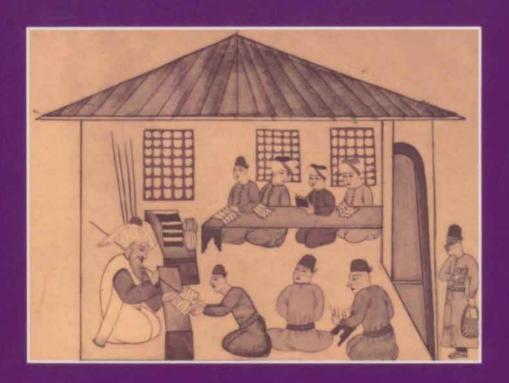
Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World

A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz



EDITED BY BAKI TEZCAN and KARL K. BARBIR

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Kemal Karpat, Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, deserves special thanks for considering this volume for publication among the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Center for Turkish Studies Publications at a time when publishers tend to reject categorically any festschrift proposals. Tezcan and Barbir also extend their thanks to Abraham L. Udovitch, Khedouri A. Zilkha Professor of Jewish Civilization in the Near East at Princeton University and the coeditor of the *Studia Islamica*, for giving permission to reprint the "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," a Norman Itzkowitz classic.

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NORMAN ITZKOWITZ AS A HISTORIAN AND A MENTOR

In 1958 Norman Itzkowitz, who had just joined the faculty of Princeton University, published an article titled "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities" which demolished A. H. Lybyer's assertions about the character of Ottoman state and society and criticized Gibb and Bowen's uncritical acceptance of those assertions in their widely acclaimed and cited *Islamic Society and the West*, published in two parts in 1950 and 1957. Itzkowitz castigated "the attitude that knowledge of Near Eastern languages was unnecessary — anything worth knowing could be found in European sources" and described what he called the "Lybyer, Gibb and Bowen thesis" as "comforting to the Christian West's deep-seated sense of superiority" but grossly inaccurate.

The paragraph above comes from Zachary Lockman's recent study on the history and politics of Orientalism that situates Norman Itzkowitz as the first American critic of Orientalism.¹ I am grateful to Lockman because, thanks to his accurate and succinct recognition of Itzkowitz's standing, the heavy responsibility of assessing the work of my mentor, to whom the present collection of articles is dedicated, does not fall upon my shoulders. I also do not find myself in the rather embarrassing position of having to praise my own mentor's intellectual contributions to the field as Lockman's disinterested description speaks for itself.

Nevertheless, because it would be unfair to Itzkowitz to leave the assessment of his work in 1962, I should mention his Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition, which has been continuously in print for more than thirty years since its first publication in 1973. It has also been translated into Turkish (1989) and Chinese (1996), which arguably makes Itzkowitz one of the most widely read American historians of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to this ever-popular work on Ottoman history, Itzkowitz edited two previously unpublished works by his mentor, the late Lewis V. Thomas, Elementary Turkish (1967) and A study of Naima (1972), and he co-translated, with Colin Imber, Halil İnalcık's The Ottoman Empire: The Classical

I would like to thank my co-editor Karl Barbir for his help in putting this piece together.

¹ Zachary Lockman, Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 149-50. The earlier western critics cited by Lockman are French and English scholars, see pp. 148-9.

Age, 1300-1600 (1973) and co-authored, with Max Mote, Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors (1970).

Itzkowitz's "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," which is reprinted in this volume, was followed by other notable articles: "Kimsiniz bey efendi,' or a look at Tanzimat through Namier-colored glasses" (1969); "The office of Şeyh ül-Islâm and the Tanzimat a prosopographic enquiry" (co-authored with his student Joel Shinder, 1972); and "Men and ideas in the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire" (1977). These pieces established Itzkowitz's reputation as a pioneer in prosopographic studies in Ottoman history.

Itzkowitz developed an interest in psychoanalysis in the early 1970s, when he started his second graduate training at the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis. This new interest was reflected in the shift of focus in his historical work to psychohistory evident in the volume that he co-edited with L. Carl Brown, Psychological Dimensions of Near Eastern Studies (1977), which grew out of a conference held at Princeton in 1973. In the aftermath of this conference, Itzkowitz started working with Vamik Volkan, now a professor emeritus of psychiatry at the University of Virginia and a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005, 2006 and 2007. Their collaboration produced such studies as The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography (1984) and Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict (1994), both of which have been translated into Turkish (in 1998 and 2002, respectively). More recently, they co-authored, with Itzkowitz's former undergraduate student Andrew Dod, Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography (1997). In recognition of his work in this field, in 1991 Itzkowitz was concurrently appointed clinical professor in behavioral medicine and psychiatry at the University of Virginia Medical School. After his work on psychoanalysis and ethnic conflict brought him an international reputation in the field of conflict resolution. Itzkowitz led focused discussions on several issues that pertain to the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities in Cyprus and Estonian and Russian communities in Estonia.

In the late 1990s, Itzkowitz began to work on ethnic conflict in the Balkans and shifted the focus of his work to the production of teaching materials for secondary education, a field that has a great deal of direct significance for what we educators are supposed to do, that is, to educate the larger public on issues pertaining to our areas of research expertise. His cooperation with Enid A. Goldberg produced several publications, including *The Balkans: Ethnic Conflict* (2000). Since his retirement from teaching in 2001, Itzkowitz continues his work in this area while writing a book on late Ottoman history and conducting research for a psychobiography of Enver Hodja, who was the communist dictator of Albania until his death in 1985. A representative list of Itzkowitz's published works is appended to the end of this piece. This long list of publications, the continuing relevance of which is evident in their reprints and translations, bears witness to his lifelong dedication to research and writing.

I would suggest, however, that Itzkowitz's unwritten work has had, and continues to have, a much larger impact on Middle East Studies, in general, and Ottoman history, in particular, than has his written and published work. By his

unwritten work, I mean his relations with colleagues, his teaching, and his evercontinuing mentorship of his advisees.

To appreciate the value Itzkowitz placed on his relationships with colleagues, a cursory look at the authorship of his publications would suffice. He has more frequently been a team player than a solo artist. Likewise, he always encouraged his graduate students to work with other members of the Near Eastern Studies faculty at Princeton, as well as with himself. Just as he shared his earlier advisees with the late Martin Dickson, Professor of Persian Studies at Princeton, he encouraged me and the graduate students in Ottoman history in my cohort to work with Şükrü Hanioğlu and Heath Lowry and others in the department. We consequently had the unprecedented chance of benefiting from three full-time faculty members whose work focused on different aspects of Ottoman history. These three professors were supplemented by the holder of the Ertegün Visiting Professorship each year, thanks to which quite a few of us became acquainted with Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj and his cogent critique of Ottoman historiography. Itzkowitz believed in the intellectually enriching experience of exposure to different approaches and encouraged his students to engage with others.

Itzkowitz's close relationship with the late Martin Dickson deserves special emphasis. First graduate students and later colleagues in the same department, then called the Department of Oriental Studies, they not only started their career around the same time and shared an office building but also thought along similar lines. Dickson completed his dissertation Shah Tahmasb and the Uzbeks: The Duel for Khurasan with 'Ubayd Khan, 930-946/1524-1540 in 1958, and Itzkowitz finished his, Mehmed Raghib Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand Vezir, in 1959. In the year Itzkowitz published his "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," challenging the Lybyer, Gibb and Bowen thesis, Dickson published a review article on The Fall of the Safavi Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia by Laurence Lockhart (1958). In this piece Dickson stated:

There are two related views of history here which influence both the narrative and the interpretations offered. While these are not explicitly defined by the author, they nonetheless seem to be accepted a priori. They would appear to be derived from the author's view on Iranians and other "worthy oriental gentlemen" and from the special approach of the administrator toward the problems of this area. The first view involves the theory of the historical supremacy of the "Christian race" and its corollary of hostility toward Islam (in this particular case in its Shī'a form) both as a religion and as a political force. The second view leads to the theory that the history of certain nations may best be approached, economically—in terms of foreign companies and merchants, denominationally—in terms of Christian minorities, and militarily—in terms of the decline of virility in the inferior subject races.²

² Martin B. Dickson, "The fall of the Safavi dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82 (1962): 503-17, at p. 510.

Some sixteen years before the publication of Edward Said's Orientalism, Dickson and Itzkowitz were making parallel arguments about the way in which the Ottoman and Safavid histories had been studied in the United States. What distinguished them both and gave them the particular vantage point that they had was, among other things, their exposure to and respect for the academic traditions of the region they studied. In the 1960s in Turkey Itzkowitz had built a strong relationship with İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, whom he acknowledged in his first book on Ottoman history, Mubadele, on a par with his mentor, the late Lewis V. Thomas. As for Dickson, he is one of the very few American students who practically became an assistant to a professor in the region he studied—Zeki Velidi Togan. This respect for and close engagement with the academic traditions of the regions they studied, which brought Dickson and Itzkowitz together, continued among their students. One of the lesser-known works of Cornell H. Fleischer, for instance, is the catalog he produced for the scientific manuscripts in Persian and Turkish at the Egyptian National Library.

Another area of Itzkowitz' unwritten work was, and still is, being a teacher in all senses of the word. He took the job of education so seriously that he actually became involved in undergraduate life at Princeton, where many others prefer to focus on their research and/or graduate education, serving as master of Wilson College, one of the residential colleges on the Princeton campus, for fourteen years (1975-89). He is still educating Princetonians with his online lecture series directed toward Princeton alumni, *The Demonization of the Other: The Psychology of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans*. Itzkowitz also contributed greatly to American education on the Middle East through many summer seminars for elementary, secondary and college teachers, and, as noted above, even in retirement Itzkowitz continues his work on secondary education.

Itzkowitz contributed to graduate education with numerous seminars on a wide range of topics, including some that introduced computer technologies to the study and teaching of the Middle East. His most significant contribution to Middle Eastern Studies, however, is embodied in his students. The articles in this volume attest to the large number of graduate students Itzkowitz mentored while he occupied the oldest position in Ottoman studies in this country. The first occupant of this professorship was Walter L. Wright, Jr., who had been an undergraduate as well as a graduate student at Princeton and the president of Robert College in Istanbul (1935-44); Lewis V. Thomas, who was originally hired for Arabic, took over Ottoman studies upon Wright's death in 1949; and Itzkowitz, who had started

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³ Dickson co-compiled the list of Togan's publications with Çağatay Uluçay in 60. Doğum yılı münasebetiyle Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan – Symbolae in honorem Z. V. Togan (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1950-55), pp. xxxiii-l. Togan acknowledged Dickson's help in the Proceedings of the twenty-second Congress of Orientalists: 15-21 September 1951, İstanbul, 2 vols. (İstanbul and Leiden: Osman Yalçın Matbaası and E. J. Brill, 1953-57).

⁴ Cornell Fleischer, "Al-fihris al-wasfī li'l-ta'līf al-fārisiyya," and "Al-fihris al-wasfī li'l-ta'līf al-turkiyya," in David A. King, ed., A Catalogue of the Scientific Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library, 2 vols. (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1981-86), vol. 2, pp. 1053-1122, 1123-84.

teaching at Princeton in 1958, succeeded to the position of his mentor Thomas, who died in 1965. In cooperation with the late Dickson, Itzkowitz oversaw the graduate education of Engin Deniz Akarlı (Ph.D., 1976), Karl K. Barbir (Ph.D., 1976), Cornell H. Fleischer (Ph.D., 1982), and İ. Metin Kunt (Ph.D., 1971), to cite only those who have become household names in Ottoman studies.

The list of contributors to this volume represents a partial roster of Itzkowitz's younger students. As one of these students, I can attest to his unique contribution to our lives in graduate school. I spent my first year at Princeton in continuous fear that the university administration would find me unworthy of this elite institution and send me home. It was Norman Itzkowitz who reminded me that almost every other graduate student on campus—and some of the faculty, too—may have been feeling that way. It was Itzkowitz who introduced me to the fine art of recognizing and dealing with my insecurities, an art that seems to take a lifetime to master. Needless to say, he also contributed to my graduate education in many other ways by suggesting topics to study, reading my papers promptly and carefully, and always managing to be constructive in his criticism of my work. Without his close guidance, I could not have completed my dissertation. During the years I spent at Princeton, I found that I was not the only one who received such attention from him. Itzkowitz was there for many students in my generation and continued to be there even after his retirement as I heard from my friends who have defended their dissertations since then.

I believe if we were to ask Itzkowitz about his most important achievement, he would mention his graduate students. In the spring of 2001, at a colloquium held in his honor at Princeton University, some of his most distinguished students and colleagues met with his junior students and presented papers together. When I talked to him about the event soon after, he drew my attention to something other than the papers that were presented. During the discussion that followed the presentations, Cornell Fleischer, one of the few Ottoman historians in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, turned to Engin Akarlı, who holds an endowed chair at Brown University, and remarked: "As Engin ağabey would say..." Ağabey means elder brother in Turkish, and what made Itzkowitz most content about the colloquium in his honor was to hear his graduate students addressing each other as brothers decades after receiving their degrees. Norman Itzkowitz is not just a great mentor: he is one of the very rare great mentors who know how to make their students not only scholars, but also good fellows.

If I did not mention Leonore Itzkowitz, this assessment of the work of Norman Itzkowitz would be incomplete. Without Leonore *Hanım*, Norman *Bey* could not deliver what he did for Ottoman history and his graduate students. I do not mean to repeat the usual recognitions of the "wives of great men." Leonore *Hanım* had a challenging career in education which brought her face-to-face with the harsh realities faced by public school students today. And she fought for her students. Always skeptical of the Princeton social life, to say the least, she longed to move back to New York City where she had gone to college with Norman *Bey* at CUNY. Rather than a typical 1950s American couple, one of whom makes money and the other home, Leonore *Hanım* and Norman *Bey* have been partners at play.

Itzkowitz's motto has always been "work and play – every day," which seems to me to be the secret behind the healthy ego that makes him such a wonderful mentor. Leonore *Hanım* and Norman *Bey* dealt with their respective careers in their work time but never forgot to play, every day. They thus raised two children and are now enjoying their four grandchildren. The peace Leonore *Hanım* and Norman *Bey* found in each other made them partners at home and real *menschen* at work. It is to both of them that this volume is dedicated.

University of California, Davis

NORMAN ITZKOWITZ A Representative List of Publications*

Books

Elementary Turkish, by Lewis V. Thomas, edited and revised by Norman Itzkowitz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967).

Mubadele: An Ottoman-Russian Exchange of Ambassadors, with Max Mote (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

A Study of Naima, by Lewis V. Thomas, edited by Norman Itzkowitz (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1972).

The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age, 1300-1600, by Halil İnalcık, translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973).

Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1973; reprinted Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

Psychological Dimensions of Near Eastern Studies, edited by L. Carl Brown and Norman Itzkowitz (Princeton, NJ: Darvin Press, 1977).

The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography, with Vamik D. Volkan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve İslamî Gelenek, the Turkish translation of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition by İsmet Özel (İstanbul: Çıdam Yayınları, 1989).

Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict, with Vamik D. Volkan (Huntingdon: Eothen Press, 1994).

Di guo di pou xi: Aotuoman di zhi du yu jing shen, the Chinese translation of the Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition (Shanghai: Xue lin chu ban she, 1996).

Richard Nixon: A Psychobiography, with Vamik D. Volkan and Andrew W. Dod (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997).

^{*} This is not an exhaustive bibliography. We chose not to bother Norman Itzkowitz with the request of a CV that would have given him a clue about this volume which we intended to be a real surprise.

Ölümsüz Atatürk: Yaşamı ve İç Dünyası, the Turkish translation of The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 1998).

The Balkans: Ethnic Conflict, with Enid A Goldberg (Amawalk, NY: Golden Owl, 2000).

Türkler ve Yunanlılar: Çatışan Komşular, the Turkish translation of the Turks and Greeks: Neighbours in Conflict by Banu Büyükkal (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2002).

Articles and Chapters in Books

- "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities." Studia Islamica 16 (1962): 73-94.
- "Health, Education and Welfare Ottoman Style." *Midway* 8/3 (Winter 1968): 59-68.
- "Kimsiniz Bey Efendi, or a Look at *Tanzimat* through Namier-colored Glasses." In *Near East Round Table*, edited by R. Bayly Winder (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1969), pp. 41-52.
- "The Office of Seyh ül-Islam and the Tanzimat: A Prosopographic Enquiry," with Joel Shinder. Middle Eastern Studies 8/1 (1972): 93-101.
- "Ankara." Encyclopaedia Britannica (1974) vol. 1, pp. 924-7.
- "The Ottoman Empire: The Rise and Fall of Turkish Domination." In *The World of Islam* (British edition) or *Islam and the Arab World: Faith, People, Culture* (American edition), edited by Bernard Lewis (London & New York: Thames and Hudson & Knopf, 1976), pp. 273-300.
- "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History, edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), pp. 15-26.
- "The Immortal Atatürk: Psychobiography as Autobiography." In *A Way Prepared: Essays on Islamic Culture in Honor of Richard Bayly Winder*, edited by Farhad Kazemi and R. D. McChesney (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1988), pp. 241-49.
- "A Response to Critics of a Psychobiography," with Vamik D. Volkan. In *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-narrative*, edited by Martin Kramer (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pp. 97-108.

- "Political Sructure," with L. Carl Brown. In Modernization in the Middle East: The Ottoman Empire and Its Afro-Asian Successors, edited by Cyril Edwin Black and L. Carl Brown (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1992), pp. 43-68.
- "The Problem of Perceptions." In *Imperial Legacy: the Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, edited by L. Carl Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 30-38.
- "The Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century." In *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, 4 vols., edited by Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 375-81.
- "Modern Greek and Turkish Identities and the Psychodynamics of Greek-Turkish Relations," with Vamik D. Volkan. In *Cultures Under Siege: Collective Violence and Trauma in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Antonius C.G.M. Robben and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 227-47.
- "Language and Ethnicity." In *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, 2 vols., edited by Jayne L. Warner (Syracuse, NY & İstanbul: Syracuse University Press & Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 305-7.
- "Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: His Life and Personality." In *The Turks*, 6 vols., edited by Hasan Celâl Güzel, C. Cem Oğuz, and Osman Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), vol. 5, pp. 27-37.