflection or subjective contexts, Suzuki demonstrates that both women engaged with public concerns, especially regarding their social roles, political responsibilities, and claims to

²¹⁹ Oğuz, Erken Modern Osmanlı Toplumunda *Kadın'ın Görünürlüğü*, 42.

authority. Through these ego documents, Suzuki argues, these women challenged the intertwined structures of patriarchy and absolutism in early modern England and France, offering valuable insight into gendered self-representation and agency in a period where women's voices were often marginalized or erased. Unfortunately, we do not have this kind of document, at least to my knowledge. In this regard, judicial court registers and fatwas become especially valuable sources for gaining access, albeit indirectly, to the emotional lives of Ottoman subjects. While they do not offer introspective narratives, they capture affect in action. Fatwas, moreover, maintain their importance as they represent responses to specific questions posed by individuals, thereby revealing not only legal reasoning but also the emotions underlying everyday practices.

In this chapter, I examined how the emotion of anger was expressed in everyday life through an analysis of judicial court registers of Anatolia and, to a lesser extent, legal opinions (*fatvas*). By focusing on divorce cases where *gazab* appears explicitly, and on other instances such as public disputes, including those occurring in bathhouses, I sought to trace the performative and gendered dimensions of anger in early modern Ottoman society. These sources not only offer insights into the emotional vocabulary of the time but also illuminate how anger was embedded in power dynamics, spatial practices, and normative expectations. Bathhouses, for instance, emerged as emotional refuges, particularly for women, where emotions could be more freely expressed. Ultimately, this chapter has aimed to demonstrate that emotion of anger was not merely an internal state, but was actively shaped by legal discourse, gender norms, and social space, making them key to understanding both affective experience and the broader structures of early modern Ottoman life.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

Psychoanalyst Juliet Mitchell, one of the important figures in second-wave feminism, mentions the concept of consciousness-raising in her book on Women's Liberation. She explains it as follows: 'The process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning them as social problems, the release of anger, anxiety, the struggle of proclaiming the painful and transforming it into the political-this process is *consciousness-raising*.'²²⁰ Mitchell's articulation of consciousness-raising in the context of second-wave feminism remains a profoundly relevant framework for understanding the role of anger in contemporary movements. Today, the emotion of anger continues to serve a similar function in feminist discourse. Scholars like Sara Ahmad have similarly emphasized the generative power of feminist killjoys who refuse to suppress their discomfort and instead voice dissent.²²¹ In this light, anger is no longer viewed merely as a destructive or irrational force, but as a morally and politically charged response to injustice. This thesis, in part, responds to that call by tracing how women's emotional expressions, particularly anger, were negotiated in gendered, moral, and institutional frameworks.

On the other hand, as Thomas Dixon argues, the assumption that we live in a coherent and historically unique "age of anger" risks oversimplifying both the emotion and its political manifestations.²²² Anger, as he argues, has no singular definition and is shaped by language, culture, and context. In this light, rather than asking whether we are more angry than previous generations, perhaps the more critical question is how and why women's anger is gaining visibility in this period.

Recognizing emotions as historically situated phenomena has opened new avenues for interpreting Ottoman history, particularly in understanding how culturally specific emotions

²²⁰ Juliet Mitchell, *Woman's Estate* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), 61.

²²¹ Sara Ahmed, *The Feminist Killjoy Handbook* (Dublin: Allen Lane, 2023).

²²² Dixon, "History of Anger."

like anger were experienced and felt. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that emotions must be examined within their historical and cultural contexts. They are not merely instinctive reactions or biologically fixed universals, nor are they necessarily opposed to rational thought. Instead, emotions should be seen as learned and meaningful constructs, consciously performed by socially embedded bodies. These emotions take shape through practices, language, and norms, revealing the deeply intertwined relationship between feeling, action, and historical experience.

In this thesis, I began with Chapter II by exploring what we know about women in the early modern Ottoman Empire: how society was structured, where women, both free and enslaved, were positioned within that structure, and how gender shaped social roles and expectations. As I discussed earlier, despite the limitations in judicial court registers, these sources nonetheless reveal a great deal about the gendered dynamics of Ottoman society. As I aimed to show in Chapter II, much of what we know about Ottoman women and the gendered organization of society comes from these sources. Based on my findings, we must approach the representational capacity of judicial court registers with caution. That is, the limited presence of angry women in these documents should not lead to the assumption that women were not experiencing or expressing anger.

In Chapter III, I turned to *Ahlak-ı Alai*, a sixteenth-century ethics book written by Kınalızade Ali Çelebi, which I argue reflects a dominant emotional knowledge that remained influential well into the nineteenth century. Through a close reading of this text and by drawing on scholarship about Kınalızade's predecessors, I demonstrated how anger was conceptualized in gendered terms. Women in early modern Ottoman thought were often described as lack of rationality (*akl-ı noksan*), which led to the assumption that they were more prone to emotion-vices such as anger and jealousy.

However, as shown in Chapter IV, as judicial court registers from various Anatolian towns indicate, women did not frequently express anger in public contexts- at least not in ways that were recorded. I showed that it points to a broader gendered hierarchy within Ottoman emotional life. In contrast to men, who appear expressing anger in public and private spaces, women were more often directed their emotions in private or gender-segregated spaces. Drawing on William Reddy's concept of "emotional refuge," I suggested that places like the public bathhouse functioned as emotional refuges where women could express anger, often toward one another rather than men.

Ultimately, this study reveals that anger in the early modern Ottoman world was not a solely internal emotion, but one shaped by legal reasoning, gendered norms, and spatial dynamics—offering a valuable lens through which to understand both affective experience and the broader socio-political order of the period. I hope that this thesis opens a path for further inquiry into the gendered dimensions of anger in the history of emotions in the Middle East. There remains a need for more study on emotions in Islamic societies, particularly in exploring how other emotions may have been gendered, how emotions evolved over time, and how emotional norms reflected and shaped their historical contexts.

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