Psychological Perspectives in the Personal Literature of Greece and the Ottoman Empire: 1820-1880

JAMES J. REID

INTRODUCTION

The idea of personal identity and existential continuum represent two important perceptions in considering the history of personal life. This article will deal with the changes in personal identity which marked the divergent courses of nineteenth-century Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The evidence of personal literature shows that some segments of Greek society evolved significantly from the archetypal or model personality to circumstances more conducive to individualism, where the model or ideal personality type ceased to operate as a determinant of personality in many cases. The archetypal personality appeared as the dominant form in pre-nineteenth century Greek and Ottoman literature. Writers commonly associated individual personalities with personality prototypes in this literature, leaving only a limited space for individual variation, and emphasizing conventional types rather than individual variation. Archetypes were commonly understood to represent spiritual bodies existing in a heavenly hierarchy, or derived from the hierarchy of Hell. Such archetypes became the basis of earthly beings who or which conformed to the characteristics and fates determined for each archetype. Archaic or conventional personality descriptions could be derived from this medieval perception of the cosmos without fully understanding the cosmological philosophy behind it, as witness the many nineteenth-century peasant societies where education in the cosmological philosophy was not a prerequisite for retaining an archetypal personality ideal.

This article will examine some instances in Greek and Ottoman sources of the nineteenth century where the old archetypal model of personality was retained, but under changing circumstances, and where new concepts of identity emerged. The political and military collapse of the Ottoman Empire was paralleled by resistance to collapse through a conservative adherence to older psychological and social precepts. To speak or write about reform at great length did not mean that the reformers or people in society at large had broken the mold of the conventional personality. In the Ottoman Empire, newer personality types emerged only in rare and isolated cases until the end of the nineteenth century, whereas the conventional personality type lost much of its philosophical context for the average person who may have reflected on these matters. In Greece, the contrary was true, though many segments of Greek society continued to adhere to older ideals of personality. As will be seen during the course of this article, however, many Greeks began to have a sense of developing a new identity for themselves which came as the result of revolutionary change in great part, and also with long-term contacts with western and northern Europe. Greeks had long been open to the outside world, even under Ottoman rule, while many Ottoman societies had remained isolated and inward-looking until the mid-nineteenth century at the earliest. This study is therefore a preliminary effort in examingin these changes in the concept of personal identity during the course of the nineteenth century.

I. Archetypal Personality, Individualism, and Existential Identity

The emergence of a new concept of personal identity marked social life everywhere in the nineteenth century. In Western Europe and America, individualism assumed a central or more important place, whereas elsewhere, the archetypal personality continued to dominate, but in conflict with an emergent individualism. The distinction between the archetypal and individualistic personalities may be summarized readily as a difference between a conventionalized and highly developed formula on the one hand, and a loose association of characteristics influenced strongly by contemporaneous movements and environments on the other. The characterization of the archetypal personality in various genres of literature emphasized the creation of

personality from predetermined factors.[1] Individual variation in a changing environment was recognized, but usually understood as negative. Originating in medieval and ancient cosmological philosophies, the archetypal personality survived as a concept in modern texts and writings. By contrast, individualism recognized a much looser relationship between the predetermining elements and the person, and moved away from cosmology as the primary determinant in character. Astrology remained of interest to some persons, but had lost contact with the ontological structures which previously gave the science of the stars and universal bodies a comprehensible meaning. Persons who adhered to astrology in the nineteenth century more than likely were unable to associate their versions of astrology with any significant scientific or philosophical doctrines from previous ages. In short, even the "traditional" approaches had become merely another form of existential identity extricated from all historic philosophical systems.

---

[1] C. G. Jung, "Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious," in C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, F. C. Hull (tr.), Bollingen Series XX (Princeton, N. J., 1969), 2nd edition, pp. 42-43 gives the clearest definition of Jung's application of archetypes to psychology. He stated "In addition to our immediate consciousness, which is of a thoroughly personal nature and which we believe to be the only empirical psyche (even if we tack on the personal unconscious as an appendix), there exists a second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is identical in all individuals. This collective unconscious does not develop individually but is inherited. It consists of pre-existent forms, the archetypes, which can only become conscious secondarily and which give definite form to certain psychic contents." [p. 43]. Jung als recognized the unconscios as a zone of chaos. See C. J. Jung, "Archetypes of the collective Unconscious," in C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, pp. 3-41 "whether primitive or not, mankind always stands on the brink of actions it performs itself but does not control." [p. 23]. However valuable Jung's views were on the concept of the unconscious, they need not be interpreted as the source of the discussion in this article. Certainly, Jung's lamentation that progress resulted in an increasing impoverishment of symbols would also find an empirical validity in the sources discussed here. In Jungian terms, the emergence of powerful individualism elveated the personal unconscious to new heights, and caused the collective unconscious and its archetypes to be repressed ever more deeply.

Individualism as a concept is so diverse that few common themes can be used to describe the phenomenon. First and foremost among the notions of individualism was the extrication of the individual from any social philosophy founded upon the ideals of psychological determinism in which the individual's mental or spiritual being was seen as rooted in and determined wholly by a spirit archetype belonging to a universal hierarchy of such archetypes in a Great Chain of Being. Another common theme in a society founded upon individualism emerged from the wide diversity of humanity – the only common way was that there existed no common way. This paradox has historically rested at the heart of social philosophies based upon individualism. Furthermore, most identities molded by a system of education or patterns of upbringing founded upon individualism would appear alien and even bizarre to a society operating on a Great Chain of Being social psychology. Individual development outside the archetypal social structure in premodern belief was viewed as an alchemical mutation or transformation into a totally new type. By and large, alchemical transmutations of identity were understood as unusual or even unique changes caused by either Divine intervention or some powerful magical process. What appeared as a magical metamorphosis in the Middle Ages – the self-creation of a being – ceased to have any alchemical significance in the nineteenth century, except among religious groupings still strongly attached to the cosmological psychology and sociology of the past.

Before discussing the emergence of an individualist perspective in the epistolary and autobiographical literature of the nineteenth century, it will be necessary to give examples of both the archetypal and the individualist orientations mentioned above. The juxtaposition of medieval cosmological values and modernist individualism as distinct types need not be retained so absolutely in examining individual instances. Nineteenth-century individualism tended toward the admiration of celebrities, who were often, though not exclusively, self-made persons, or individuals who had some achievement or other to their credit. This celebrity-worship, or hero-worship as Carlyle or Ranke would have called it, had something of mythological fantasy about it, and combined elements of the archetypal personality with individualism. Many variations and different combinations might be found if time and space existed to be able to examine them. Lacking space to function in a fully inductive manner, the current study will focus on a limited number of variables. First, the interrelationship of archetypal personality and individualism in an age of crisis and change will assist in developing an understanding of the means by which a diverse individualism could emerge from a well-ordered and patterned chain-of-being philosophy. Second, the self-made man as a primary psychological type in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be examined as a significant example of the individualist type. By choosing the self-made man as an important modern *typos*, it should not be understood that self-creation constituted the only or even the main part of modernist individualism. Diversity of individuals in a random pattern rather than self-directed transformation into a new being was the chief qualification of an individualistic social environment.

II. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE ARCHETYPAL PERSONALITY
A. Archetypes in Pre-nineteenth Century Literature

Archetypal or collectively-derived personality belonged properly to the medieval period, though survived as a type well into the modern era. The medieval concept of personality envisioned the individual as the product of an archetype. The individual human soul did not materialize from nothingness, but from a spiritual archetype lodged in the celestial firmament. All individual archetypes or "guardian angels" had their origins in a greater spiritual prototype, and so on in a Great Chain of Being. The spirit hierarchy created by God in all its complexity and elaborateness reproduced itself in carnate forms which lived their earthly lives according to the patterns pre-ordained in their archetypes, and according to the decrees of Fate, a function of the celestial Progress, or Time progression beginning with Genesis and ending in the Apocalypse. All creatures good and evil were thus understood to have links to either celestial or demonic prototypes which governed their movements, and which only God could alter.

Examples of this archetypal spiritual identity occur everywhere in medieval and traditional literature. The Persian story of the vazîr and the brigand's child illustrate the point well. An infant found abandoned in the camp of some brigands was adopted by a kindly vazîr, who raised the child as his own. The boy seemed to respond to this environment, and over the years formed a bond with the king's minister. In the end, the band of Arab brigands returned to the neighbor-

hood of the vazîr's city, and the boy, now a young man, became reacquainted with his own kind. They plotted to invade the vazîr's mansion, and the young ward of the vazîr helped the brigands murder the minister who had acted as the boy's father in order to plunder his wealth. The moral of this story for Saʿdî the thirteenth-century poet was that an individual could be removed from the circumstances ordained for him or her, but would always seek to return to those circumstances. Indeed, the essence of character – the soul – would be born into a determined character and personality which could never be altered by environment unless so decreed by Fate. Only God could make alchemical transformations which would alter the nature of any given soul or archetype. Once ordained by Heavenly decree to exist in a certain form, the soul could never evolve into another form by itself or through its own initiative, or through the active forces of its earthly environment.[2]

Medieval chronicles also took a similar view of history. All historical personalities and events symbolized the universal creation, the Great Chain of Being, and above all the notion of Progress. In medieval belief, Progress could be either the movement of an individual soul in its journey through life, the period of time – Fate's Progress – when a certain people were destined to dominate the world, or the era in which a certain king lived and ruled. His life symbolized the progression of time, and the events of his life became moments in that time period. Every person and event became an ornament of the Great Chain of Being. The thirteenth-century Oghûz Khân story was an epic poem of the Türkmen assuming the form of a universal history in which the founder of the chief Turkish ruling families – Oghûz Khân – gave birth to two sets of children through an angel appearing to him in a ray of light, and an angelic being who materialized from the wood of a [sacred] tree.[3] The thirteenth-century chronicle of Jûzjânî traced

all of history from the Genesis and the ancient Prophets down to the Saljûqs, Ghaznavîds, and Mongols.[4] Rashîd al-Dîn, the famous chronicler of the Mongols did the same.[5] Ahmedî, first of the Ottoman chroniclers, composed a universal history which placed the Ottoman family at the culmination of all human history in the grand scheme of God's creation. Such universal histories designed the plan of all human history, depicting human events as the progression from creation by God, through an epoch of struggle with the forces of satan during millenia of Time in which the universe divided into contending zones of existence, and by which each zone subdivided into complicated hierarchies centered upon God or Satan as the original Prototype. In such chronicles, the author's intent was obvious. He intended to demonstrate how a certain people or king fulfilled the decrees of Fate in the progression of time. Thus, Ahmedî ended with the Ottoman household because he deemed it destined to fulfill the goals of Fate.

Bayhaqî, chronicled the Ghaznavîd rulers of Iran and Central Asia, but from the universalist standpoint. Kritovoulos, the Imbriot chronicler of always intended to write a universal history, but contented himself with a universalist biography of Mehmed II. Nonetheless, this biographical history was framed in a universalist mode, showing how each of the ancient peoples had come, fulfilled their fate as a chosen people of God, and ultimately fell subject to a new chosen people superseding all predecessors in the march of time toward the Apocalypse. To him, Mehmed II functioned as a key figure in this march of time toward an ultimate and millenial fulfillment.[6] Mehmed Saʿd al-Dîn Efendî's *Tâj ül-Tevârîkh* of the last quarter of the sixteenth century considered the history of the Ottoman family, but connected it with the cosmological doctrine of historical causation. He described the origins and early development of the Ottoman household as that of a rising sun [*tulûʿ*]. His opening chapters developed the notions of millenial fulfillment of Divinely-ordained destiny in gen-

---

[2]Saʿdî, *Kulliyât*, Muhammad ʿAlî Furûghî (ed.), (Tehrân: Amîr Kabîr, 1363), pp. 40-42. "Finally, the child of a wolf will become a wolf // even though it is raised with a man" [*ʿâqibat gurg-zâde gurg shivad // gar chi bâ âdamî buzurg shivad*," p. 42].

[3]W. Bang, G. R. Rachmati, "Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1932 (25), 683-724.

[4]Minhâj al-Dîn ʿUthmân Jüzjânî, *Tabaqât-i Nâsirî*, ʿAbd al-Hayy Habîbî (ed.), (Kâbûl: Anjuman-i Târîkh-i Afghânistân, 1342-1343), 2 vols.

[5]Rashîd al-Dîn, *Jâmiʿ al-Tavârîkh*, B. Karîmî (ed.), (Tehran: Shirkat-i Nasabî-yi Hâjj Muhammad husain Iqbâl va Shirkâ', 1338).

[6]Kritovoulos, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, Diether Roderich Reinsch (ed.), Corpus Fontium Historia Byzantinae, (Berolini et Novi Eboraci: Walter de Gruyter, 1983), 12-15.

eral, but very clear lines. The allusion to "rising sun" served as more than merely metaphor, but belonged to an elaborate doctrine of universalist cosmology.[7]

All of these examples demonstrate well the traditionalist concept of personality as a derivation from some greater type, not as an individual self-creation, nor as the molding of a personality through environmental circumstances.

B. Nineteenth-century Texts and Archetypal Personality

Ottoman and former Ottoman cultures, including early modern Greece, looked to a past dominated by oral culture. Written literature and publication belonged to the province of the court and to elite society. Although writing belonged to the province of the middle classes publication did not. Even among the literate classes of people, oral literature prevailed in the form of songs, folk and fairy tales, and oral narratives of various types. The evidence seems to suggest that oral cultures survived longer as a dominant medium in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century than they did in regions which left the empire during this period. Outside the cities, oral literature still dominated in countries such as Greece, whereas in the Ottoman Empire, the new literature found difficulty in developing during the course of the nineteenth century.

A primary problem for the upholders of oral tradition is the inability to adapt easily to changing, contemporaneous circumstances. The singers of epic or romantic songs usually resisted commenting upon real and contemporaneous happenings, but rather extended the formulaic structure of their repertoire to include new additions, which came only some time after the events about which they sang. The gulf separating oral literature and a written personal or public literature was broad, and was marked by different approaches to contemporaneous life and affairs. The person singing or listening to a traditional song reflected differently upon events and life than the person recording events as he or she saw them. The song was composed and then circulated over a more or less broad area for a time. Singers still sang songs about great battles fought during the Ottoman conquest of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the nineteenth century when the

[7]Mehmed Saᶜd al-Dîn Efendî, *Tâj ül-Tevârîkh*, (Istanbul: Tabᶜ-khâna-i ᶜâmerâ, 1279/1862-1863), vol. 1, p. 12.

Ottoman Empire was retreating. The seventeenth-century Kurdish epic of *Mem u Zîn* had a large audience in Kurdistan even in the early twentieth century. Greek Demotic songs remained a popular medium even in the 1930s and 1940s, though newer songs were composed to join older ones. The art of the nineteenth-century Turkish *ozan*, or singer of epics, still included the recital of the Dede Korkut epics, the deeds of Sarï Saltuk, and any variety of newer or older songs based on these and other epics or romances. Indeed, such *ozans* survived and performed even in the mid-twentieth century in Turkey. Such oral literature is almost psychologically impenetrable, since the singers and narrators relied on highly formalized techniques of representation. One finds highly generalized, and elaborately-structured psychological states represented in such literature. In fact, some of these general states of mind have great psychological depth and appeal, though they were composed chiefly with a broad audience in mind, and usually did not reflect the inner state of the composer or singer. This formalism differentiated oral literature from the personal literature of letter-writers, journal-keepers, or autobiographers.

1. Examples of Psychological Depth in Oral Literature

Turkish oral literature from Anatolia could yield examples of profound psychological reflection at times. The subsequent discussion includes only two examples from a vast collection of tales, and is not intended to be comprehensive. One example comes from the Book of Dede Korkut, surviving in manuscript from a copy dated to the mid-sixteenth century. Without entering into extensive analysis of the text, the numerous tales, and their sources, one may find passages with some psychological importance. The shepherd's life appears in these tales as physically–debilitating and anxiety–ridden as the following passage demonstrates.[8]

> *"Qarângû akhshâm olânda qâyghûlû chobân*
> *Qâr-île yaghmûr yâghânda chaqmâqlû chobân*
> *Südî paynîr bol qâymâqlû chobân."*

[8]Anonymous, *Dede Korkut Kitabï, Metin-Sözlük*, Türk Kültürünü Arashtïrma Enstitüsü (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basïmevi, 1964), pp. 15 and 18.

"Shepherd, anxious when night's gloom falls,
Shepherd, busy with the flint making fire when snow or rain falls,
Shepherd, sated with cheese and clotted cream…"

The primary psychological characteristic of this passage is the anxiety [*qâyghû* = *kaygu*] of the shepherd [*chobân*]. Even though the rhetorical components of the passage suggests it was a song or part of a song with a formulaic structure, the composer bestowed emotions upon the shepherd. Medieval Turkish songs and tales understood certain conditions in life to have spcific sets of emotions and attitudes associated with them. Medieval ideas of personality originated in archetypal allegory where the individual did not exist outside his or her type, and, in fact, was deemed to originate in the celestial prototype of his or her social order, being considered a unique variation on that prototypical original. Modern psychological thought still relies on the notion of archetypes, especially in the thought of Jung, but even here, the tendency was to function in an iconoclastic mold conducive to ideas of individualism. This reflective interlude in the Dede Korkut narrative did not describe any identifiable individual, and was not the personal reflection of any known shepherd. The *ozan* merely sang about what any shepherd may have felt, and that is all one can find in such oral literature.

The Demotic song of Christos Milionis memorializes this Klephtic chief's raid upon Ottoman-held Arta dated about 1750-1760. This epic song contains almost no psychological material, general or personal, and, in fact, gives no reliable information about milionis the person, only that he made a raid and was finally killed by the "Turks." One line of the song does present some vague notion of a psychological state. When asked by Souleïmánes to submit to the Sultan [*Basileás*], Christos is said to have replied:

Οσον ο Χρηστος Ζωντανος, Τουρκικους δεν προσκυναει.[9]
"While life is in Christos, to Turks he does not do homage."[10]

[9]Claude Fauriel, *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, (Paris, 1824), I, p. 6.
[10]John Baggally, *Greek Historical Folksongs: The Klephtic Ballads in Relation to Greek History (1715-1821)* (Chicago, 1968), p. 29. See also p. 30 for Baggally's comments on Milionis' life.

The primary psychological aspect of this song is in Milionis' resolve not to surrender, and the maintenance of a recalcitrant stance despite his impending death. The song's purpose did not include an effort to grasp the hero's mind or emotions, but rather a desire to commemorate his deeds and epic death in a duel with the *derveni âqâ* sent to capture him. Anyone seriously considering an attempt to find personal insights into the life and psyche of Christos Milionis would be sorely disappointed by the archaic and archetypal manner of character development in the tale. The song might evoke emotions in the listener or audience, but could never yield an understanding of Milionis' emotions or manner of thinking, other than the archetypal and formulaic patterns of the songs themselves.[11]

Serbian oral literature also demonstrates a similar trend as discussed above. The folk epic Marko Kraljevic has psychological elements, mostly frozen into the leisurely-paced interactions of the poem. When asking advice from his mother, Marko and his mother pass through a highly-stylized conversation which was molded more for its outward sound and verbal arrangement than for deep reflection on the quandary facing Marko. When Marko rides off to join the Sultan's army, he falls asleep after drinking, and his cup falls from his hand, which never happened to him before, as his servant Goluban tells him. Then Marko relates to Goluban his dream of his family being attacked, his treasury pillaged, his wife abducted, and his mother trampled under the hooves of horses.[12] This anxiety dream or nightmare, was part of a ritual progression of portents in the view of the singer. Psychological insights to be gained by understanding the dream were achieved only through a commonly-understood means of dream interpretation. Such incidents as falling asleep and dropping the cup were signs of greater

[11]Even in songs dealing with such internal processes as dreams, the expression is both archaicizing and formulaic, that is, it considers events as some indeterminate point in the past, and does so in the formulaic style of most songs. See, for example, the "Dream of Demou" also in Claude Fauriel, *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, I, p. 43 which could render some psychological insights, but being so generalized in purpose, the song only speculated on why the hero kisses the turban or armaments in his dream.
[12]Anonymous, "Marko Kraljevic and Mina from Kostur," collected by Vuk Stephanovic Karadzic, published in Thomas Butler (ed.), *Monumenta Serbocroatica: A Bilingual Anthology of Serbian and Croatian Texts from the 12th to the 19th Century*, (Ann Arbor, 1980) pp. 401-403.

spiritual forces at work, and acted as omens, while suggesting the cosmic significance of the dream.

Vuk Karadzic also wrote the life of the Hajduk Veljko Petrovic, published in 1826. This prose narrative biography was based upon a combination of folk narratives and other first-hand information. Very little psychological depth exists in the biography. For the most part, the *hajduk's* deeds as a leader and a commander were recounted one after another. Two passages alone show some awareness of an inner emotional life. When Veljko dressed in the costume of the *hajduk* in clothes he had hidden, his wife grieved that she had married a *hajduk*. During the Ottoman siege of Negotin in ca. 1810, Veljko kept the discipline and courage of his men high, and everyone was forced to hide his fear, and keep an optimistic appearance whether they had a strong fear or not. When Veljko was killed by a shell, the Serbian troops in the besieged town began to express their fears and anxieties openly. Neither of these instances demonstrates more than an occasional reference to the emotions, and, in fact, the basic tone of the biography was the submersion of the inner feelings in precisely the same manner that Serb soldiers were forced to submerge their feelings of fear while their commander Veljko lived and inspired them to resist.[13] The first work, a folk epic comparable to Demotic songs in Greece, is comparable to the second in that Karadzic either collected the song, or wrote a history inspired like other Romantics by a folk model. Other writers in Serbian might have displayed a greater interest in the inner meaning of life, as for example, Petar II Petrovic Njegos [1813-1851], whose poetry tended to combine folk themes with the inspirational aspects of Romanticism.[14]

The point in this part of the discussion is that personal literature evolved from an archetypal or folk pattern where psychological attitudes or perceptions of inner life were inspired by magical or cosmo-

---

[13]Vuk Stephanovic Karadzic, "The Life of Hajduk-Veljko Petrovic," in Thomas Butler (ed.), *Monumenta Serbocroatica: A Bilingual Anthology of Serbian and Croatian Texts from the 12th to the 19th Century*, (Ann Arbor, 1980), pp. 332-341.

[14]See his poem "The Mountain Wreath," for example, and the accompanying discussion in Thomas Butler (ed.), *Monumenta Serbocroatica: A Bilingual Anthology of Serbian and Croatian Texts from the 12th to the 19th Century*, (Ann Arbor, 1980), pp. 357-359, and his other poems cited in this same volume.

logical perceptions of the human psyche. Human existence was part of some broader [divine] plan, and constituted a level of spiritual being originating in the mutually-conflicting worlds of the heavens or hell. Such an understanding of the human psyche considered individual human expression as conducive to chaos, and was alien to the basic principle of public broadcast of the inner self in any form. For that reason, many songs celebrated the feats of this or that hero, or mourned the fate of this or that maiden, and so on, while the culture which produced such songs or tales could not understand the need for publishing letters, diaries, or biographies.[15] For this reason, the appearance of numerous autobiographies in Greece during this period, as well as the preservation of large collections of nineteenth-century personal documents in Greece demonstrates that at least part of Greek society had evolved from a cosmological view of human existence to a more individualistic and less fatalistic perception of the human being. The same cannot be said for the Ottoman Empire, where the old oral culture, combined with a harsh and repressive censorship administration, prevented all groups from expressing an interest in the individual human psyche until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

2. Oral Tradition and Autobiography: The Kolokotrónes Memoirs

Theódoros Kolokotrónes narrated his memoirs to Giorgios Tertsétes, who was the librarian of the Greek Parliament in the reign of King Otho. Kolokotrónes began to dictate to Tertsétes in 1836, and the memoirs were published between 1846 and 1852. Tertsétes had difficulty in negociating with Kolokotrónes, who objected that he was illiterate, and generally resisted dictating his memoirs for a time. Tertsétes nonetheless convinced the general to embark on the project. Kolokotrónes began to dictate to Tertsétes in 1836, and the memoirs

---

[15]On the different factors influencing the oral transmission of songs and oral poetry, see: Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry, Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context*, (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 134-153, who rules out oral transmission by memory alone of an oral poem over centuries, but who accepts the survival of basic themes, plots, motifs, and so on altered by a combination of memory loss, changing environments in which texts or passages might cease to make sense, and the impulse to recreate. Nonetheless, stock phrases, formulas, and stereotypes continue to assist singers in the recreation of new songs based on older motifs or plots.

were published between 1846 and 1852.

The reasons for publication of his memoirs were to provide a powerful political symbol for the first generation of modern, independent Greece, and to leave a record of his accomplishments in the war of independence for the new generation, as a source for education and inspiration.

The typological analysis of his memoirs indicates that Kolokotrónes involved himself much less in spiritual self-examination than did Makrygiánnes. Indeed, Kolokotrónes' *Memoirs* represent an epic account of Kolokotrónes' and others' deeds before and during the Greek war for independence. The epic nature of the memoir owes much to the oral narration made by Kolokotrónes to Tertsétes, and is implied in the occasional reference to the singing of Demotic songs – the Klephtiká – of Kolokotrónes' men, which the commander observed as one of the members of the audience. Kolokotrónes refers to the customs and activities of the Klephts in one section of his memoir. Of these songs, he stated: they were Τραγουδια ηρωικα and that the Klephts sang them along with other entertainements such as dancing, drum-beating, and so on. He described their creation and dissemination as follows: Τα Τραγουδια τα εκαμεν οι χωριατες, οι στραβει με ταις λυραις. Τα Τραγουδια ησαν υμνοι, εφημεριδες στρατιωτικαις. ["The villagers composed the songs, sung with lyras. The songs were anthems, military annals"].[16] It is clear from this reference that the revolutionary general knew both that he owed a debt to the Klephtic ballad as a source for his own military annals, and that he distinguished intellectually between the Klephtic ballads he heard sung in his military days, and the straightforward narrative of life and events he gave to Tertzetes. In a different way, Kolokotrónes had evolved from the traditional man he was, restrained from inner self-examination, to an ambiguous new man who was militarily a self-made man, but intellectually and emotionally a survivor of Ottoman Greece. On the one hand he made the new world he lived in, but could

---

[16]Th. Kolokotrónes, *Hapanta* (*Apomnemoneúmata, Dike*) (Collected Works), Elles Alexios, et. al. (eds.), (Athens, 1821, [1977]), I, p. 269. The translation by Mrs. Edmonds is totally inadequate for this passage, having "hymns" and "newspapers" rather than "anthems" and "annals." Kolokotrónes meant neither religious hymns, nor newspapers, but songs which both eulogized and memorialized the military deeds of the Klephts.

not make himself over into a new man participating wholly in a new culture.

This epic component need not diminish the value of the narrative as an historical source. Innumerable important insights into the campaigns conducted by Kolokotrónes and others may be found in his text. Rather than being simply epic poetry, the text is a combination of epic recital and prose revelation of deeds and historic events as accomplished or observed by Kolokotrónes himself. These memoirs also contain much valuable information about the concept of family, military affairs, daily life in the period of Ottoman rule and the Greek Revolution, and the important personalities who came into contact with Theódoros Kolokotrónes.[17]

Έγινα είκοσι χρονών, υπανδρεύθηκα και επήρα έως πρώτου Προεστού του Λεονταρίου, τον οποίον τον χάκασε ένας Πασάς εις το Ανάπλι. Έκτισα σπιτια, επήρα προικιό ελιαίς, αμπέλι, έγινα νοικοκύπης, εφύλαγα και ο βιλαετι. Εστεκόμαστε πάντοτε με το τουφέκι. Μας εφθόνησαν οι Τούρκοι και ήθελαν να μας σκοτώσουν, δεν ημπορούσαν όμως, διότι ο τόπος ήτον σε άκρη. Και επολεμούσαν να μας χαλάσουν με κάθε τέχνη, έστελναν μία και δύο φοραίς εκατόν και διακόσους στρατιώτας δια να μας Κτυπήσουν, δεν μας είχαν εις το χέρι και δεν μας πείραξαν. Είδαν οτι δεν είχαν διαφορά με την τέχνη, βγήκαν φανερά, επήραμε χαμπέρι, εφύγαμε. Οι Τούρκοι εφάνισαν όλα τα αγαθά μας και έδωκαν διαταγήν, όπου ακουσθούμε να μας χαλάσουν. Έμεινα με δώδεκα Κολοκοτρωναίους, μικρότεροι εις την πλικίαν, επήγαμεν εις την Μάνην, αφήκαμεν ταις φαμίλιας μας και έπειτα εγυπίσαμε, εσηκωθήκαμε φανερά, εσυνάξαμε στρατιώτας, πότε εξήντα, πότε ολιγώτερους. Εμείναμε δύο χρόνους κλέφταις, έπειτα είδαν πως δεν εμπορούν να μας κάνουν τίποτα και

---

[17]Th. Kolokotrónes, *Hapanta* (*Apomnemoneúmata, Dike*) (Collected Works), Elles Alexios, et. al. (eds.), I, pp. 242-243. idem., *Kolokotronés, The Klepht and the Warrior, Sixty Years of peril and Daring, An Autobiography*, Mrs. Edmonds (tr.), London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892. pp. 88-89.

μας έβαλαν πάλι αρματολούς. Είχα το Λεοντάρι και την Καρύταινα, έκαναν τέσσερους πέντε χρόνους αρματολόυς.

When I was twenty years of age I married the daughter of the chief primate [headman] of Leontari, a man who had been ruined by a Pasha in Nauplia [Nauplion]. As I received in dowry both olive trees and a vineyard, I built houses and settled down as a householder,[18] but I still took care of my Armatolik, and always went about with a gun, for the Turks envied us and wished to slay us all; they were not able to do so because our place was situated on the heights. They therefore kept a continual warfare against us by craft and subtlety. At one time they sent one hundred, and upon another occasion two hundred soldiers to attack us, but as these were not able to get us wholly in their power, they did not carry this attempt. I saw, however, that if they continually found that artifices failed they would at last come against us openly. We received information of this, and fled away from the place. After we left, the Turks went and destroyed all our possessions, and issued orders that wherever we were found we were to be destroyed likewise.

I now found myself with twelve Kolokotroni, all younger than myself, so we took our families to Mani and left them there; and then we rose openly as Klephts, and got together our soldiers, sometimes sixty in number, and sometimes less. We remained Klephts for two years straight off, and afterwards, when they found they could do nothing against us, they offered us the Armatolik again. I had Leontari and Karytaina given into my charge, and I remained there as Armatolos four or five years."

The orality of this text is apparent from the continuous use of the first person by Kolokotrónes, who has summarized in a flowing narrative the early years of his life. This orality seems deceptively spon-

---

[18]Edmonds has translated νοικοκύρης as simply "householder," but a better translation would be "man of property." The usual twentieth century meaning of "landlord" is totally inappropriate here.

taneous – just as a Demotic song seems similarly spontaneous, but can rely on a fixed text. In fact, Tertzetes has recreated the effect of an oral delivery, as though he had written down exactly what Kolokotréones related orally. An experienced note-taker can write as rapidly as a person speaks, but without special training or a special shorthand, it is not likely that an exact rendition of the narrative can be reproduced without some stopping and repetition of passages.

The most important aspect of this memoir is that it represented an effort to translate the oral culture of Ottoman Greece into the literary mode of Europeanized Hellas. Kolokotrónes, unable or unwilling to learn reading and writing, made concessions to the new cultural development. The result was the conscious matching of Ottoman and Europeanate genres, an oral narrative converted into an autobiography. Just as Perrot commented above, the oral nature of this text did not make it any more spontaneous or genuine as an experience, and the author continued to control the meaning of the content at will to mold it to his purpose.

The existential kernel of this text is not difficult to find. Kolokotrónes was speaking, after all, about himself and his family. No doubt exists, therefore, that this autobiography belongs to the category of personal literature despite the fact that it also served as a symbolic history of an era. The psychological motives behind the text belong more to the 1830s and 1840s than they do to the Ottoman period and the 1820s. One is not reading here a series of letters written by Kolokotrónes as these events unfolded, but rather a recollection of the past by a man who made no personal notes in a diary during the time of which he spoke. Being illiterate, he could not keep such a record. This evidence alone is enough to demonstrate Kolokotrónes' debt to the oral traditions of Ottoman Greece.

This memoir represented a transition from archetypal perceptions of the individual to a more existential mode of individual expression. Kolokotrónes' individual identity made its appearance, but rested clearly in the shadow of the archetypal hero-soldier. The balance of this personality pattern – the archetype dominating the individual – could not find an accurate representation in the autobiographical text, which used the literary medium of individualism – prose autobiography written as a personal reflection – to explain Kolokotrónes' life history. In other words, archetypal expression was blurred and absorbed by the prose autobiography leaving an ambiguous and uncer-

tain insight into Kolokotrónes' psyche. Epic heroes did not sing songs of themselves, while memoirists relied on a daily record of their activities written by themselves to present their lives as a contemporaneous series of interrelated events. In the past, the illiterate leader with an illustrious military career became the subject of epic tales sung by minstrels and circulated broadly through oral recital in all the regions of the Ottoman Empire. Only the sultan became the subject of a biography written by a court chronicler. This former subject of the Ottoman Empire – previously a bandit leader at that – broke the traditional pattern, but in having someone else write down his recollections, he could not fully express his own inner feelings. He therefore symbolized the transition from the archetypal personality operating in the realm of the collective unconscious almost totally and the individualist who was constantly seeking ways to replace the indeterminate unconscious and its archetypes with a self-made personal universe.

III. INDIVIDUALISM AND THE SELF-MADE MAN

1. Makrygiánnes Memoirs

The self-made man [or woman in a few rare cases] belonged to the period of revolution, and could be found in Napoleon Buonaparte, Herbert Spencer, George Sand, Andrew Carnegie, Richard Guyon, Garibaldi, and in Greece in the form of Ioánnes Makrygiánnes. If self-made men existed in the Ottoman Empire, and they undoubtedly did since Makrygiánnes began to make himself into a new man even while he still lived under Ottoman rule, they were confined chiefly to the world of entrepreneurial activity. Self-made men did not exist in the military profession until the 1880s or later in the Ottoman Empire, and were not apparent in politics until 1908. Self-made literary figures began to appear in the era of the Tanzîmat, chiefly in the 1860s and later, but often under a cloud of suspicion, and usually in exile.

The psychological orientation of the self-made man contained all the contradictions of the ambitious iconoclast uncertain about aspects of the change he has made. He has on the one hand assaulted and attempted to destroy the conventions which would have restricted his upward social mobility. On the other hand, he could become dogmatic and single-minded in some things, establishing new conventions of his own, or retaining older conventions without being aware of such a debt to tradition.

Ioánnes Makrygiánnes presents an excellent example of the upward social mobility which characterized the age of the Greek Revolution. He had begun as a child of shepherds, moved to the class of servant-boy to ʿAlî Pasha's personal secretary, then to mercantile status, and from thence to the rank of general. The mentality of the social upstart, and the philosophy of individualism at any price, might well characterize Makrygiánnes, who moved from the world of Ottoman social strictures to a more independent status even before the revolution came. His will to independence asserted itself in his successful efforts to become literate. He moved from the world of Ottoman oral culture to the world of literacy by an impressive and an incredible act of individualism. Without being a European liberal, the merchant-turned-general epitomized the liberal principle. His very actions demanded a respect for the dignity and worth of the individual in which "the right, even the obligation, of private judgment was a dogma widely affirmed. The individual should be free to decide for himself, and he should decide for himself, what is true, useful, or virtuous."[19] From this distinct and unquenchable quality of individualism can be seen one aspect of post-Ottoman Greece, where the old ways and historic times were remembered, but in the vigorous and optimistic individualism of some, became reduced to a past link in the stage of life's psychological continuum. Makrygiánnes represented a new Greece where the individual could express all manner of thoughts from cherished religious beliefs to personal life stories. A fair example of this individualistic life continuum appears in the following passage.[20]

Μ'εστειλαν εμένα, τα 1811. Τον πάντρεψε αυτόν ο Αλήπασάς εις την Ἄρτα. Ἔκατζε κάμποσον καιρός εις Ἄρτα. Τον γύρεψε ο Αλήπασας να Πάγη, ότι τον αγαπούσε και τον είχε εις τα μυστικά του γράαματα. Ἦταν τίμος άνθροπος. Τον λένε Θανάση Λιδορήκη.

---

[19]Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, New Haven: Published by Wellesley College in Yale University Press, 1957, p. 95.

[20]Makrygiannes, *Apomnemoneúmata* [Memoirs], Speros Asdrachas (ed.), [Athena]: Ekdoseis Karabia, n. d., p. 19; Makriyannis, *The Memoirs of General Makriyannis, 1797-1864*, H. A. Lidderdale (ed.), London: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 9.

Τότε γυρεύει να μ-αφήση εις το σπίτι του εμένα, δεν ήθελα να κάατζω. Μου είπε, = Θα κάτζης και με το στάνιον. =Αυτό δεν μπορούσα να το αποφύγω, οτ-είχε δύναμη. Έκατζα με συμφωνίες, ότι εγώ ως δούλος δεν κάθομαι. =Κάνω την πηρεσία του σπιτιού σου, όμως θα γνωριστώ και με τους κατοίκους να δανειστώ, να κάμω και εμπόριο, οτ'είμαι γυμνός, να ντυθώ. (Αυτός ήταν φιλάργυρος, δεν μόδινε τίποτας). Πρώτη συμφονία αυτήνη, του είπα, και δεύτερον τα ψώνια του σπιτιού σου, να βανταή η γυναίκα σου τα χρήματα και τον λογαριασμόν, ξέρει γράματα. Και να μου δίνη να της ψωνίζω, να ζυάζη όταν φέρνω το ψώνιο και ότι κάνει να πλερώνη. Το ίδιον και εις τ'άλλα τα ψώνια, να μην λέτε ότι τώρα με βλέπετε γυμνόν και αύριον' ντυμένον και θα λέτε ότ' είμαι κλέφτης. Έκατζα μ'εκείνες τις συμφονίες οπού του είπα και έκαμα σ'αυτόν δέκα χρόνους. Μόδωσε και αυτός διά μιστόν τετρακόσια γρόσια όλα.Του ζήτησα ένα δάνειο και μου τόδωσε με τόκον τα δεκα δώδεκα του χρόνον. Τούφκιασα ομολογία και την έχω ως σήμερον. Αυτό το τζιρακλίκι μόκαμε κι'αυτός.

I was sent there in 1811. Ali Pasha had settled him with a wife in Arta, where he remained some time, but Ali Pasha wanted him back, as he loved him dearly, and used him as a private secretary. He was an honest man, by name Thanasis Lidorikis. He then wanted to leave me behind in his house, but I was unwilling to stay. So he said: 'You'll stay whether you want to or not.' And I could not avoid it, as might was on his side. So I stayed, on the understanding that I did not stay as a servant. 'I'll do the work of the house,' I said, 'but I'm going to get acquainted with the townspeople and borrow money and do some trade to put some clothes on my back.' (He was a miser and had given me nothing). 'That's the first thing to be settled,' I said. 'Then about the shopping for your house. Let your wife keep the money and the accounts, because she knows how to write, and let her give me the cash to go shopping for

her and let her weigh everything that I bring and pay what is right. And let it be the same with all purchases, so that you shall not say I have robbed you. Because today you see me in rags, and tomorrow you'll see me properly dressed, and so you'll say I'm a thief.' So I stayed on these terms I made with him, and stayed in this service ten years. For pay, he gave me four hundred groschen in all: I begged a loan from him, and he gave me one at twenty percent the year. I entered into a written agreement which I have to this day. This small service he rendered me."

In this recollection of his childhood, Makrygiánnes portrays an individualism of spirit and a sense of personal development which would be remarkable in any place or time. He has departed the world of the Ottoman *reâyâ*, or subject, where self expression was totally forbidden, much less the gumption to argue with one's master about becoming independent. In these memoirs can be seen an element characteristic of much personal literature – an optimism of spirit which promotes a pathological will to shatter the icons of the past and to build a fluid continuum of existential being adapting to new developments as they might have occurred. Such a mind broke from rigid archaicism – the Ottoman mold – and advanced to a more modern identity without the need for much conversation about reform.

Just as Kolokotrónes signified a traditional personality with the archetypal mentality controling the individual, Makrygiánnes represented an individualist who retained many archaic elements in his mental and emotional makeup. Having made himself into a new man, he could not abolish his Ottoman cultural background entirely. His adherence to traditional Greek Orthodox religion as learned in his village and at Arta, as well as his personal exercises in recording and interpreting his dream visions give ample proof that he retained an enduring attachment to the psychological factors which had previously combined to make the archetypal personality.

2. ʿÖmer Pasha's Biography

In the period of the 1820s to the 1870s, self-made men were a rarity in the Ottoman Empire. Such an individual would have been out of place. Only revolutionaries and foreign adventurers developed new identities through their own efforts. Individuals who wrote auto-

biographies did so more as a self-defense than a self-fulfillment. Even the most powerful members of the state and intelligentsia feared the sultan's censors, whose dominance in the publishing industry made the republication of archaic writings safe, and the publication of one's own deeds and aspirations seem to be dangerously close to a commentary upon, even a critique of, the state. Greece and the Ottoman Empire were quite clearly differentiated from one another in this respect.[21]

One example of a self-made man in the Ottoman military elite was ʿÖmer Pasha [1809-1871]– the former Michael Lattas, an Austrian Croat by origin. No autobiography of Lattas exists, but a biography by his intimate friend and physician, Dr. Koetschet, gives significant insight into the development of Lattas. Lattas had deserted from the Austrian army in 1827, and fled over the border into Ottoman territory at Glamoch, where he worked for a few weeks as a household domestic doing the household chores for the Beg Filipovich. When he earned enough money, he travelled to Banjaluka where he entered the service of Hâjjî ʿAlî Boich as a woodcutter. Lattas never told Koetschet why he deserted the Austrian army, but the good doctor assumed it had to do with some debt or affair of honor.[22] The emotional transformation of Lattas into an Ottoman Muslim began at this point, when Lattas sat in a melancholic state over his meals – distinctly different than what he used to receive at home – and fantasized about home. *"Wie oft saß der arme Micho recht traurig in einer Ecke vor dem kaum berührten landesüblichen Essen und gedachte wehmütig der saftigen Schinken und anderen guten Gerichten seiner braven*

[21]The most significant text showing Makrygiánnes' attachment to a traditional or cosmological religion rooted deep in Greek and Mediterranean rural tradition is to be found in Stratigos Makrygiánnes, *Orámata kai Tha[ú]mata*, (*Visions and Miracles*), Angelos N. Papakostas (ed.) (Athens: Morphotikó Idryma Ethnikés Trápezas, 1989).

[22]Bazancourt, *L'Expédition de Crimée, L'armée française à Gallipoli, Varna et Sébastopol, Chroniques militaires de la guerre d'Orient* (Paris: Amyot, 1855), I, p. 27 states that Lattas' father, an officer in the Ogulini Regiment, had been convicted of misdeeds relative to his military service, and as a result, *"la position du jeune Lattas dans son reegiment devenait impossible…"* ["the position of the young Lattas in his regiment became impossible…"].

Mutter, und auch seines flotten Lebens mit den Kameraden."[23] While Koetschet obviously dramatized Lattas' melancholy [*wehmütig*] state, it is probably true that Lattas had been depressed, as any refugee deserter in a foreign land would likely be.

Through this stage by stage movement into Ottoman society – accompanied as it was by depression and psychological change – Lattas underwent a process of alienation from his old Croatian and Austrian identity to a new Ottoman one. His new master Hâjjî ʿAlî Boich recognized in Lattas an able man, and suggested that the only way for the Christian refugee to advance in Ottoman society was to convert to Islam, and learn Ottoman Turkish. Lattas took this suggestion, and sat at his master's table, becoming the confidante of local *begs* and *hojas*. In this intention to advance socially by associating with important people above his station, Lattas had much in common with the young Makrygiânnes in his early days at Arta. Soon, Lattas became the tutor of Boich's children. With this conversion to Islam, *"verbesserte sich die soziale Lage Omer's…"*[24] ["ʿÖmer's social position improved…"]. This evolution from young subaltern to deserter to domestic to woodcutter to Muslim tutor of an Ottoman notable's children, accompanied by the learning of a new language, was cause enough to alienate ʿÖmer from his past, but he lived in Banjaluka for two years *"…ohne daß er die geringste Nachricht von seiner Heimat erhielt, wo er auch bald in Vergessenheit gerieth"*[25] ["…without receiving the slightest news of his home, where he also languished in the state of forgetfulness"]. This total alienation from home, family, and paternal culture forced Lattas to make himself into a different personality, to become ʿÖmer and to forget Michael Lattas. This traumatizing shift in identity left him in state of ambiguity about his own sense of existential being. The new, artificial identity made it easier for him to become more Ottoman than the Ottomans, so that when he

[23]Dr. K.[oetschet], *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Serdar Ekrem Omer Pascha (Michael Lattas)* (Sarajevo: Druck und Verlag von Spindler und Löschner, 1885), p. 7. "As usual poor Micho sat quietly in a corner with the scarcely-touched customary meal of the place, and he thought with a deep melancholy about the juicy ham and other good dishes of his worthy mother, and also of his free and easy life with his comrades."

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

went into the service of Ibrâhîm Pasha, commandant of Vidin – a proponent of Europeanizing the army – ᶜÖmer's star rose rapidly. When introduced to Mahmûd II's grand vezîr Hüsrev Pasha, he rose rapidly in the ranks of the Ottoman army.

ᶜÖmer Pasha's career began in the era of reform under Mahmûd II before the time when Helmut von Moltke the elder served as an advisor to the sultan in the late 1830s. He participated in the subjection of Rumanian rebels in the revolution of 1848, in the harsh repression of Bosnian Muslim rebellions in 1851, and in Montenegro [Karadâgh] in 1852.[26] He became the supreme Ottoman commander [*serdâr-i ekrem*, as in the title of his biography] in the Crimean War, in which he held a status honored by both Ottoman and British/French officials and officers. ᶜÖmer's defeat of the Russian army at Silistria, later the subject of a stirring patriotic poem by Namïk Kemal, placed him in good stead with both groups of officials.[27] He moved with the Ottoman army to the Crimean front in 1855, after the Ottoman force on the scene there had disgraced itself at the battle of Balaclava in October, 1854. Late in 1855, he commanded the ill-fated expedition into the Caucasus to relieve the Ottoman garrison besieged in Kars, but the expedition fell apart due to severe winter conditions in Georgia.[28] After the Crimean War, ᶜÖmer Pasha served as the Ottoman governor of Baghdâd and later commanded the Ottoman army of Crete in 1866-

---

[26][Ahmed] Cevdet Pasha, *Tezâkir 1-12*, Cavid Baysun (ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953), I, pp. 12-14; Dr. K. *Erinnerungen*, pp. 18-34.

[27]Captain J. A. Butler, *Journal of Captain J. A. Butler at the Siege of Silistria, 1854*, National Army Museum, London, 7402/129; S. J. G. Calthorpe, *Letters from Headquarters; or, the Realities of the War in the Crimea* (London: John Murray, 1856), I, pp. 51-82; the Polish account of this campaign by Michal Czajkowski (Mehmed Sadyk Pasza), *Moje Wspomnienia o Wojnie 1854 Roku* [My Reminiscences of the War of 1854], J. Fijalek, ed., (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1962), pp. 56-62 has much merit; [Ahmed] Cevdet Pasha, *Tezâkir 1-12*, Cavid Baysun, ed., (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953), I, pp. 28-29 like most Ottoman and Turkish accounts discusses chiefly diplomatics, and military strategy [*shevk ül-ceysh*]; Namïk Kemal, *Vatan yahut Silstre*, Mustafa Nihat Özön, ed., (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961).

[28]Laurence Oliphant, *The Trans-Caucasian Campaign of the Turkish Army under Omer Pasha, A Personal Narrative* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1856).

1869, when he was credited with a brutal suppression of the Cretan insurrection.[29]

The transformation of Michael Lattas into ᶜÖmer Pasha involved the creation of new identity, and thus one can say that the subject of this discussion was genuinely a self-made man in the sense of the nineteenth century, though, rather than stepping forward into a world of new ideas, or developing social currents, he moved into an ambiguous social climate where the new society belonged to Greeks, Jews, or Armenians, and where the Ottoman ruling elite had no other definition than an archaic one fashioned in the period before the Tanzimat from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He made himself into an Ottoman general within the strictly prescribed perameters of the old household system of patronage.[30]

IV. OTTOMAN MEMOIRS

The foregoing discussion has demonstrated two of the many aspects of social and psychological change in the nineteenth century. The question of the emergence of individualism must be explored further from innumerable angles. The chief characteristic of the syndrome is that no single characterization could have fit all or even most personalities. One assumes, however, that any discussion of modernism or reform in the Ottoman Empire must consider the question of individualism. How could one even conceive of social reform where individual commitment to self-definition or self-creation was lacking? Even from a purely literary vantage point, the nineteenth century was a vast desert with sparse vegetation when considering the field of biographical and autobiographical literature. A study of personal literature in this era of Ottoman history thus resembles a long journey into the Empty Quarter. Such lack of commitment to the writing and

---

[29]Dr. Koetschet, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 235ff.; William Stillman, *American Consul in a Cretan War: William J. Stillman*, George G. Arnakis, ed., (Austin, Texas: Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, 1966) [reprint of Stillman's The Cretan Insurrection, with additional information, commentaries, and bibliographies]; Pandelis Prevelakis, *Crète Infortunée: Chronique du soulèvement crétois de 1866-1869* (Pierre Coavoux, Paris, 1976), pp. 144-172.

[30]An interesting discussion of the changes occuring in late traditional scribal elites in the Ottoman Empire is to be found in Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, (Princeton, NJ, 1989), especially pp. 40-86, 281-288.

publishing of personal literature also indicated that social life in the Ottoman Empire did not encourage a culture of individualism which might also have produced a cadre of energetic and committed reformers. In the end, how could society, government, and the personal life be reformed when at best a dozen persons had any concept of what individual commitment meant? The answer must be in the negative.

Did Ottomans of Turkish, Muslim origin form themselves into self-made men? To some degree, the answer to this question must be yes. The *devshirme* system of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took Christian peasants and transformed them into Muslim soldiers. This training of elite soldiers and administrators obviously involved a transformation of identity, but only permitted these slave soldiers and officials to become self-made within a strictly defined social pattern – that is, they could achieve honors and success on their own merits as long as they served the sultan and remained obedient, without developing radically unique thoughts of their own. The sultan and other non-*devshirme* officials and leaders defined the cultural horizons of any person serving in the Janissary corps, or as a scribe functioning in the palace. In other words, the slave so transformed from Balkan or Anatolian Christian to Muslim Turk did not make his own identity or create his own intellectual horizons in the manner of Herbert Spencer, but could participate in a cultural activity only within the courtly setting already defined by centuries of mirror-for-princes literature and traditional court poetry. Traditional Ottoman elite households maintained an intellectual, cultural, and literary environment which might be considered conventional and conformist. Individuals associated with these households down through the Ottoman centuries did not write autobiographical literature as a rule, and what letters and documents they wrote and compiled followed a standard pattern in which the personal world view found no direct expression. A very abstract and almost-baroque ideal of literary composition created an image of complicated and crowded proportions. The supremacy of technical perfection over meaning and content made any personal expression difficult to fathom from the standpoint of individual intent. The abstract, almost maze-like complexity of literary expression protected the writer from political censure or even execution consequent upon too frank an expression of his views. The appearance of memoirs even in unpublished manuscript form during the nineteenth century suggests that this literary culture was changing, though even

these memoirs were written in a scaled-down version of the old baroque-like style. Individualism continued to hide itself behind an almost impenetrable mask of imposed conventionalism. This cultural conservatism survived well into the nineteenth century.

Almost no memoirs appeared in the pre-nineteenth-century Islamic tradition. The Central Asian emperor Tamerlane [Temür-i Leng, died 1405] was reputed to have written his memoir, the *Tuzûk-i Temürî*, but, it has been proven that this autobiography was a forgery written after his death. Temür's descendent, Bâbur, who became emperor of India in the 16th century, wrote his memoirs, as did his grand-daughter Gul-Badan Begûm. In Persia, the king Tahmâsp [ruled 1524-1576] composed an autobiography in imitation of Bâbur, The artist Sâdiqî Beg Afshâr penned autobiographical verses in his treatise on painting. In the Ottoman Empire, no sultan or high figure of state left memoirs, except for individuals who fled the empire. The Polish *Memoirs of a Janissary*, written in the late fifteenth century by Konstanin Mihailovic, seem more like a survey of the Ottoman Empire through the observations of the writer, who had served as a soldier in the sultan's bodyguard.[31]

Ottoman personal literature of the nineteenth century could easily be enumerated in a very restricted space. The available texts cannot be readily placed in the above categories of discussion. One sees in Zarîf Mustafâ Pasha an example of a personality who did not make

---

[31]Attributed to Timûr (1336-1405), *Tuzûk-i Taimûr* (np: n.p., 1965); Zahîr al-Dîn Muhammad Bâbur, *Bâburnâma*, W. M. Thackston, Jr., ed., Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 18, Sources of Turkish Literature 16, (Cambridge, MA, 1993 (Chaghatay text and Persian translation); idem.*The Bâbur-nâma in English (Memoirs of Bâbur)*, Annette Susannah Beveridge. tr., (London: 1922, reprinted 1969); idem., *Bâburnâma; Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor*, Wheeler M. Thackston Jr., (Oxford, 1995); Tahmâsp I, *Tadhkira-yi Shâh Tahmâsp*, (Berlin: Kaviani, 1343/1924); Sâdiqî Beg Afshâr, *Qânûn al-Suvvâr*, A. V. Kazieva, ed., (Baku: Izdatel'stvo Akademia Nauk Azerbaizhankoi SST, 1963); Konstantin Mihailovic, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, Benjamin Stolz, tr., (Michigan Slavic Translations, Ann Arbor, 1975) . While many Ottoman chronicles written from the late 11th to the early 19th centuries contain much biographical material about the sultans and their chief officers, the sultans seem to have preferred writing poetry in classical Ottoman Turkish among which occasional bits and small fragments of autobiography might be found.

for himself a truely individual intellectual or cultural identity. The story of his upward social movement may be found in his memoirs [*hatïralar*], which give a good accounting of patronage [*intisâb*] in an Ottoman elite household of the first half of the nineteenth century. Zarîf Mustafâ did not become general of the Ottoman army at Kars through meritorious and skilled service on the battlefield, but through houshold patronage.[32] His memoir summarized his career, and gives useful information about his governorship of Erzurum [1852-1854], and his command of the Ottoman army in Kars [1854]. Yet, his portrayal of himself, and others' descriptions of his activities, especially as a general in 1854, appear as two totally unrelated individuals. Zarîf Mustafâ' exceedingly corrupt management of the Ottoman army at Kars caused untold misery for his troops, to the point where thousands died. Supplies needed for the troops – winter uniforms, food, knapsacks, even new weapons – were sold back to the contractors for a profit by Zarîf Mustafâ and his high-ranking colleagues. Soldiers who died from diseases caused by this general were left on the muster rolls and reported as alive in order to collect any salaries [on the rare occasions salaries were paid] or money given to purchase supplies for them. Bakers, butchers, and other food contractors were paid high prices, supplied the lowest quality food, and split the profits with the general and other officers.[33] Consequently, Zarîf Mustafâ made quite a fanciful portrayal of himself in his memoir by ignoring all the facts of these activities, and, in fact, by attempting to show himself as an operative experienced in managing affairs of government and army. This pose was in and of itself the product of literary conventionalism. that is, Zarîf Mustafâ had no interest in portraying his view of reality, he merely wished to create a conventionalized biography which gave the appearnce of good order and success. His autobiography constituted through its conventionalism an adherence to traditional annalis-

[32]Zarif Mustafa Pasha, "Zarif Pasha'nïn Hatïratï, 1816-1892" (Memoirs of Zarif Pasha), Enver Ziya Karal, ed., *Belleten*, IV (1940), 448-473 recollects his career up to the point when he became the *vâlî*, or governor of Erzurum.

[33]Document after document written by General Williams to the British ambassador and others demonstrates in detail the corrupt schemes of the pasha. See: *Papers Relative to Military Affairs in Asiatic Turkey*, London: Presented to Both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1856, pp. 1-100.

tic formulas reaching back into the Ottoman chronicle tradition. He defended his ignominious behavior and shameful defeats in battles with Russian forces by holding firmly to the ideal image of the Ottoman political and military leader created over the centuries by courtly writings. This memoir differs from the older tradition only in the sense that he has reduced the chronicle to an autobiography written to justify himself, and in this change may be seen the beginning of an inclination toward individualism provoked by a serious personal crisis.[34]

Other Ottoman memoirs and biographies pursued a similar course. The authors of these works also followed convention in recording their life histories. The biographies written by Namïk Kemâl in *Evrâq-i Perîshân* idealized the Ottoman and Middle Eastern past, built upon the conventions of biography found in Ottoman and Arabic chronicles, but additionally drew inspiration from the medievalism of west European Romanticism in doing so. His four biographies considered the lives and careers of three Ottoman sultans and the Ayyûbid Salâh al-Dîn [Saladin].[35] Two generals from the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 also wrote memoirs regarding their commands of the Balkan and Anatolian armies. Süleymân Hüsnü Pasha and Ghâzî Ahmed Mukhtâr Pasha both left autobiographical material in abundance, but publication, like the memoir of Zarîf Mustafâ, came only very late. The *ʿÜmdet ül-Hakâ'îk* of Süleymân Hüsnü did not appear in print until 1928. This work was primarily a military history of the 1877-1878 war by the commanding general whole lost most of its major battles. In addition to this work, Le Fauré published the proceedings of Süleymân's trial for treason after the war, with depositions by the unfortunate general and by many senior and junior Ottoman and other officers. Materials relating to Ahmed Mukhtâr Pasha are also plentiful including memoirs entitled *Sergüzesht-i Hayatïmïn*. Many of his official dispatches and military telegrams from the Anatolian war also appeared in print long after the war had ended. The Ottoman general Kechejî-zâde ʿIzzet Fûâd Pasha, who had been a major-general [*ferîk*],

[34]Zarif Mustafa Pasha, "Zarif Pasha'nïn Hatïratï, 1816-1892" (Memoirs of Zarif Pasha), Enver Ziya Karal (ed.), *Belleten*, IV (1940), 473-484 describes his governorate and 484-494 records his command of the army at Kars.

[35]Namïk Kemâl, *Evrâq-i Perîshân* (Istanbul: n.p., 1288/1871-1305/1887).

also left a memoir of the 1877 war.[36]

Autobiographical writings or letters of non-military figures, including the sultans,[37] were even rarer than military memoirs. Namïk Kemâl's collected correspondence was published only in 1967.[38] This rather slim collections of generals, kings, and poets pales by comparison with Greek autobiographies at the time, and with west European personal literature of all types. The imbalance was not due to the higher rate of illiteracy in the Ottoman Empire, but rather to the low esteem accorded to the individual in such matters as self-expression or active intellectual or artistic life. This lack of respect for personal writings and self-expression had been a factor of almost all pre-modern cultures, but the question remains: did this unwillingness to accept the personal dimension mean something greater?

In premodern cultures in general, the personal life of the common person was equated with the degeneration of the spiritual existence and extreme sinfulness. Carnal existence meant a life caught between Heaven and Hell in which the average human felt trapped and confused. Only piety and attention to the religious life could elevate human existence beyond the degradation of a mere carnal existence.

---

[36]Ahmed Mukhtâr Pasha, *Sergüzesht-i Hayatimïn* [Events of My Life], (Istanbul: 1328/1910-1911), part of which is published in Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha, *Anadolu'da Rus Muharebesi, 1876-1877* [The Russian War in Anatolia, 1876-7], 1, Enver Yasharbash, ed., (Istanbul, 1985) which volume also includes Mukhtâr's military correspondence. See also Rifat Uçarol, *Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha (Askeri ve Siyasi Hayatï) Bir Osmanlï Pashasï ve Dönemi* [Gazi Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha (His Military and Political Life) An Ottoman Pasha and His Era], (Istanbul, 1976). Müshîr Süleymân Pasha, *Târîkh-i Kïsmï: Ümdet ül-Hakâîk* (Istanbul: Askeri Matbaa, 1928), 6 volumes. Amedée Le Faure, *Procès de Suleiman Pacha avec portrait et carte*, (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1880). Keçejî-zâde Fûâd, *Kâchïr Yïlân Fürsetler, 1293 Osmânlï-Rûs Seferî Hakkïnda* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed Ihsân, 1325/1907-1908). Though written at an earlier date, none of these memoirs or collections of letters appeared in print before 1908.

[37]Abdülhâmid II (Sultan), *Siyasî Hatïratim* (Political Memoirs) (Istanbul: Dergah Yayïnlarï, 1974).

[38]Namïk Kemal, *Namïk Kemal'in Husûsî Mektuplarï* [The Personal Correspondence of Namïk Kemal], Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, ed., (Ankara, 1967-1986, 4 volumes), volume 1 has letters dating from 1865-1876, with many interesting personal items.

The Ashchï Dede memoirs illustrate the thought world of an Ottoman official who belonged to both the Mevlevî and Nakshïbendî mystical orders.[39] Mystics allowed much more discussion of the personal life, though usually did so in very general terms,[40] while Islamic literalists reduced the personal life to a severe code of behavior governed by rules for every occasion, outside which little was of interest with regard to the personal life. If the personal existence and its chief component free will were thus viewed as burdens for the human being, it is likely that any attempt to glorify the personal existence would not follow logically from such a perceptual stance. To suggest that this removal of the human from center stage represented a dehumanization of the person might be going too far, except in instances where the religious tradition equated humanity with bestiality, or understood human existence to be more than carnal degeneration, but rather in the manner of the Manichaean extreme as being evil. Greek memoirs of the revolution symbolized a rejection of the premodern tradition, whether Greek Orthodox or Ottoman, and the movement of a more humanitarian understanding to center stage next to Greek Orthodox religion. The appearance of the few Ottoman memoirs within the context of rejection of the personal existence as an important factor demonstrated that a similar process was evolving in the Ottoman Empire, only at an extremely slow pace.

V. CONCLUSIONS

By way of conclusion, it must be urged that the reader avoid oversimplification of the issues discussed in this article. Much more remains to be said, and many personalities remain unexamined. These

---

[39]On the influence of piety in the lives of the average Ottoman, see the discussion of Carter V. Findlay, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, NJ, 1989), specifically his discussion of Ashchï Dede Ibrâhîm Halîl (1828-ca.1910), pp. 148-150, 178-187. Findlay relied upon Ashchï Dede Ibrâhîm Halîl, *Risâle-i Tercüme-i Ahvâl-i Ashchï Dede-i Nakshî-Mevlevi*, Istanbul Üniversitesi Library, Turkish Manuscripts, TY3222; and TY78, TY79, TY80.

[40]See Rûmî's metaphorical discussion of the free will as a heavy load borne by a camel on his saddle [*pâlân*] which was best dropped, releasing the bearer from the burden of existence: Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, *The Mathnawî of Jalálu'ddín Rúmí*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, N. S. IV, 5 (Leiden, 1953), pp. 283-284, lines 210-220.

two have been discussed primarily as a means of demonstrating a contrast between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. No "type" should ever become an absolute, only a useful means of understanding some part of the vast diversity which confronts the researcher attempting to read about and delve into the personal lives and careers of individuals living in any historical society. Research of humanity must always place human self-expression ahead of the researcher's theories, and this imperative of scientific research makes evaluation exceedingly difficult.

Observation of the literary cultures encouraged by both of the ways discussed above gives clear evidence that societies or communities dominated by the archetype produced literature and art marked by allegory, metaphor, and conventionalism in which the individual appeared only infrequently as a operative. Societies where individualism dominated did not entirely abolish allegory, metaphor, or conventionalism in creative genre or expression, but also gave rise to either a greater literature of irony, Realism and Naturalism, and a host of other forms. Allegorical and conventional literature usually resisted any tendency for the individual expression of one's own ideas or one's own unique life story, understanding the individual as symbol of a vaster being or system. This article has not attempted to extend literary discussion beyond personal literature, that is, letters, diaries, autobiographies, and biographies, except to present a view of personality in pre-eighteenth century literature where personal writings either failed to survive, or were considered insignificant.

One sign of an age of individualism is the existence of a vast personal literature both in the form of unpublished personal writings, and in formal publications. Any concerted effort to study the existential life of the nineteenth century must rely upon the literature of personal expression, whether in the form of letters, diaries, memoirs, or biographies. No need exists to give an extensive definition of each category of literature here. Such literary remnants are at once the primary sources of the personal life in historic eras, while suffering from severe limitations as windows into the personal life at the same time.[41]

Private archives, the most direct and fertile of sources concerning private life, are distributed unequally across different social classes, and access to them, as well as the

likelihood of their preservation, is a matter of chance. Private records survive only when there is suitable storage, an interest in maintaining the memory of earlier generations, a notoriety that transforms private papers into relics, or a curiosity on the part of descendants fascinated by history or genealogy. At present there is a tendency to value these family treasures highly [in France]. Yet private letters and such personal literature as diaries, autobiographies, and memoirs, though precious testimony, do not constitute true documents of private life. Their contents are dictated by rules of propriety and a need for self-dramatization. Nothing is less spontaneous than a letter, nothing less transparent than an autobiography, which is designed to conceal as much as it reveals. Nevertheless, the subtle stratagems of camouflage and display bring us at least to the gateway of the fortress.

Despite the flaws inherent in this personal literature, no other way remains for understanding the life continuum of persons who lived in historical times. Some might find the desire to understand past personal lives a repugnant endeavor, but to avoid the attempt also runs the risk of ignoring the existential significance of the past. To ignore the individuality and complexity of past personal identities could lead, as in the manner of the deconstructionists, to the erroneous creation of one's own identity as the only valid concept of personality. Past identities bring one to the full awareness of time's limitations on every generation and individual. The significance of work in the meaning of past personal identities must not, therefore, be relegated to the obscurity to which all things "personal" were previously relegated, but must be understood as one of the chief factors in any study of an historic culture, society, or civilization.

[41]Michelle Perrot, "Introduction," *A History of Private Life, From the Fires of Revolution to the Great War*, Michelle Perrot (ed.), Arthur Goldhammer, tr., (Cambridge, MA, 1990, pp. 3-4.