universität wien

DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Titel der Dissertation / Title of the Doctoral Thesis

"Turkey's Occidentalist Condition:
Images of Self and Other in Early Republican Literature"

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Wien, 2022 / Vienna 2022

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	UA 792 393
Dissertationsgebiet lt. Studienblatt / field of study as it appears on the student record sheet:	Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft
Betreut von / Supervisor:	ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Gisela Procházka-Eisl
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Petr Kučera

"No need to hurry. No need to sparkle.
No need to be anybody but oneself."

Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

To Alice, Anna and Natalia

whose quest for authenticity has inspired me along the way

Acknowledgements

The world needs different kinds of minds to work together
Temple Grandin

Many people have been part of the process leading to this dissertation. First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors Gisela Procházka-Eisl at the University of Vienna and Petr Kučera at Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz whose continuous and reliable support, expertise and valuable feedback encouraged me and provided orientation throughout the research and writing process.

I am also grateful to the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) and the German Academic Scholarship Foundation (Studienstiftung) for funding my studies at the University of Vienna's Department of Comparative Literature between 2018 and 2022. Their generous doctoral scholarships provided me with the necessary financial frame to conduct my research independently, expand my horizon through trainings and courses, participate in conferences, go on research stays abroad and connect with other researchers. I would also like to thank the University of Vienna for awarding me the travel grant 'Förderstipendium' that enabled further research stays.

My interdisciplinary research between Comparative Literature and Turkish Studies is reflected in my institutional affiliations at the University of Vienna which have provided an excellent and accommodating work environment over the past four years. I would like to express gratitude to all colleagues at the Department of Comparative Literature for exchanges, advice and feedback. Special thanks go to Paula Wojcik for her motivating support and Achim Hölter for his guidance over the years. I would also like to thank Turkish Studies colleagues at the Department of Near Eastern Studies, particularly Yavuz Köse for making me feel part of the team and facilitating teaching assignments and other forms of cooperation. My appreciation also goes out to Ercan Akyol and Juliane Werner for mutual support and companionship.

Over the past four years, different institutes and universities hosted me for research stays, enabling an inspirational engagement with the topic of my dissertation from different disciplinary and scholarly perspectives. As an affiliated guest scholar at the Department for European Studies at the University of Amsterdam in 2018, I met many colleagues who were willing to talk with me about Europe-Turkey relations. I am particularly thankful to Joep Leerssen for deepening my insights into imagology and for encouraging me to trust my own analytical skills; and to Ayşenur Korkmaz for our continuous conversation about notions of home. Furthermore, I would like to thank Johan Schimanski for welcoming me warmly as a guest researcher at the Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages at the University of Oslo in 2019. My gratitude also goes out to the members of the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo for our exchanges about Turkish literature; I am particularly grateful to Stephan Guth for his advice and feedback. I would also like to thank the Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies at the University of Cambridge for providing access to library sources as well as colleagues in Cambridge for their willingness

to speak with me during my research stay in 2019, most notably Brendan Simms for conversations about imperial formations. Special thanks also go to the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) in Vienna for hosting me as a junior fellow in 2021 and 2022; the vivid intellectual debates, excellent lunches and warm atmosphere provided an excellent framework for completing my dissertation.

Over the course of the last decade, I had the pleasure of collaborating with scholars across different disciplines who have shaped and influenced my take on topics related to this dissertation. I would like to thank Senem Aydın-Düzgit and Bahar Rumelili with whom I was able to work on historical identity representations between the Ottoman Empire and Europe in the framework of the EU Horizon 2020 project "FEUTURE: The Future of EU-Turkey relation" at Sabancı University in 2016 and 2017. Special thanks go to Romana Königsbrun for the productive and appreciative cooperation with the Austrian Cultural Form in Istanbul. I am also grateful to Marijan Bobinac, Wolfgang Müller-Funk, Jelena Spreicer and other scholars affiliated with the Zagreb-based research projects "Post-imperiale Narrative in den zentraleuropäischen Literaturen der Moderne" (2016-2017) and "Construction of the Other from the Central European Perspective" (2018-2020) for collaboration leading to the volume *Postimperiale Narrative im zentraleuropäischen Raum* (2018) as well as for deepening my understanding of transnational memory processes in post-Habsburg and inter-imperial spaces. Special thanks go to Christine Magerski whose treatise on the post-imperial novel in the Austrian context (Magerski 2018) has inspired my approach to the interplay between empire and literature in Turkey. I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to Olof Heilo for excellent cooperation in the context of our book project *Narrated Empires* (2021) and our ongoing dialogue on empires and modernities, as well as to Catharina Raudvere for wonderful collaboration, generous support and the hosting of the "Viribus Unitis: Myths and Narratives of Habsburg and Ottoman Multinationalism" conference within her "The Many Roads in Modernity" project at the University of Copenhagen. I would also like to thank Gabriele Cloeters, Onur İnal, Charlotte Joppien and Ursula Woźniak for co-editing *Türkeiforschung im deutschsprachigen Raum* (2019); Julian Rentzsch and Petr Kučera for inviting me to contribute to their book *Texts, Contexts, Intertexts: Studies in Honor of Orhan Pamuk* (2022); and Katharina Edtstadler, Sandra Folie and Gianna Zocco for the opportunity to be part of their volume on *New Perspectives on Imagology* (2022). Thanks also go to Tobias Völker, Leyla von Mende and Peter Becker for inviting me to present and discuss my work in inspiring contexts.

With regard to the first steps of my PhD journey and the development of the topic, I would like to thank Barbara Zehnpfennig, Christoph Neumann and Mark Kirchner for their feedback on the initial proposal, as well as Ayhan Aktar, Murat Belge, Suraiya Faroqhi and Ayhan Kaya for the exchanges, support, inspiration and guidance since my 2013/14 and 2015/16 stays at Istanbul Bilgi University.

I would also like to express my gratitude to those who have read, commented and discussed chapter drafts of this dissertation; most notably Daniel Syrovy for his helpful feedback, Alp Eren Topal for advice and solidarity, and Franz Martin Wimmer for his detailed comments. I would also like to thank Megan Gisclon for her careful proof-reading and Andreas Chovanec for reviewing the bibliographical references.

Finalising my dissertation required more than academic support and there are many people to thank for their presence. I am extremely grateful to my parents Silvia and Andreas who have supported me wholeheartedly and unconditionally on my academic path and beyond; my brother Christoph who has taught me that finding one's own way can take different forms; and my grandparents, Friederike and Bertram, who have always been there for me and remind me every now and then that one shouldn't study too much. I would also like to thank my friends for their understanding and support over the past years, uplifting hikes in the forest, glasses of wine, wonderful conversations and much more. Special thanks also go to Sonja, Kathrin and Gerd for their space and time.

Words are not enough to express my gratitude to my partner Sebastian, for meticulously reading chapter by chapter, the brilliant feedback and – most importantly – the lived experience of what it means to belong. Your dissertation (Haug 2020) and approach to the Thirding of binaries beyond the poles of (n)either/(n)or have been a great inspiration for me. Danke, dass du auf so vielfältige Art und Weise da bist.

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1. Introduction

This dissertation examines images of Self and Other in early republican Turkish literature. Politically disassociating itself from the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey required new national frameworks of belonging that were not only predefined by political elites but also developed, discussed and tested by intellectuals in the 1930s and 1940s. Three authors who shaped the public discourse and the early national canon of the republic stand at the centre of this study: Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. With their literary, journalistic and theoretical works, they contributed to and questioned the new national identity in the making. Their writings capture not only the loss of the Empire as an ordering framework but also Turkey's engagement with Western-dominated modernity. I analyse how these key writers of the early republican period approach the (national) Self through their literary and concomitant essayistic post-imperial texts.

The primary aim of this dissertation is to examine the ways in which literary and non-literary texts from the early republican period construe images of Self and Other. I propose a new approach to the study of early republican literature from an intertwined post-imperial and post-colonial standpoint. The term 'post-imperial' not only contains a reference to the temporal end of empire but also acknowledges the continuous aftereffects of imperial *Lebenswelten* and their demise. It further refers to the complicated transition period from empire to nation-state and the accompanying conflicts between imperial and national narrations of belonging. I use the term 'post-colonial,' in turn, with reference to the concept of Occidentalism that—building on work by Couze Venn (2000)—denotes a globalised system of inequalities based on the dominance of key aspects of European or Western modernity such as progress and civilisation. Embracing the orientalist imaginary's dichotomous separation of the world into Eastern and Western spheres, Occidentalism locates the modern Western subject as the starting point, centre and agent of progress. I suggest that the post-imperial narrative, as a modern genre capturing transformations of order and affiliation, is a particularly suitable source for analysing how Turkey's Occidentalist condition—i.e., the experience of Western-dominated modernity—is reflected upon in a specific context and at a particular historic turning point. With reference to Turkey's intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions, I argue that notions of Empire, on the one hand, and ideas of Europe, on the other, form an important backdrop for imaginations of belonging in the early republican era.

The foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 can be regarded as a climax of far-reaching socio-political changes in the long 19th century. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the

Republic of Turkey was marked by a series of political and cultural transformation processes (Barkey 1997; Hanioğlu 2008; Reinkowski 2021). In the course of the wide-ranging Tanzimat reforms (1839–1876), the governing elites aimed to 'modernise' the cultural, economic and political realms of the Ottoman Empire by following and partially adapting the Western model of progress (Koçunyan 2018; Topal 2021a). Considering the important geopolitical position of the Ottoman Empire, European powers were eager to include it into the new regional order that was to be established after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Mitzen 2013; Steele 2014). Modern Ottoman literature evolved in engagement with the premises of the Tanzimat reform era, which entailed increased diplomatic exchange between the Ottomans and other actors on the European continent, notably Western European powers. In the context of intertwining economic, political and cultural ties with Western Europe, the novel entered Ottoman cultural life as a new literary genre through the translation of French literature in the 1840s. The second half of the 19th century saw the rise of the 'Ottoman novel,' which from the outset reflected the socio-political changes and challenges of the time, most notably Europeanisation (*Avrupalılaşma*) or the East-West issue (*doğu-batı meselesi*) (Moran 1998 [1983]; Kučera 2017a). Authors of Tanzimat literature (1860s–1890s), such as Ahmet Mithat and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, questioned the ways in which European modernity was to be embraced in the Ottoman context and examined the influence of Western European countries on Ottoman society and culture (Mardin 1974; Gürbilek 2003; Hemmat 2019).

Against the backdrop of European political, military and economic expansion across the Middle East, Ottoman intellectuals discussed the impact of progress and development as increasingly dominant civilisational ideals. By means of the literary figure of the *züppe*, an overly Westernised Ottoman dandy, for example, questions about the extent of Westernisation were raised (Çakmakci 2014; Mühürcüoğlu; 2018; Guth 2019). Authors criticised the new consumerism among Ottoman elites and the wider public in their novels and hence suggested a moderate orientation toward the material goods and prosperity in Europe while maintaining spiritual, moral and cultural values. The impact of Europeanisation processes and the emerging ambivalence between an 'Eastern past' and a 'Western future' caused authors in this period to express fears of losing the connection with their own heritage. Late Ottoman novels anticipated the downfall of the political, cultural and symbolical imperial order and mourned the turning away from their historical and cultural legacies for the sake of modernisation and Europeanisation (Chovanec 2021). This literary imperial narrative gave rise to the aestheticisation of melancholy that would emerge as a key feature of what I refer to as the *post-imperial narrative* in Turkish literature.

Westernising reforms reached their climax following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and went hand in hand with what has largely been perceived as the political denial of the Ottoman past as a possible source of cultural identity. In the civilising mission pushed for by Kemalist elites, the Ottoman Empire was usually portrayed as an obstacle on Turkey's path towards becoming a modern nation-state (Philliou 2011). The goal of Kemalism was to transform society not only politically and legally but also culturally (Parla 2008). The slogan "despite the people for the people" (*halka rağmen, halk için*) illustrates the paternalistic top-down approach to reform and its interference in different aspects of daily life (Karaömerlioğlu 2021, 82). Under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the political elites tried to implement what they perceived as the key parameters of European civilisation and hence as a condition for economic, social and cultural progress. Policies like the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate (1924), the closure of religious convents and dervish lodges (1925), the hat reform (1925), the implementation of the Gregorian calendar (1925), the change of alphabet from Arabic to Latin script (1928) and the introduction of political rights for women to vote and be elected (1934) symbolised a new, secular and modern outlook of the Republic of Turkey (Günay 2012, 154–161). With their comprehensive reform packages, Kemalists envisioned the development of a modern Turkish civilisation presented as the vital Self, defined by everything that the Ottoman Empire as the old and stagnating Other had been lacking (Wigen 2009, 96). Despite the political turn away from the imperial past, however, literary texts engaged with its cultural heritage and possible role for the (national) present and future.

As indicated above, this dissertation argues that the immediate post-imperial narrative in Turkish literature after 1923 evolved at the intersection of imaginations of Empire and imaginations of Europe. Engaging with the individual's challenges and conflicts in a society undergoing rapid transformation, the post-imperial narrative is an intrinsically *modern* genre. The Ottoman-Turkish transformation from empire to nation-state was embedded in the macro-social phenomenon of *modernity* that from a temporal perspective is often related to the period heralded by the French Revolution of 1789. Philosophically, modernity resonates with the enlightenment as an intellectual movement that emphasises individual reason and autonomy. In the fields of arts and literature, modernism embraced the ideas of novelty, authenticity and originality as key features of aesthetic value. The omnipresent modern focus on the new and the contemporary points to the centrality of temporality-related questions: with the ideological emphasis on the new, modernity encompasses a variety of intertwined aspects that broadly relate to the temporal notion of progress (Koselleck 1995 [1979], Wagner 2012 and 2016; Stöckmann 2019). From a post-colonial standpoint, Western-dominated notions of modernity

have successfully claimed universality or universal applicability in a presupposed linear historical development. Progress entails the idea of economic, social and cultural development from past to future and, reversely, the idea of underdeveloped contexts that are in need of being civilised. Therefore, modernity also connects to the longing of becoming modern in many of those contexts that, allegedly stuck in the past, need to 'catch up.'

This connects to the more general modern focus on civilisational belonging: modernity dichotomously splits the world into two halves, i.e., the West as role model and flagbearer of the Standard of Civilisation in opposition to the East as a backward sphere required to approximate Western modernity with the aim to be eventually included in the league of the civilised (Zarakol 2011). From a political and social point of view, the epoch of modernity is commonly associated with legal democratisation processes and nationalism as a new ideology (Keitner 2007). The idea of a homogeneous nation with its construed historical legitimisation and perceived organic inner core became the ideological foundation of the many nation-states that were to replace disintegrating empires. As democratic participation expanded throughout this era, women's rights and feminism and hence the recalibration of gender relations also shaped the political transformation processes in the 19th and 20th centuries (Marshall 2013).

More generally, European colonialism and the establishment of a global system of economic inequalities and dependencies connected to modern capitalism, industrialisation and transportation means led to new social (im)mobilities. The term 'Occidentalism' denotes this global system of inequalities and tries to grasp the far-reaching implications of modernity both in contexts that per self-definition were presented as modern, and in contexts that allegedly were not. As Venn (2000, 8) has pointed out, Occidentalism entails the "process of the becoming-West of Europe and the becoming-modern of the World."[1] Occidentalism thus entails a modern imaginary within which the West, as a metonym for a specific set of Western European countries, becomes the symbolic representation of modern civilisation. The 'non-West,' on the other hand, is urged to dedicate itself to *becoming* modern.

Literature is a seismographic medium that captures societal trends and mentalities, images and visions of belonging. It is hence a particularly suitable source for the analysis of how various

[1] To better standardise the text, punctuation around quotation marks (namely commas and full stops) was placed inside the marks, closely following the Chicago Manual of Style rules. This was also applied to footnotes providing the original version of translated quotes (including short text extracts) used in the main text. Punctuation inside quotes was not altered. Only omissions within—and not immediately before or after—quotes were highlighted through square brackets […] to allow for a smoother reading experience. If the quote was a text extract from a longer sentence and the first word of the extract did not correspond to the first word of the original sentence, the original spelling was kept, and the word was not capitalised.

contexts have dealt with the premises of modernity. I define modern literature as a genre that engages with social, political and economic aspects of modernity, its demands and effects (see Matz 2004). With the narratological focus on the individual's inner struggles in a society undergoing rapid change, the modern subject stands at the very centre of literary modernity. Engaging with the not only temporal but also evaluative poles of 'new' and 'old,' modern literature deals with the challenges of rapid socio-political transformation through narrations in which individuals find themselves in conflict with society. In what had become republican Turkey, literature evolved in a political and cultural climate shaped by two central reference points: on the one hand, political elites aimed for civilisational progress in line with European modernity. On the other hand, they tried to formulate a new distinct Turkish national identity whose connections with the Ottoman past remained ambivalent. Literary texts aimed at coming to terms with these new frameworks of belonging between the remnants of empire and the emerging nation-state, as well as between what was imagined as Eastern and Western civilisations.

I regard the post-imperial narrative as a specific sub-genre of modern literature that deals with the far-reaching implications of the transformation from an imperial to a national order. Temporally, the term 'post-imperial' here refers to texts produced after the downfall of the empire, notably with regard to the aftermath of the First World War, when novels or autobiographies deal with the existential experience of contingency (Magerski 2018). Thematically, this literary form engages with the implications of the collapse of a political, cultural and symbolic order and the complex processes towards new—in the Turkish context, national—reference frameworks. What I call the *immediate* post-imperial narrative (approx. 1918–1950), shaped by authors who had directly experienced the transformation from an imperial to a national order, is based on the biographical background of individuals and their concrete experiences. Their literary texts and post-imperial autobiographies are fuelled by the personal memory of (the loss of) the empire. The modernity of the immediate post-imperial narrative is radicalised in the Turkish context through the violent suppression of continuities with the Ottoman Empire as well as the ambivalence towards what is imagined as an Eastern past and a Western future. Authors of what I suggest referring to as the *mediate* post-imperial narrative (approx. post-1950), in turn, have no personal memory of Ottoman times. Their approach to the empire is disentangled from the immediate personal and historical experience of imperial loss but engages with the empire's various (in)visible traces in the contemporary world.

The following research question stands at the centre of this dissertation: *How are Self and Other imagined in the post-imperial narrative in early republican Turkey?* To answer this question, I develop a heuristic—the *Occidentalist Lens*—as a critical analytical tool by means of which modernity and its impact on narrations of belonging can be analysed from a post-colonial standpoint. It entails an analytical sensitivity towards the often-dichotomous patterns of the modern imaginary along the lines of four key dimensions: *spatiality*, *civilisation*, *temporality* and *gender*. Through spectra unfolding with reference to binary constructs of mobility and immobility (spatiality), form and content (civilisation), past and future (temporality) and male and female (gender), these four dimensions allow me to unpack images of Self and Other along central aspects of modernity's focal issues. With imagology as a methodology (Leerssen 2016; 2018), I operationalise the Occidentalist Lens for the study of literature through the analysis of auto- and hetero-images. By examining images of Self (auto) and Other (hetero) in the canonised immediate literary post-imperial narrative, this dissertation hence explores the ways in which literature engages with Turkey's experience of Western-dominated modernity, i.e., Turkey's Occidentalist condition. I approach the research question through an imagological close reading of selected texts written by authors who have coined the public discourse of their time through literary and journalistic, essayistic or theoretical works. Three novels and related sources are at the heart of my analysis, all of which were written by popular intellectual voices of the 1930s and 1940s. The three novels under scrutiny can be regarded as paradigmatic post-imperial texts: Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, Halide Edib (Adıvar)'s *Sinekli Bakkal* and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Huzur* were canonised as key texts of an emerging national canon of Turkish literature from the early 1940s onwards.

The dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 2 introduces Occidentalism as a notion depicting the global implications of Western-dominated modernity and develops the Occidentalist Lens. As the dissertation's post-colonial conceptual framework, the Lens combines binary spectra across four dimensions for analysing phenomena unfolding in view of the Occidentalist condition, namely spatiality (im_mobility), civilisation (form_content), temporality (past_future) and gender (fe_male). In order to operationalise the Occidentalist Lens for the study of literary texts, Chapter 3 provides an overview of imagology as a methodology to examine images of Self and Other. It connects imagology's traditionally Eurocentric focus with the post-colonial credentials of the Occidentalist Lens to outline how the study of images of Self and Other unfolds with regard to questions of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender in literary texts written against the backdrop of Western-dominated modernity. Chapter 4 introduces the (post-)imperial narrative as a literary form particularly

suited for the study of images of Self and Other. Two novels by the Ottoman authors Ahmet Mithat and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem are discussed as examples of imperial narratives and establish the basis for a detailed engagement with Turkey's post-imperial narrative in the context of early republican Turkey. Dealing with both the loss and continuing repercussions of the Ottoman imperial order in view of the Occidentalist condition, I identify Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar as central voices in Turkey's immediate post-imperial narrative. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively centre on Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's work, applying the Occidentalist Lens through the imagological analysis of images of Self and Other to their writings. The focus on their novels *Fatih Harbiye* (Safa), *Sinekli Bakkal* (Edib) and *Huzur* (Tanpınar) is complemented by a broad variety of non-literary texts by the authors. Reflecting on how Self and Other are imagined throughout analysed texts, Chapter 8 highlights how the dissertation contributes to the study of Turkish literature, imagology as a methodology, as well as post-colonial and post-imperial studies. It synthesises key findings in a comparative manner and indicates avenues for future research. The epilogue provides an outlook on how an engagement with Turkey's contemporary post-imperial narrative can build on and be brought in conversation with insights from early republican literature.

Overall, the dissertation argues that images of the (national) Self in early republican Turkey unfold particularly with regard to two sets of images: Empire and Europe. Through major literary and additional non-literary texts of the early republican period, I demonstrate that the immediate post-imperial narrative in Turkish literature is located at the intersection of imaginations of the (lost but still reverberating) Ottoman Empire and imaginations of (an ambivalently approached) Western Europe. By doing so, this thesis contributes to the study of comparative literature via an engagement with sources outside of the usual scope of what is still a rather Eurocentric discipline. By presenting a comparative engagement with the oeuvre of three Turkish authors, it sets out to further not only the study of Turkish literature *per se* but also its positioning as a field of study within comparative literature. Conceptually, this thesis presents the Occidentalist Lens as a conceptual innovation to modernity and modernism studies that allows for the analysis of complex positionalities between what is imagined as East and West. As a four-dimensional heuristic for the study of modern experiences, it also speaks to post-colonial debates by expanding our understanding of contexts at the intersection of post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions.

Methodologically, I contribute to the further development of imagology as a set of methodological tools stemming from comparative literature's engagement with national images

across European contexts. By adapting it to the study of images of Self and Other in early republican Turkish literature, I connect imagology's traditional focus on national characters to questions of belonging in broader terms, notably the Occidentalist reference frameworks of East and West.

2. Occidentalism: A Post-Colonial Approach

This chapter examines the conceptual foundations for the study of literature in early republican Turkey by centring on the notion of Occidentalism, i.e., the global dominance of Western modernity. Far from being a self-explanatory term, modernity is—as Jean Baudrillard (1985, 424) puts it—"une notion confuse," connoting a general and global "évolution historique et un changement de mentalité." In a similar vein, André Akoun (n.d.) claims that the notion of modernity is "floue dans son extension, et incertaine dans sa compréhension."[2] The uncertainty and vagueness that the two French sociologists attribute to the term highlight the extent to which modernity has become a rather diffuse umbrella term used to denote a broad variety of phenomena that have unfolded over the last 500 years, including, for example, capitalism as the dominant economic model, the Enlightenment as a revolutionary intellectual movement or a new understanding of art and literature, usually referred to as 'modernism.' As such, modernity is both a "general category" (*une catégorie générale*) for social phenomena like the modern state or modern technical advancement and a "cultural imperative" (*l'impératif culturel*) (Baudrillard 1985, 424), relating to the modernist dictum of "make it new," famously postulated by Ezra Pound (1934).

The traditional—and often uncritical—focus on modernity as a Western phenomenon has been taken up and challenged by post-colonial studies that rose to prominence in the wake of the 1978 publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Broadly speaking, post-colonialism is a concept grasping the (after-)effects of modern European—or more generally Western—colonisation and imperialism. Post-colonial theory deals with the realities of not only former colonies and colonisers but also spaces that, while not formally colonised, were both directly and indirectly affected by European colonialism and imperialism (Kerner 2012, 9).[3] In recent years, scholars have increasingly discussed the impact of colonial modernity on the Ottoman Empire (Taglia 2015; Provence 2017; Michael et al. 2020);[4] direct Ottoman experiences with European colonialism and the semi-colonial dependency of the Ottoman Empire on European

[2] In line with the established (Occidentalist) practice in the field of Comparative Literature, German and French quotes were not translated into English. All Turkish quotes were translated into English by myself or, where possible, by relying on published translations.

[3] Different theoretical or philosophical movements have influenced post-colonial theory, including post-structuralist theories. Particularly, Michel Foucault's work about the connection between knowledge and power in the establishment of hegemonic discourses and Jacque Derrida's methodology of deconstruction have been influential in shaping post-colonial approaches (Kerner 2012, 34).

[4] The term 'Empire' has been capitalised throughout this dissertation to refer to a framework of belonging and when used as a proper noun, e.g., 'Ottoman Empire.' The term is lowercase when referring to empire(s) as a governing or political construct.

powers (Bouleti 2015; Rodogno 2016; McCollum 2018); early republican Turkey's adaptation to Western modernity (Zarakol 2011) and "post-colonial mental codes" (Erdoğan 2015); as well as the effects of colonial modernity on contemporary Turkey and Turkish politics (Çapan and Zarakol 2017; Sen 2020).[5]

After the Second World War, the adjective "'postcolonial' had a clearly chronological meaning, designating the post-independence period" (Ashcroft et al. 2013, 204) and related processes of decolonisation. The so-called 'post-colonial turn' in literary studies of the 1980s led to an extension of this meaning. According to Doris Bachmann-Medick (2016, 131), "'post' is no longer synonymous with 'after' or 'the end of' colonialism. Rather, it describes the continued existence of colonialist structures, particularly cultural and economic ones." Despite the formal ending of direct colonial rule, the prefix 'post' thus refers to the continuing aftereffects of colonial enterprises in different geographical contexts, such as economic dependence on the former colonial metropoles and experiences of imposed cultural and societal transformation:

> On the one hand, as a critical historical category, 'postcolonial' refers to the long-term structuring of global relations by colonialism, decolonization and neocolonialist trends. On the other, above and beyond its historical embeddedness, it has initiated a cultural theory that is focused on a critique of hegemonic Eurocentric imperial discourses and, under the influence of postcolonial studies, has trained its sights on Eurocentric knowledge structures and representational systems (ibid.).

Building on a critical engagement with (Western) modernity, post-colonial theory has also targeted modernism, i.e., the cultural dimension of modernity. Shmuel Eisenstadt (2000, 1) has criticised classical modernisation theories for believing that modernity would take a singular shape across the globe:[6]

> [These theories] assumed, even if only implicitly that the cultural program of modernity as it developed in modern Europe and the basic institutional constellations that emerged there would ultimately take over in all modernizing and modern societies; with the expansion of modernity, they would prevail throughout the world.

Others have pointed out that even those theories that suggest 'alternative' or 'plural' modernities and modernisms presuppose an 'original' modernity rooted in the West (Wollaeger 2012, 13). To detach modernism from its common affiliation with specific literary and cultural movements in the West, Susan Friedman (2015) has proposed a spatially, temporally and (content-wise) broader, polycentric and polyvocal re-definition of modernism(s). Friedman

[5] The question of whether Ottoman rule should be seen as a form of internal colonial domination is discussed as well (see, e.g., Makdisi 2002; Türesay 2013; Reilly 2020). Following Deringil (2003, 312), most authors argue that the Ottomans "borrowed colonialism" in their "drive to achieve modernity."

[6] As put forth by, for example, Karl Marx, Émile Durkheim and Max Weber.

argues that the "(illusory) break with the past, a willed forgetting of tradition, continuity, order" can be found in different (cultural) contexts:

> A particularized modernity located in space and time could potentially emerge wherever and whenever the winds of radical disruption blew, the conditions of rapid change flared up, or the reflexive consciousness of newness spread – whether these were eagerly sought or resisted, whether imposed from without or developed within (Friedman 2015, 34).

For Friedman, (original forms of) modernity and modernism can hence also be examined in 'non-Western' contexts,[7] as the engagement with disruption, break and transformation is the defining feature of modernism. While I understand modernity and modernism as locatable at any particular geohistorical and contextual conjuncture characterised by rapid change and societal transformation, an analysis of modernisms over the last centuries needs to take Western political and economic dominance into account, which also includes the West as a major cultural reference point. As Friedman (ibid., 8) has argued, "[t]here is no doubt that the so-called rise of the West happens during this period [i.e., over the last 500 years], with a tremendous (though not exclusive) concentration of global power centred in first Europe and then the United States." In this time period, standard paradigms of European cultural modernism like novelty and originality become the scale and global reference by means of which 'Other,' 'non-European' or 'non-Western' cultural artefacts are measured. In this binary framework of original vs. imitative modernism, art production in non-Western contexts is caught up in a complicated struggle, searching for local originality within the framework of Western cultural dominance (see Kučera and Chovanec 2022).

Overall, a post-colonial approach thus highlights the extent to which what is generally referred to as 'modernity' *tout court* is in most cases actually Western or, more generally, Western-dominated modernity (captured by the notion of Occidentalism, introduced in Chapter 2.3.). Post-colonial analysis targets the long-term consequences of 'Western' forms of hegemony and power in societies affected by them. It challenges Western legitimisation narratives, such as civilisational superiority or the necessity of modernisation and development, and puts into question how 'non-Western' contexts deal with the experience of European colonialism or imperialism.

[7] In this dissertation, references to the '(non)-West' or the 'East'—sometimes but not always highlighted through inverted commas or qualifiers such as 'so-called'—point to dominant framings and not essentialised forms of social belonging (see Chapter 3). Pointing to the construed rather than ontological character of such references is of particular importance when engaging with actors and spaces such as those associated with the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey whose (lack of) 'Westerness' or 'Europeanness' is often problematised.

In what follows, I set the dissertation's conceptual stage by developing a heuristic for the analysis of literary texts in the context of Western-dominated modernity. I start off by discussing traditional approaches to and post-colonial critiques of modernity as both a period usually taken to be inherently connected to Western Europe (2.1.) as well as a broader macro-social phenomenon (2.2.) in order to establish the context in which literary production takes place. I then introduce the notion of Occidentalism as a theoretical framework for the critical examination of Western-dominated modernity and its global implications (2.3.) and put forward the *Occidentalist Lens* as a four-dimensional heuristic for analysing how cultural artefacts—notably literary texts—relate to and engage with the Occidentalist condition (2.4.). While the following sections present a general account of modernity's contours and the broad implications of Occidentalism, I also link this discussion to insights from the late Ottoman Empire as the precursor of the Republic of Turkey in order to prepare the ground for detailed engagement with early republican literature's engagement with Turkey's intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions, which stand at the heart of this dissertation.

2.1. Modernity across Time and Space

'Modernity' as a social standard and cultural imperative emerged in a specific temporal and spatial context. While traditional approaches depict modernity as a specific historical period emanating from Western Europe, post-colonial contributions have challenged this reading. I introduce both accounts as a prerequisite for the discussion of modernity's manifold implications and highlight how the Ottoman Empire appears in both traditional and post-colonial approaches with regard to modernity's temporal and spatial dimensions.

2.1.1. Traditional Approaches to Periodising and Localising Modernity

General (Western-focused) classifications of modernity in history and social sciences usually take the 'European continent' or 'Europe' as a starting point.[8] Historians have attempted to interpret modernity in light of its temporal dimensions, focusing on its origins and classifications over time. From this perspective, the term modernity is used to designate the epoch following the (European) Middle Ages, relating to two key historical events that are usually taken to have shaped recent human history both globally and universally. In a broader sense, classical textbooks have typically understood modernity as the epoch inaugurated by the Italian Christopher Columbus' first voyage to the Americas in 1492 and continuing up to

[8] For an overview of how Europe has been discursively construed and imagined, see Chapter 3.

contemporary times, hence covering a time span of over 500 years (see Baudrillard 1985). In a narrower temporal definition, modernity captures the developments that have emerged in the context of what Eric Hobsbawm (1996 [1962]) referred to as the "dual revolution": the year 1789 signifies not only the French Revolution as a political and social turning point but also the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. Traditional French historiography has described this alleged *chronologie universelle* as divided into *histoire moderne* (1593–1788) and *historie contemporaine* (1789–1945) (Delorme 1949).[9]

From a Western perspective, modernity is not only described as a historical epoch but also refers to the cultural period of modernism as the "expressive dimension of modernity" (Friedman 2006, 432). Similar to the concept of modernity, modernism's temporal classification is uncertain. Anglo-American modernism, which is "modernism in English produced in Britain and the United States and by expatriates living abroad" (Friedman 2006, 427) roughly covers the time span between the 1890s and the 1940s. A broader, but still geographically limited, classification focuses on the European continent, taking the poet Charles Baudelaire's famous work *Les Fleurs du Mal* (1961 [1857]) as well as his essay "Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne" (1868) as the starting point for modernism as a cultural and literary epoch. Not only the temporality but also the spatiality of modernism usually focuses on certain European and US-American urban capitals:

> The geography of classical modernism is primarily determined by metropolitan cities and the cultural experiments and upheavals they generated: Baudelaire's Paris; Dostoyevsky's or Mandelstam's Saint Petersburg; Schoenberg, Freud, and Wittgenstein's Vienna; Kafka's Prague; Joyce's Dublin; the futurists' Rome; Woolf's London; the Berlin of Brecht, Döblin, and the Bauhaus; Tretyakov's Moscow; the Paris of cubism and surrealism; Dos Passos's Manhattan (Huyssen 2007, 1898).

In this periodisation and spatialisation of modernity focused on the 'West'—predominantly understood to refer to (certain segments of) societies in Western Europe and North America—the Ottoman Empire and its capital city Istanbul are usually left out. There is, however, extensive research on questions of modernity and modernisation in imperial and republican times in Ottoman and Turkish studies. As discussed in the recent special issue *Chasing the Ottoman Early Modern* (2020), discussions about the idea of early modernity (*Frühe Neuzeit*) emerged in Ottomanist historiography in the 1990s. Antonis Hadjikyriacou (2020, 37) notes that Ottomanist research has aimed at linking the Ottoman Empire—both temporally and

[9] Recent research has questioned this "périodisation canonique de l'histoire" as an "exception française" (Le Bihan and Mazel 2016).

spatially—to the centre of European modernity, hence implying that "the Ottoman Empire was not inherently different from its European counterparts and experienced similar or identical historical processes." In a similar vein, Boğaç Ergene (2020, 25) highlights that an aligned periodisation of modernity is often used in order to allow for comparisons between contexts framed as 'European' and 'non-European': "this periodization both accommodates (the possibility of) positive, transformative changes in Ottoman lands in the post-Süleymanic era and also enables comparisons between the Ottoman Empire and its European and Asian counterparts." Hence, early Ottoman modernity is considered to largely overlap with the dominant (Western-)Eurocentric categorisation. According to Virginia Aksan (2020, 7), "early modern" has not been used consistently in the secondary literature:

> [It has been used] to discuss how Ottoman social, political, administrative, legal, and military structures were transformed between circa 1450–1700, or 1500–1750, or 1600–1800, or 1550–1850 depending on where one's research is situated, and whether or not the idea of an Ottoman "golden age" ending with Süleyman the Magnificent remains integral to the topic at hand.

Ottoman "middle or late modernity," in turn, is usually vaguely located in the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries and increasingly discussed as a "period of transition, novelty, and experimentation" rather than only as an epoch of decline and Westernisation (Özlü 2021, 40). In a more specific and narrow temporal sense, Ottoman modernity is connected with Sultan Selim III's accession to the throne in the year of the French Revolution (1789) (see Günay 2012, 53). This modernity is said to have peaked with the Westernising reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. The periodisation of Ottoman(-Turkish) modernism is similarly vague. Traditionally, Ottoman cultural modernity is traced back to "a mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Muslim engagement with Enlightenment ideals" (Göknar 2011, 822). Literary modernism is related to the emergence of the novel as a literary genre in the context of the Tanzimat reform period (1839–1876). Göknar (ibid., 823) divides literary modernity further into the periods of "Ottoman modernism" (1876–1908), "Ottoman Turkism" (1908–1922) and "Republican Turkism" (1922–1950). The Ottoman(-Turkish) context thus provides illustrative insights into how Europe-centred temporal und spatial classifications of modernity have impacted the ways in which experiences of actors and spaces at the margins or beyond (Western) Europe have been approached and categorised.

2.1.2. The Post-Colonial Challenge to the West as Temporal and Spatial Reference

Post-colonial theory—notably after the 'post-colonial turn' in the 1980s—has offered tools for the humanities and social sciences to critically engage with dominant Western perspectives and understandings of modernity. Instead of regarding 1492 as the successful opening of a series of

achievements and ideals such as economic progress or the philosophy of Enlightenment, post-colonial scholars have highlighted the complex and problematic aspects of European imperialism and its global effects. According to Maria Clavo (2016, 1), post-colonial theorists in the late 20th century focused on showing "how ideals of emancipation, equality, freedom, and scientific and industrial development were only possible through their opposites: colonial exploitation, inequality, slavery, torture, and suffering in the Global South." Distancing themselves from the "narrative of modernity told as the triumph of rationality, universalism or enlightenment" (Das 2009, xv; see Boatcă 2016), post-colonial thinkers have underlined how the year 1492 marks the beginning of a period of exploration, exploitation and colonisation originating from the European continent. According to Enrique Dussel (1994), the 'discovery' of the Americas signifies the birth of modernity and with it the conscious creation of an order splitting the world into two halves—the 'Oriental' and the 'Occidental' hemisphere (see Chapter 2.3.). The "'nacimiento' de la Modernidad" (ibid., 7) in flourishing European cities went hand in hand with the ideological, political and economic formation of Europe as the centre of the world and the conception of the non-European as its constitutive Other. In a similar vein, the US-American sociologist and economic historian Immanuel Wallerstein (2004, 8), famous for his "world-system approach," has traced the roots of the contemporary modern world back to what he refers to as the "long sixteenth century" (1450–1640) when the capitalist world economy emerged, establishing a system of deep-rooted inequalities "that are so politically central to our current time." The early modern period (1500–1789) is hence connected with the beginnings of the colonialist "Europeanisation of the world" (Schorn-Schütte 2019, 11f).

Similarly, post-colonial studies have also approached references to 1789 in a critical vein, challenging traditional accounts that celebrate that year as the founding moment of classical modernity and the rise of new ideals, including democracy (see Merriman 2004). Without denying the (global) importance of the French Revolution and European industrialisation, McNutt (2014, 127) criticises that these events have become "the standard by which the modern in Europe is separated from modernity elsewhere," imbuing "modern European history with a complex sophistication embodying the French and Industrial Revolutions as the commencement of the modern period." This "age of the dual revolution" between 1789 and 1846, as Hobsbawm (1996 [1962], 25) points out, consolidated a global system of inequalities that had already begun to emerge in previous centuries.

This temporal dimension connects with the spatial localisation of modernity in a specific geographical region of the world. Hobsbawm (ibid., 1, emphasis added) points to the geographic centre of this period of modernity:

> The great revolution of 1789–1848 was the triumph not of 'industry' as such, but of capitalist industry; not of liberty and equality in general but of middle class or 'bourgeois' liberal society; not of 'the modern economy' or 'the modern state', but of the economies and states *in a particular geographical region of the world (part of Europe and a few patches of North America), whose centre was the neighbouring and rival states of Great Britain and France.* The transformation of 1789–1848 is essentially the twin upheaval which took place in those two countries, and was propagated thence across the entire world.

Overall, from a post-colonial perspective, traditional accounts of modernity thus reflect the dominance of a rather specific set of experiences, centring on a limited range of social strata in a limited number of Western—notably Western European—settings. What is more, these dominant experiences are inherently linked with stratification dynamics between 'at home' and during colonial or imperial exploitation in contexts labelled as 'backward.'

Against this backdrop, post-colonial studies have challenged the ways in which 'non-Western' spaces have been integrated into accounts of modernity that centre on European experiences. Recent research about the periodisation and localisation of modernity in the Ottoman Empire has been increasingly critical of defining the Ottoman modern age along the lines of the Eurocentric description of historical epochs. A volume on *Shared Histories of Modernity: China, India and the Ottoman Empire* (Islamoğlu and Perdue 2009a), for example, questions how conventional historiography positions contexts often labelled as non-European with reference to the West's linear modern temporality. The authors instead seek "to transcend the temporal bifurcation of that history into pre-modern and modern, as pre-modernity is often considered to be the 'time' of non-European regions, whereas modernity is assumed to belong to the West" (Islamoğlu and Perdue 2009b, 5). In a similar vein, Nir Shafir (2020, 66) argues that instead of trying to squeeze "local specificities" into the Western periodisation, aspects of Ottoman history such as the manuscript and book culture may offer "an escape from the shackles of a narrative of modernity born from the printing press, and, perhaps, from any narrative of modernity at all." Along the same lines, Selim Kuru (2020, 57) has recently refused to periodise the Ottoman-Turkish literary tradition along Western categorisations, noting that literature generally "will never belong to any given period" and that it "belongs to, if not overflows from, the grand arc of a language."

Recent contributions to questions of periodisation and spatialisation of modernity are thus increasingly critical of such classifications, with some of them in favour of omitting them

completely. While discussing the usefulness of approaching modernity as an epoch is a relevant endeavour, it is also necessary to acknowledge that the phenomena generally connected with the term 'modernity' have had a considerable impact on different spheres of life, and that most if not all individuals and collectives across the globe have—in one way or another—been affected by it. What is more, Joanna Innes (2020, 79) reminds us that modernity does not derive from a homogenous 'West' either. It rather emerged "from particular places and was not a global creation—was not in truth the brainchild of a homogenous 'Europe' or 'west.'" Instead, Innes (ibid.) argues, "it sprang from and was promoted by a limited number of centers and actors" notably in urban spaces like Vienna, Paris, London or New York, often leaving rural or provincial contexts behind or tying them economically and culturally to the centres. Just like Ottoman subjects perceived (Western) modernity as a foreign influence, it "was alien to most Europeans" (ibid.), too. The Ottoman experience of modernity, as Innes argues, is hence one that resonates with experiences of Others across the globe, including in European spaces. In-depth analyses of the modern experience thus provide the foundation for comparative insights across the globe, without losing sight of the structural inequalities of Western-dominated modernity reflected in notions like 'belatedness,' referring to contexts that were economically 'left behind.'

2.2. Modernity as a Macro-Social Phenomenon

Modernity is not only a concept designating a (mostly Eurocentric) epoch centring on a specific set of (mostly Western European) spaces but also a term denoting a multidimensional macro-social phenomenon and hence experience. According to contemporary definitions, modernity can be described as "the quality or state of being or appearing to be modern" or "the ideas and attitudes associated with the modern world" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022a). As a far-reaching social, political and intellectual phenomenon, modernity thus entails multi-layered discourses. As highlighted above, it indicates a quality or value that prefers the 'new' over the 'old.' In everyday language, the adjective 'modern' connotes rather positive feelings, suggesting that something is up to date (rather than out of date) and contemporary, i.e., "relating to, or characteristic of the present or the immediate past" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022b). Deriving from the Latin adjective *modernus* that developed from the Latin *modo* in the strictly temporal meaning of "recently, now," the term 'modern' initially only captured a "time-ratio that distinguishes the current present day from a past that is no longer current" (Stöckmann 2019, 645). A switch in meaning took place in the context of *la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*,

a 20-year literary and artistic debate taking place at the Académie Française in Paris from 1687 onwards and centring around whether contemporary or 'modern' culture "was superior to the classical Greek-Roman culture" (Madsen 2014, 1200). Since then, the adjective 'modern' was used to distinguish contemporary culture and literature from antiquity. Stöckmann (2019, 646) refers to this event as "the decisive break in the conceptual history of 'modernity'":

> This debate leads to the insight that historical cultures are relative to one another and that epochs can no longer be related through a form of imitation (*imitatio*) based on exemplariness and perfectibility. Thus, antiquity definitively loses its character as a timelessly valid model for normative beauty.

According to Stöckmann (ibid.), the second major step in the conceptual history of the term is the introduction of the noun 'modernity,' first used by the linguist Eugen Wolff in a 1886 presentation titled "Die Moderne: Zur Revolution und Reform der Litteratur." The concept of modernity captures "a transitory experience of time" (ibid.) that is reflected as a "crisis of representation" in art and literature (Sanyal 2020). The modern focus on originality and authenticity leads to an emphasis on new content and new forms, most notably the novel.[10] The disassociation from an idealised past and the focus on the contemporary and the futuristic, in turn, is at the centre of the new temporal focus of the modern orientation. Levels of evaluation and valorisation are inscribed in the dichotomy of old and new: within the modern evaluative history model, a vague temporal present is distinguished from a past that is continuously overcome through progress (see Gumbrecht 1978; Koselleck 1995 [1979], 96; Wagner 2016).[11] The transition from old to new on the path of linear development is inscribed in the concept of 'modernisation,' entailing the idea of progression from traditional to modern societies. In this teleological understanding of modernity, the notion of modernisation and related ideas such as development and progress define "the Western-Occidental modern" as "the normative core" (Stöckmann 2019, 647).

2.2.1. The Modern Experience across Politics, Society and Culture

Modernity understood as a macro-social phenomenon is shaped by a broad variety of different dynamics in almost all spheres of human engagement. From a global perspective, modernity relates to the economic practice of capitalism, an increasingly intertwined world market and European colonialism as well as imperialism, upon which the modern political world order has been based. With regard to European spaces, modernity in the long 19th century often relates to

[10] See also below for the Occidentalist Lens and its 'civilisation' dimension (Chapter 2.4.2.).

[11] See also below for the Occidentalist Lens and its 'temporality' dimension (Chapter 2.4.3.).

processes of transition 'from empire to nation-state' (see Chovanec and Heilo 2021a). Eighteenth-century France brought about the idea of the nation as the foundation for political claims, leading to an ideological overlap between nation and state. Nationalism and republicanism would have a lasting impact on the modern international order (see Keitner 2007): the construct of organic nationhood[12] entailed the notions of political self-determination and territorial unity, claims that politically challenged the multinational empires on the European continent.[13]

Over the last two decades, the imperial turn in the humanities (see Chapter 4) has accelerated academic interest in how traditional empires like the Ottomans transitioned into—and were transformed by—modernity. Some of the underlying premises and central expressions of modernity—such as the homogenising principles of nationalism—were often portrayed as existential threats to the survival of 'anachronistic' territorial empires. The Ottoman *tanzîmât* ("reorderings") (see Topal 2017) attempted at coming to terms with the legal, institutional and social requirements of the new age and entailed "extensive reform and change in various areas of administration and society, covering the period from the Gülhane Rescript of 1839 to the establishment of the Ottoman Parliament and the Constitution in 1876" (Köksal 2019, 9; see Ozil 2021). A particular emphasis has been put on how in this period ruling elites in the Ottoman Empire managed their intrinsic diversity in an age of rising nationalism. The Ottoman Empire was internally and externally under pressure to engage with the premises of the modern age, namely the political, economic and military dominance of Europe as well as internal problems relating to nationalist movements. Through more inclusive frameworks of belonging and legal reforms, as Olof Heilo and I have noted, the Ottomans "re-invented themselves in an era of emerging nation-states as embodiments of multinational coexistence" (Chovanec and Heilo 2021b, 4). In response to nationalist movements within the imperial realms, different voices—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—formulated an alternative vision of multinational cohabitation

[12] Building on Hugh Seton-Watson (2019 [1977], 5), who claims that "a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation," Benedict Anderson has famously defined the nation as an imagined political community: "It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006 [1983], 6). Liah Greenfeld (1993, 7) has argued that national identity is a key aspect of nation-building processes: "National identity in its distinctive modern sense is, therefore, an identity, which derives from membership in a 'people,' the fundamental characteristic of which is that it is defined as a 'nation.' Every member of the 'people' thus interpreted partakes in its superior, elite quality, and it is in consequence that a stratified national population is perceived as essentially homogeneous, and the lines of status and class as superficial. This principle lies at the basis of all nationalisms and justifies viewing them as expressions of the same general phenomenon."

[13] National movements also led to new identity formulations and hence frameworks of belonging. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the modern period went hand in hand with the construction of the nation developed in clear demarcation from diverse (e.g., national, ethnic or civilisational) Others.

through the state-led (Çevik 2021) and intellectual (Elfenbein 2021; Guth 2021, Topal 2021b) framework of Ottomanism (*Osmanlıcılık*) or Ottomanness (*Osmanlılık*). Towards the end of empire, these narratives of belonging were given up in favour of pan-Islamist and Turkist ideologies (see Landau 1990; Yenen 2020).

Modernity is not only a political phenomenon but, emanating from a Western perspective, has also traditionally been connected with the Enlightenment as a new philosophical and intellectual movement.[14] Through the works of central (male European) figures like Denis Diderot, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, John Locke, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Baruch Spinoza or Voltaire, *Aufklärung* philosophy has become a constitutive element of modernity in European history of thought. Although it is difficult to extract a clearly defined set of Enlightenment ideas, existing literature highlights certain key elements. As part of the "many threads to this patchwork of Enlightenment thinking," Marcus Power (2014, 96) mentions the primacy of reason and rationalism, the strong focus on science and the belief in empiricism, the universalist idea of progress and development, the ethics of secularism as well as subjectivity and individualism. More generally, the Enlightenment is also related to what Max Weber referred to as "die Entzauberung der Welt." In his argumentation it is the increasing intellectualisation and rationalisation through paradigms of scientific and technological progress that has led to the repression of a mythical and magical understanding of the world (2002 [1919], 488).[15]

More recently, the Enlightenment has been analysed from an explicitly global perspective—paying attention to the fact that different parts of the world have, in various ways and through different channels, experienced respective Enlightenments of their own (see Conrad 2012). This view of Enlightenment as a global phenomenon is analysed "as a response to 'cross-border interaction and global integration'" (Emiralioğlu 2019, 400). In Ottoman studies, this has led to discussions about "Ottoman Enlightenment(s)," referring to processes of change, interaction

[14] As Vincenzo Ferrone (2015, 4) has emphasised, the Enlightenment was the "first cultural phenomenon expressly recognized by its contemporaries through the name that it gave itself."

[15] Weber (2002 [1919], 488) notes, "[d]ie zunehmende Intellektualisierung und Rationalisierung bedeutet also nicht eine zunehmende allgemeine Kenntnis der Lebensbedingungen, unter denen man steht. Sondern sie bedeutet etwas anderes: das Wissen davon oder den Glauben daran: daß man, wenn man nur wollte, es jederzeit erfahren könnte, daß es also prinzipiell keine geheimnisvollen unberechenbaren Mächte gebe, die da hineinspielen, daß man vielmehr alle Dinge – im Prinzip – durch Berechnen beherrschen könne." This idea of *Beherrschbarkeit* (controllability) has contributed to an anthropocentric modern worldview in which nature and its resources have become the object of human control, domination and exploitation. Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno (2000 [1944], 15) have described the modern relationship between ratio and nature as patriarchally excessive: "Die glückliche Ehe zwischen dem menschlichen Verstand und der Natur der Dinge, die er im Sinne hat, ist patriarchal: der Verstand, der den Aberglauben besiegt, soll über die entzauberte Natur gebieten. Das Wissen, das Macht ist, kennt keine Schranken."

and innovation among and between different ethnic or linguistic groups within the late empire and beyond (Sariyannis 2020). Distancing itself from traditional accounts of mono-directional European influence on Ottoman intellectual life, for instance, recent research has expanded on inner-imperial Ottoman debates, particularly with regard to processes of exchange between Arab and Turkish cultural spheres in the context of the "Arab Renaissance" (*nahḍa*, 19th–mid-20th century) and the Tanzimat (Ceyhun 2017; 2019).

Apart from these major changes in the fields of politics and intellectual history, the macro-social phenomenon of modernity can also be regarded more generally as a (social) experience. The modern experience entails a reformulation and recalibration of relations "between one human being and another and between human beings and nature" (Deen 2012, xxix). As the US-American philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952) argued, social relations between sexes, for instance, had evolved in the context of modernisation processes, inducing discussions about gender roles and the gradual resolution of the patriarchal family cosmos (Dewey cited in Deen 2012, xxix).[16] At the same time, urban life had changed significantly through industrialisation processes, with new technologies and transportation as well as communication means leading to new forms of (im)mobilities.[17] The rapidly expanding print culture in combination with growing investment in education systems and the ensuing increase in literacy rates had another decisive impact on the modern experience. As Patricia Mainardi (2017,1) has argued, in the long 19th century "more prints, illustrated books, magazines and newspapers were produced in the Western world than in previous centuries combined." These "shifting conditions of generating and materially inscribing human thought have profound repercussions on the emergence and consolidation of worldviews in the so-called modern age" (Cochran 2009, 3).

This also came to pass in the late Ottoman Empire with the expansion of public education and a "spectacular rise of printing and publishing […] in the wake of the *Tanzimat* reforms in the 19th century" (Strauss 2003, 42). As Johann Strauss (ibid., 40; see Booth 2019) has argued, literary production took place across the empire's diverse language and ethnic groups, going

[16] On the Occidentalist Lens and its 'gender' dimension, see below (Chapter 2.4.4.).

[17] On the Occidentalist Lens and its 'spatiality' dimension, see below (Chapter 2.4.1.). According to Dewey (cited in Deen 2012, xxix), "[i]t can be confidently affirmed that every aspect, content, structure and phase of human life has been radically changed, directly or indirectly, for weal or woe, by proliferating and accelerating industrial-technological revolutions. For example: they have changed the structure of family life, the status of women, the relations of the sexes, of parents and children; education has been changed in every respect, quantitatively and qualitatively; vast populations have been urbanized, imposing new occupations and new ways of life; transportation and communication have been revolutionized, with incalculable human consequences; intra-national and international relations, friendly and hostile, cooperative and competitive have been multiplied and intensified; local and world-wide class and race problems have been generated or exacerbated."

hand in hand with the formation of a broader literate public.[18] Under the Tanzimat, the Ottoman experience of modernity was further shaped by new possibilities of participation and a recalibration of social mobilities. Women's rights and education were widely discussed in political and intellectual circles.[19] Efforts to include all children in the formal education system and to increase literacy rates led to the opening of secondary schools for girls towards the end of the 19th century (see Gelişli 2004). The expanding print world, in particular, engaged with the role of women in society and contributed to vivid social debates, with women themselves contributing to the emerging public sphere through publishing and writing. As Hülya Yıldız (2018, 177) has pointed out, the emerging medium of women's journals enabled "a woman's literary tradition that promoted writing, reading, and their participation in the larger discussions of the time by encouraging them to become readers and writers, contributing to the production as well as the consumption of culture." Gender-related issues were explicitly discussed in these magazines, focusing on women's education, the challenges of polygyny and modern clothing (see Şeni 1990, 45f). As Alexander Safarian (2007, 141f) notes, however, the effects of these activities should not be overestimated as they "were concentrated in the capital-city and involved only well-to-do and educated women of a very restricted circle that was well isolated from the general public." Within the ranks of this small circle of women, some became known to the public as publishers, writers and readers (Argunşah 2015, 29).

One of the first well-known Ottoman female authors, Fatma Aliye, played an active role in shaping the public image of and including women in the late Ottoman literary scene.[20] She published the newspaper *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, which was the longest-running women's newspaper at the time (1895–1908)[21] and encouraged her female readers to consider the long-term impact of marriage on their lives, arguing "for the importance of marriages founded upon

[18] Strauss (2003, 40) notes, "[t]he Ottoman capital was a centre of printing and publishing very much like Paris or other European capitals. The production was by no means limited to books in Turkish. To various degrees, it was a cultural centre for Greeks and Bulgarians, Armenians, Sephardic Jews and, despite the importance of a local centre such as Beirut, even for Arabs. The emergence of Modern Persian literature is also closely connected with the activity of Iranians in Istanbul. The different communities were much less exclusive than it may seem at first glance and various types of contacts were much more frequent than might be expected."

[19] Female education was embraced by Ottoman reformers and intellectuals such as İbrahim Şinasi, Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal, who "became vocal in their criticism of the lower position of women" (Elaman-Garner 2017, 434).

[20] In her literary works, questions of education and marriage take centre stage: "In her novel *Udi* (*The Lute Player*, 1899), her female protagonist learns how to play the lute with the support of her father and excels, but when she gets married, she sadly realises that her husband is not interested in this most important pleasure of her life. Similarly, in her *Muhazarat* novel (*Beneficial Stories*, 1892), not only does the female protagonist's husband not like reading, but she also realizes that they have nothing in common. […]. In *Udi*, Fatma Aliye reflects her own thoughts about the marriage institution: girls who are not well informed about marriage are likely to make poor decisions" (İmşir 2014, 380). About the reception of Fatma Aliye in Turkey, see Mignon (2021, 7).

[21] She also founded the first women organisation "Nisvan-ı Osmaniye İmdat Cemiyeti" in 1897 (Argunşah 2015, 29f).

free choice and love, and of harmony and mutual support between the spouses" (Maraucci 2018, 170). Aliye's male contemporary Şemseddin Sami Frashëri (1850–1904) discussed the challenges of arranged marriages in his 1872 novel *Taaşşuk-ı Talât ve Fitnat* ("The Romance of Talat and Fitnat") and advocated for women's rights in his 1879 book *Kadınlar* ("Women"): "There must be no rank distinction of superior and subordinate (*amiriyet ve memuriyet*) between husband and wife. Any such difference creates inequality between the married couple, and inequality makes companionship (*refakat*) impossible" (cited in Gawrych 2010, 97). Although the link between gender and Empire is increasingly analysed in contemporary historiography, "studies have tended to concentrate […] on females in context, rather than on males and masculinities" (Brummett 2007, 283). Not only womanhood but also ideas of manhood underwent processes of change in the transformation period from empire to nation-state. In the late Ottoman Empire, discourses of gender, Empire and modernity became increasingly intertwined, "[t]hat is, empire was associated with the 'old' (*eski*), and gender was associated, often in the form of reconstructed gender roles, with the 'new' (*yeni*)," giving way to negotiations between 'new' and 'old' masculinities (ibid., 290).

Modernity as an experience in the late Ottoman Empire further entailed a recalibration of state-society relations through far-reaching structural reforms, new communications and mobilities, migration processes as well as new positionalities of individuals in urban spaces (see Freitag et al. 2011, 1). While the majority of the Ottoman population had lived in rural contexts at the beginning of the 19th century, the empire's port cities Salonica, Istanbul, Smyrna, Mersin, Beirut, Haifa and Alexandria experienced rapid growth in the following decades (Arnaud 2008, 954). Jean-Luc Arnaud (ibid., 952) has contextualised this increase in movement in relation to the rapid rise of Western imperialism, an intensification of economic exchanges and the Ottomans' loss of provinces to European colonial expansion as well as the building of new nation-states like Greece.

Given the dominance of Europeans across the different spheres of international life, the Ottoman experience of modernity was inherently linked to questions of Westernisation. As Günay (2012, 13) has pointed out, "modernisation" (*modernleşme*) was increasingly equated with "Westernisation" (*batılılaşma*) in the second half of the 19th century. As such, modernity affected various aspects of daily life. Generally, the introduction of European goods to the Ottoman market in combination with an admiration of a Western European, notably French, lifestyle (*alafranga*) "created new consumption patterns and practices," which, in turn, "led to new forms of identification" (Falierou 2017, 166). Towards the turn of the 19th century, for

example, “all the members of the upper classes in Istanbul, regardless of the community to which they belonged, had adopted European fashion” (ibid.). As Yavuz Köse (2019, 183) has recently discussed, other experiences of modernity entailed new forms of recreational and touristic activities like staying in hotels, changing transportation means such as railways and steamships as well as the introduction of alternative forms of mobility like the bicycle.

Across the globe but, again, notably in specific parts of Western Europe and North America, literature as part of modernity’s expressive dimension tried to capture these far-reaching macro-social transformations across different spheres of human life. Modernist authors reflected upon rapid urban transformation, new mobilities, changing relations between sexes and anxieties connected to a globalising world that was thought to endanger local traditions. Through the modern (over-)emphasis on the new and future-oriented progress, the old was slipping away, leading to melancholic literary reflections. Baudelaire, “one of the first poets to represent the aesthetic and political characteristics of urban modernity” (Sanyal 2020, 2), captured ruptures, traumas, breaks and discontinuities most paradigmatically in his lyrical work *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Baudelaire melancholically tried to grasp the modern spirit, consisting—according to John Dewey (2012 [1940], 92)—“of a sense of discrepancy, of conflict, between the tendencies and requirements that are modern and the established institutions, customs, traditions, creeds, within which the tendencies that are modern are compelled to operate.”

Against this backdrop, (Western) literary modernity brought about the rise of the novel as *the* modern genre that, through its open form and content, would be most suitable to address contemporary complexities and conflicts (Matz 2004, 1). Since the late 18th century, when the first theories of the novel as a genre were formulated, the modern novel as an “Ich- und Seelengeschichte” (Vietta 2007, 12) has displayed a strong individual focus. Rather than trying to grasp the external realities of human experience, the novel has been devoted to an exploration of individual lives and the individual’s subjectivity. Another central characteristic of the novel is the narrated conflict between the individual and society. Through a plurality of perceptions of reality embodied by different protagonists, narrations become more diverse, displaying various forms of individual tensions in modern lifeworlds (ibid., 16). European classics like Gustave Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* (1948 [1857]) or Rainer Maria Rilke’s *Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910) engaged in a detailed reflection on key features of modernity, like industrialisation and urbanisation (ibid., 20). In the context of an ever-changing world, the novel, in short, “means fiction that tries for something new, in the face of modernity, to reflect, to fathom, or even to redeem modern life” (Matz 2004, 7).

In the Ottoman Empire, "French literature replaced the Persian classics as a model of enlightened insight into human life" (Seyhan 2008, 29). The novel was introduced to the Ottoman literary worlds in the mid-19th century[22] through translation from the French and increasingly came to stand as the epitome of modernism, capturing processes of change and illustrating negotiations between the poles of the old and new. As a "means of translating between cultures, between ideas, moralities and institutions," the Ottoman novel often didactically explored ideas of how Ottoman modernity could or should look like (Ringer and Charrière 2020, 10). As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the imperial novels also engaged with questions of true and false—or moderate and excessive—Europeanisation. Figures like the dandy representing the decadent decay of a certain cultural and political order featured prominently in German, French, English and Ottoman texts alike.

2.2.2. The Post-Colonial Challenge to the West as a Macro-Social Reference

Post-colonial critics argue that we must overcome "Western modernity as the baseline, point of origin, and measure of all other concurrent and subsequent modernities" (Friedman 2015, x). A number of concepts have been developed to grasp different forms of and types of engagement with the global phenomena of the modern, hence addressing and deconstructing the universalist and hegemonic claims of Western modernity. Shmuel Eisenstadt's (2000, 2f) idea of "multiple modernities," for example, disentangles the concepts of 'modernity' and 'Westernisation,' underlining that "Western patterns of modernity are not the only 'authentic' modernities, though they enjoy historical precedence and continue to be a basic reference point for others." Against the backdrop of the "planetary turn" in the 21st century (Elias and Moraru 2015), modernity is increasingly thought of as a composition of "planetarized processes, forces and aspirations" (Pratt 2022). In addition to the critique of modernity as an epoch and space (see Chapter 2.1.), this post-colonial criticism takes up two important aspects of the poststructuralist challenge to the Western history of thought: a critique of the alleged universality of the Western concept of modernity, including the idea of linear progress, and a critique of individualism as an account building on the enlightened and autonomous subject as the vehicle for national and global development. From a post-colonial perspective, underlying today's globalised and capitalised modernity is a deeply rooted, historically grown system of inequalities organised

[22] The question of when the first Ottoman novels emerged has been a matter of debate: "While mainstream scholarship traditionally identified authors like Şemsettin Sami, Ahmet Midhat Efendi or Namık Kemal, who all published their first novel between 1872 and 1874, as the first generation of Ottoman novelists, the rediscovery in the late twentieth century of Hovsep Vartanyan (Vartan Pasha)'s Story of Akabi (*Akabi Hikayesi* , 1851) and of a handful of other original novels published in Armenian-scripted Ottoman Turkish in the 1860s, prompted a change in outlook" (Ringer and Charrière 2020, 9).

around binary poles. Co-emerging together with capitalism and European colonialism, modernity created a far-reaching and increasingly global system of inequalities that was ideologically justified through the claim of universal applicability of 'enlightened' modern—i.e., European—values. Post-colonial theory has put an explicit emphasis on how this universalist Western definition of the modern has, reversely, created its opposite, the 'unmodern' or 'backward.' The idea of a progressive and original Europe was formulated against its stagnant and imitative Other. Enrique Dussel (1993, 65) has argued that European modernity was "constituted in a dialectical relation with a non-European alterity that is its ultimate content." In a similar vein, Dipesh Chakrabarty (2011, 663f) has emphasised that if "someone is 'modern,' then he or she is so with regard to somebody who is not. That 'somebody' may come to be seen as 'backward' or 'premodern' or non-modern or waiting to be made 'modern,' consigned […] to the 'waiting room of history.'"

In this Eurocentric understanding of the world and its historical *Gewordensein*, Western urban capitals, as highlighted above, become the centre of history, future, progress and development. Various contexts beyond the Western European core, in turn—formally colonised or not—are described and reproduced as the belated periphery. For Dussel (2000, 471), the ethnocentric and Eurocentric universality of modernity is based on an ideologically construed de facto hegemony in both economic and political spheres:

> If one understands Europe's modernity—a long process of five centuries—as the unfolding of new possibilities derived from its centrality in world history and the corollary constitution of all other cultures as its periphery, it becomes clear that, even though all cultures are ethnocentric, modern European ethnocentrism is the only one that might pretend to claim universality for itself. Modernity's Eurocentrism lies in the confusion between abstract universality and the concrete world hegemony derived from Europe's position as center.

In a similar vein, Couze Venn argues that Western modernity not only claimed universal applicability but also, through global practices of economic and political imperialism as well as colonialism, had a widespread impact. For Venn, the idea of universality is one of the defining features of modernity: what distinguishes European modernity from other periods is its "fundamental and widespread effect […] operating right across the whole world" (Venn 2000, 17). In the universalist Eurocentric conception of the world shaped by the West's de facto hegemony, it is through *modernisation* that contexts seen as 'non-Western' or 'non-European' are urged or forced to 'catch up.' The West, defined by the axiomatic overlap of the trinity of modernity, rationalism and Westernism[23] (see Mbembe 2001, 10), is pinned against all those

[23] Westernism refers to as the attraction of the West/seeing the West as positive.

contexts that are requested to modernise in order to approximate the same level of social, industrial and cultural enhancement. As James McNutt (2014, 124) has pointed out, modernisation "connotes a materialistic judgment concerning the amount of industrial implements, machinery, material, or networks a nation may control." Modernisation is an intrinsically process-oriented and teleological concept defined by those processes and standards that are characteristic of the "Western-Occidental modern" (Stöckmann 2019).

Although the Ottoman Empire was never formally colonised and was itself part of the 19th-century Concert of Europe, different forms of Western European expansionism had a decisive impact on its demise. As Stuart Hall (1996, 249) has argued, imperial powers often asserted forms of control over non-colonised spaces:

> by colonisation, the post-colonial references something more than direct rule over certain areas of the world by the imperial powers. I think it is signifying the whole process of expansion, exploration, conquest, colonisation and imperial hegemonisation which constituted the 'outer face', the constitutive outside, of European and then Western capitalist modernity after 1492.

Various authors have critically examined the semi-colonial impact of foreign interventions on the empire as a key aspect of the Ottoman experience of modernity. Şerif Mardin (1989, 17) has argued that the "immediate impact of the French Revolution was not due as much to revolutionary ideology as to the policies the French governments implemented in their relations with the Ottomans."[24] With a focus on the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) in modern international relations, Ayşe Zarakol has contributed to the discussion of Ottoman-Turkish entanglements with Western colonialism. Zarakol (2011) notes that, from the outset, the Ottoman Empire had a less organic transition into what had become the parameters of modernity than the Westphalian states who had pre-defined the standards of the age. In a time when an increasingly hegemonic "worldview with a marked emphasis on progress, rationality, and science" had generated "a universal social hierarchy" (ibid., 38f), Ottoman politicians and intellectuals increasingly accepted or internalised their ascribed belated or inferior positionality towards Europe (see Chapter 3). Although the Ottoman Empire was never colonised as a whole, Zeynep Çapan and Zarakol (2017, 196) argue that "the unequal relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Europeans paralleled colonial dynamics in many ways, from the nineteenth century onwards."

[24] These were, for example, the occupation of Ottoman Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte and the colonial presence of Great Britain in the Levant. Capitulations, which previously were "grants of privileges made unilaterally by Ottoman sultan to various foreign powers," established an "asymmetrical, semi-colonial economic bond between the empire and the Western European powers" (Mardin 1989, 17).

In the economic realm, Mardin (1989, 17) notes, "[t]he second half of the eighteenth century coincided with the growing commercial and industrial strength of Western Europe and the increasing penetration of the Ottoman economy." In a similar vein, Seven Ağır (2022, 47) has recently discussed how the "Ottoman Empire experienced the strong pull of the European markets and eventually turned into a periphery through the formation of commercial, financial and political linkages with the core of the world economy." In an attempt to 'catch up' with the European standards, Ottoman political elite "embraced 'modern' institutions and introduced legal and political reforms" (ibid.). This view is supported by Ussama Makdisi (2002, 770), who writes that Ottoman reformers accepted the alleged necessity to modernise in accordance with Western standards in order to eventually be able to express a local and economically as well as politically independent modernity. As Cengiz Günay (2012, 65) emphasises, the Tanzimat reforms were implemented to respond to European powers' demands to enhance the rule of law and the equal treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims in the empire: "Durch die Reformen wollte man den Forderungen der Europäer nach moderner Rechtsstaatlichkeit entgegenkommen und dadurch den [ökonomischen und politischen] Druck, den sie auf das Reich ausübten, abschwächen." The Tanzimat process was hence shaped by the idea to adapt legal frameworks and reform state institutions in order to *modernise* the empire.[25] However, Ağır (2022, 47) notes, these reforms were "embedded in a context of dependent development," which brought about "legal and institutional outcomes that diverged significantly from those of the core regions and had further consequences for economic development," leading to uneven implications for the Muslim and non-Muslim communities and "creating divergences exacerbated by the rise of nationalism and nation building during the later period."

Besides these universalist claims of Western modernity leading to modernisation efforts across the globe that were embedded in a context of economic inequalities, post-colonial critique also questions modernity's focus on individualism, i.e., the idea of enlightened, rational, logocentric and autonomous subjects as the vehicle of societal and economic development.[26] The Western focus on the individual and the development of nation-states—themselves imagined as building on 'original essence'—is intertwined with colonial expansion and the fact that non-European contexts have been deprived of their right to individual and collective self-determination (see

[25] At the same time, these legal reforms from the 1840s until the First World War were embedded in the "*global* codification momentum, which set the ground for a transnational common imagination of the law during the 'long nineteenth century'" (Rubin 2016, 828; emphasis added). As Rubin has argued that this is why "Ottoman codes, much like codes elsewhere, stand out as essential signifiers of modernity in the socio-legal sphere" (ibid., 828).

[26] Individualism has traditionally been discussed in relation to the US-American idea of free markets and untamed capitalism, the British focus on juridical equality or the German Romanticist notion of an original, creative artist or genius (Meer 2011).

Venn 2000, 169f).[27] The paradigm of enlightened individualism has been criticised not only for its global political implications but also for contributing to a more general notion of modern (and even more so post-modern) meaninglessness. For Charles Taylor (2018 [1991]), one of modernity's malaises is connected to the paradigms of individualism and individual freedom that went hand in hand with the disentanglement from established old orders. Although those orders and hierarchies often restricted individuals, they were nevertheless a source of social *Bedeutsamkeit*. The shift from collective orders of meaning to individuality meant that the "individual lost something important along with the larger social and cosmic horizons of action," contributing to the above-mentioned "disenchantment of the world" (ibid., 3). Although the modern focus on the individual may have led to more personal freedom for many, it has also correlated with a certain indifference towards certain collective questions. In post-imperial settings, this general feeling of an isolated and disconnected individual existence in the context of the often violent and traumatic transformations from multinational empires to homogeneously envisioned nation-states has given rise to melancholy (Chovanec 2017; 2021; Spreicer 2021) or nostalgia (Boym 2002; Schlipphacke 2014; Walton 2019; Fisher-Onar 2021) coming to the fore in different forms of artistic expression.

For the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey), the transition from empire to nation-state in the context of Western European expansion led to a specific form of modernity and modernism.[28] As Azade Seyhan (2008, 23f) has argued, the Ottoman exposure to Western imperialism influenced the themes and aesthetics of the late Ottoman novel in which debates about the perceived "belatedness" and "incompleteness" of Ottoman modernity were picked up. In this time period, as Nergis Ertürk (2012, 532) critically remarks, the "Ottoman literary world" was "violently transformed […] as the empire was peripherally integrated into globalist capitalist modernity." Ottoman novels captured the gradual dissolution of established social orders in the context of modernisation processes and criticised Western materialism and individualism as threats to Ottoman cultural authenticity.

A crucial part of post-Ottoman modernity was the loss of empire and the foundation of a new, Western-oriented political and cultural system within the territory that had become the Republic of Turkey. The dissolution of an order that had existed for centuries, the ideological break from

[27] "The global context of the constitution of the subject within such a philosophy in terms of the singularity of a self-centred entity whose agency is founded in Reason, freedom and individual autonomy is the expansion of Europe, inflated by slavery and New World colonialism, and the emergence of what Weber characterized as rational capitalism" (Venn 2000, 169f).

[28] This transition from empire to nation-state is in many ways comparable to developments in the Habsburg Monarchy and Tsarist Russia (see Barkey 2008; Chovanec and Heilo 2021b).

the past and the articulation of a national framework of belonging aligned with the standards of Western modernity led to rapid change and increased the pace of societal transformation.[29] In early republican Turkey, post-colonial discourses played an explicit role in the formation of national narratives. As Hamit Bozaslan (2008, 423f) has discussed, in the period from 1923–1938, there were many attempts to portray the War of Independence as "not only a struggle against the European powers which tended to destroy Turkey and 'Turkishness', but also a war of emancipation from the Ottoman yoke." Turkey's foundation hence took place at the intersection of post-imperial and post-colonial discourses. The disassociation both from the 'Eastern' empire 'inferior' to the European powers and from 'Western' interfering policies allowed for the construction of what was presented as a distinctively Turkish and modern national identity (see Chapter 3.3.). Some authors have argued that the Kemalist ruling elites themselves displayed signs of an internalised inferiority by rejecting anything commonly associated with 'Eastern heritage.' Barış Erdoğan (2015), for example, speaks of colonial "mental codes" among the often Western-educated bureaucratic elites in early republican Turkey. These included perceiving the Ottoman Empire "through the lens of Oriental despotism and portray[ing] it as an archaic and traditional civilization, which was, by its essence, antithetical to the rule of law, democracy, the Enlightenment and modernity in general" (Erçel 2016, 73). With reference to this internalised Orientalism, authors stress the colonial attitude of the Kemalists towards certain (most notably rural and religious) segments of Turkish society. In her post-colonial reading of the headscarf debate in Turkey, Merve Kavakçi İslam (2010, 7) argues that "while the Turks never lived under colonial conditions, the leaders of the Turkish Republic intellectually embraced an attitude of westernization that was colonial-like in their relationship with the majority of the population." With regard to Europe, however, the explicit anti-colonial discourse of the Kemalists in the wake of the state foundation was soon given up "in favour of a strategy that cast Turkey and Turks as European, white and 'modern', while de-emphasizing the similarities between Turkey and countries under colonial or mandate rule" (Çapan and Zarakol 2017, 196; see Zarakol 2011, 141–159).

[29] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, it is the post-imperial narrative as a specific form of modern literature that captures this transition and rupture.

2.3. Occidentalism: Towards a Critical Examination of Western-Dominated Modernity

In this dissertation, Occidentalism refers to the global condition of relative Western dominance in and through what is commonly referred to as modernity. As discussed above with reference to Dussel (2000) and Venn (2000), European modernity had a widespread impact through European practices of economic and political imperialism as well as colonialism, processes that were legitimated through universalist claims. For Venn (ibid., 19), the term 'Occidentalism' refers to a time-space[30] where "Western modernity gradually became established as the privileged, if not hegemonic, form of sociality, tied to a universalizing and totalizing ambition." This use of the term Occidentalism requires a brief clarification. Building on Edward Said's definition of Orientalism as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and (most of the time) the Occident" (2003 [1978], 2), Orientalist stereotypes evoke the so-called Orient as a vague but homogenous geographical and sociocultural space. Occidentalism, in turn, was defined by Said as the discourse 'Westerners' ascribe to themselves as a result of their engagement with 'the East.' This approach has been criticised for not taking the reciprocity of relationships into account and neglecting the possibility of 'Easterners' talking about their perceptions of the West (Çırakman 2002). Ensuing scholarship has tried to improve or expand Said's theory by redefining Occidentalism as "discourse among orientals about the West" (Lindstrom 1995, 35; see Carrier 1992) and thus as the "reverse gaze" of non-European perspectives on Europe or the West (Akıllı 2013, 23; see Chen 1995).[31] Most contributions to the role of cultural production in the construction of discourses about the West have followed this understanding of Occidentalism as a discourse of representation in what they frame as the East (see Chen 1995; Ahıska 2003 and 2010; Nanquette

[30] According to Venn (2000, 19), Occidentalism has operated up until today: "Occidentalism indicates a genealogy of the present which reconstructs a particular trajectory of modernity, inflected by the fact of colonialism and of capitalism. I relate it to the imperial form of governmentality which begins to appear from the early nineteenth century, and which becomes institutionalized in technologies of the formation and disciplining of subaltern populations, with effects for the process of subjectification/subjection. Occidentalism has culminated today in the establishment of global forms of regulation and of the exercise of economic, political, cultural and military power, instituted in apparatuses and NGOs like the World Bank, the IMF, the United Nations, and networks of expert knowledges supported by international bodies, journals, and so on, enframed within its discursive space."

[31] Until the 2000s, cultural studies were generally more occupied with the European view of non-Western Others than with the 'reverse gaze,' a trend that is also mirrored in the surge of Europe-focused imagological analyses (see Chapter 3). This gradually changed after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, when academic analysis began to engage more with what is mostly uncritically reproduced as 'Eastern perceptions of the West,' attempting to make sense of the violence and hostility expressed in terrorism. In one of the most influential examples, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*, Occidentalism is characterised as the East's analogion to Orientalism; a "dehumanizing picture of the West painted by its enemies around a cluster of prejudices" (Buruma and Margalit 2004, 5). Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit have been heavily criticized for their essentialising approach that reproduces rather than critically unpacks stereotypes unfolding along the East/West binary (see, e.g., Bilgrami 2006, 384; Akıllı 2013, 25).

2013; Akyıldız 2014; Mohamed 2015; Salhi 2021).[32] While most of these contributions put forward nuanced accounts and have broadened the discussion about (mutual) identity representations, they have positioned the East-West dichotomy at the heart of the analysis without questioning the underlying binary at an ontological level, i.e., they focus on how 'the Easterner' perceives 'the West.'[33]

Instead of following this strand of interpretation, I build on Venn's (2000) understanding of Occidentalism—resonating with work by Fernando Coronil (1996), Walter Mignolo (2011) and Manuela Boatcă (2016)—as the result of an economic, political, economic and ideological historical process that constitutes frameworks of belonging, representation and evaluation in the context of Western-dominated modernity.[34] What I refer to as the Occidentalist condition—i.e., the *experience* of Western-dominated modernity—provides the foundation and backdrop for the formation, stabilisation and reproduction of the East-West dichotomy that can be traced, unpacked and analysed anywhere in the world. Venn (2000, 147) describes the dominance of ideas of the 'West' in this understanding of Occidentalism:

> Europe becomes the West, and thought becomes Western. And in the course of this centred, technologized, universalized, ethnocentric, masculine form of hegemony […] the difference of the other is silenced or pathologized, the recalcitrant are marginalized or suppressed, and the subjugated are assimilated.

The post-colonial, for Venn (ibid., 45), refers to the "analysis of the becoming-West of Europe and the becoming-modern of the world." While representations of Selfhood and Otherness also played a role before the 'rise of the West,' the alterity between what is imagined as the Western character of Europe and the Eastern character of its non-Western, Asian Other lies at the heart

[32] In the Turkish context, Meltem Ahıska's (2003; 2010) work has introduced Occidentalism into conceptual discussions about East and West in the Turkish imaginary (see Chapter 3). Ahıska (2003, 353 and 366) uses the term "*Occidentalism* to conceptualize how the West figures in the temporal/spatial imagining of modern Turkish national identity," with Occidentalism as "a set of practices" in "the non-West." Laetitia Nanquette (2013), in turn, has analysed mutual identity representations ('The West' predominantly standing for Europe) in the France-Iran encounter as expressed in contemporary literary prose texts, locating discourses of Orientalism in the French and discourses of Occidentalism in the Iranian context. In a similar vein, Eid Mohamed (2015) approaches Arab Occidentalism as expressed in 21st century Arab fiction, media and cinema. Zahia Smail Salhi's (2021, 1) concept of "Occidentalist literature" as a genre similarly entails "that corpus of works whose main concern in the portrayal of the Occident and the experience of the East-West encounter from the Orientals' perspective." In these analyses, Occidentalism entails a set of discourses surrounding Westernism, anti-Westernism or ambivalence.

[33] This is reflected, for example, in a focus on "the East-West encounter portrayed from the Orientals' perspective" (Salhi 2021, 1, emphasis added; see Nanquette 2013, 5), where 'the Orientals' are assumed to exist in opposition to 'the West': "Genau wie der Okzident den Osten instrumentalisiert hat, hat der Orient den Westen für seine eigenen Interessen benutzt, funktionalisiert und missbraucht" (Akyıldız 2014, 2; emphasis in the original).

[34] Although Meltem Ahıska (2010, 5) explicitly does not follow this theoretical strand, her book *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting* (2010, 3), emphasises that modern Turkish history can be theorised "in relation to the Western constructions of modernity."

of the frameworks of belonging produced by the—both colonial and imperial—Occidentalist condition. It is within the framework of Occidentalism that the Orientalist imaginary has been produced and disseminated; introducing the stagnant, backward, spiritual and feminised East as the mobile, progressive, materialist and masculine West's key Other. As Walter Mignolo (2011, 56) has observed, "Occidentalism was the necessary condition of Orientalism—without Occidentalism, Orientalism is unthinkable." As the epitome of Occidentalist modernity, Europe is not a geographical given but an idea with roots that can be traced back to Greek antiquity (see Chapter 3.2.1.). Within the imperial and colonial framework that has shaped the Occidental condition, it is most notably Spain, France and England that have come to stand for Europe (Venn 2000, 158).[35] Depending on the context, Europe can also refer to Portugal, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany or (Habsburg) Austria, or to the imperial and colonial powers of Western Europe as a whole. Like Europe, 'the West' is an idea, not referring to a fixed geographical but rather a vague civilisational space with Western Europe, and later the United States, at its heart. As Friedman (2015, 3) has argued, the idea of the West "placed certain peoples and cultures at the center of a diffusionist, linear human history, whether for praise as the signifier or civilization or for the condemnation as the sign of oppression." Produced in Orientalist discourses as the West's stagnant Other, 'the East' was taken to refer to the rather ambivalent region of the 'Near East' or to a broader 'civilisational' space including the 'Far East.' Broadly referring "to a sweeping stretch of land and sea from the Middle East to the South Pacific islands," Asia as the 'Eastern' continent is an "area too broad to make any sense as a geographical unit" and thus a no less ambiguous concept (Yamazaki 1996, 107).

These (often vague) notions of East and West have provided key references for (often ambivalent) experiences between and beyond these poles. As mentioned above, modernity's East-West dichotomy conditioned the "institution of a particular imaginary, established in specific representations and tropes, in images, metaphors, symbols and signs which construct the frame of intelligibility of the West" (Venn 2000, 147). Based on the artistry of *narration*, literature is a particularly suitable medium to trace whether, to what extent or how such artefacts are reproduced, referred to, criticised, deconstructed or revalued. As Venn (ibid., 49) has argued, "it is important to recognize the contribution that artists, novelists, poets and musicians have made as producers of the critical and dissident culture which brings Occidentalism to crisis."[36] In the guise of the modern novel, modernism as the cultural expression of modernity

[35] "with significant roles played by the Dutch, by Portugal, and even by Russia in Alaska," as Venn (2000, 158) argues.

[36] As will be discussed in Chapter 3, imagology, a literary methodology rooted in comparative literature, is particularly suitable to trace images and their usage.

has engaged with rupture, speed and transformation including processes of modernisation and/or Westernisation. Although Friedman's (2015) post-colonial approach suggests that modernism is locatable at any particular geo-historical juncture characterised by rapid change and societal transition, the political, economic and cultural dominance of the West over the last 500 years means that the Occidentalist condition should be a central reference for context-sensitive literary analysis.

2.4. The Occidentalist Lens: A Four-Dimensional Heuristic

What kinds of accounts are formulated vis-à-vis of the Occidentalist condition, and how do they relate to the dominance of Western reference frameworks? In order to provide a framework for analysing how (literary) texts engage with the Occidentalist condition, this section develops what I refer to as the *Occidentalist Lens*. Acknowledging the global character of Occidentalism, the Occidentalist Lens is an analytical tool in the post-colonial tradition that can be applied to narrations stemming from locales across the globe. As a conceptual tool, it helps to unpack how frameworks of belonging are formulated in justification of, response to, engagement with or critique of Western-dominated modernity. As a four-legged heuristic, the Occidentalist Lens presents four key dimensions alluded to in previous sections—spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender—that capture the thought structures Occidentalism has fostered. Along spectra defined by binary poles, these four dimensions combined provide a heuristic for examining how experiences—regardless of location or geography—have dealt with Western modernity's exceptional reach and stamina. It is through analysing the extent to which (literary) texts engage with, reproduce, challenge, ignore and/or transcend established binaries that the Occidentalist Lens becomes a tool for a critical engagement with reactions to hegemonic structures. As a heuristic, it joins "attempts to imagine the beyond of occidentalism" (Venn 2000, 83) by unearthing and deconstructing the ways in which Western modernity has been dealt with, notably by those outside of what is generally seen as the Western core. While its explicit focus on Occidentalist logics builds on the historically grown dominance of Western modernity, the Occidentalist Lens directs attention towards the ways in which that dominance is challenged and potentially transformed, and thus highlights steps towards the "possibility for a post-occidentalist way of being" (ibid., 196). While the Occidentalist Lens is a general tool that can be applied in a variety of contexts, in the following sections I combine a general discussion of the four dimensions with more specific insights relating to literary modernity.

2.4.1. Spatiality: Im_Mobility

Spatiality covers phenomena relating to space, i.e., "a boundless three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022c). A spatial approach to social and cultural phenomena centres around a "sensitivity towards the significance of place and space […] in the constitution and conduct of life" (Gregory 2009, 282; see also Haug 2021). The notion of change or rupture at the heart of modernity has a decidedly spatial dimension, arguably best captured by the concept of mobility. According to Tim Cresswell (2006), mobility stems from the combination of movement and meaning. Building on Cresswell's work, Peter Adey (2017, 63) writes, "Mobility is movement imbued with meaning. The way movement gains meaning and significance occurs through what Cresswell terms the 'production of mobilities.'" For Adey (ibid., 11), different forms of mobility are at the centre of the (modern) world: "The processes which make our world work the way it does, however big and small and however imperfectly, from tourism to migration, from transport to communications, at multiple scales and hierarchies, depend on highly uneven forms of mobility."

This unevenness of im_mobilities[37] points to central questions about social inequality and power differentials. As John Urry (2007, 51f) has put it, "[w]e might say that unforced 'movement' is power, that is, to be able to move (or to be able to voluntarily stay still) is for individuals and groups a major source of advantage and conceptually independent of economic and cultural advantage." More generally, and across social spheres, mobility has inherently uprooting features. Characterised by movement-as-change and evolving meanings attached to it, mobility captures (the potential of) the dynamism of existence. For Adey (2017, 15), "mobility is about a displacement of something across, over and through space." The displacement at the conceptual core of mobility removes or undermines attachment to a specific place and points to potential newness that, as a result of enacted mobility, is set to take centre stage. As mobility builds on the movement-meaning nexus, it does not encapsulate movement as such but the capacity or potential to move meaningfully across—and potentially beyond—known space. The lack of that potential, however, or the lack of capacity to connect movement with meaning, is captured by the term 'immobility.'[38] Whether immobility is rather negatively

[37] As Anne Jensen (2011) has highlighted, the notion of mobility entails both actual and potential "movement and flows of people, goods, ideas, images and information from place to place, entangled in networks and in tensions between fixity and motion, territorialisation and de-territorialisation."

[38] "The processes which make our world work the way it does […] rely upon and reproduce equally intensive and extensive forms of immobility" (Adey 2017, 11).

seen as stagnation, referred to as motionlessness or standstill, or appreciated as a comforting break depends on the meanings attached to it.

(Im)Mobility is thus about (the lack of) spatial displacement, with implications that—depending on the vantage point—can trigger different emotional reactions. Questions about (im)mobilities lie at the heart of modern subjects' attempts to deal with lives that "had become so much more a matter of speed and dynamic change" (Matz 2004, 24). As Matz (ibid., 7) argues, mobility has stood at the centre of reflections about the modern condition, raising hopes and creating anxieties:

> This shift from order and stability to change and movement: this was mainly what modernity meant, and it was both alarming and inspiring. Would this new pattern of existence enrich human culture, or destroy it? Would it bring constant progress, dynamic freedom, pure possibility – or shocks and trauma, disaster, conflict, and war? Once it destroyed traditional practices, ceremonies and habits, and once it broke the sequence of culture, what would replace them, what would follow?

Building on the ruptures of Western modernity, questions about the implications of im_mobility also play a central role in the context of Occidentalism. Modernity's fetishisation of newness-through-change means that the modern being is not only supposed to be inherently mobile but also constantly faces (the possibilities) of a world in motion. In the context of Western modernity's close association with imperial expansion and colonial domination, and the global aspirations of Occidentalism more generally, spatiality is imbued with an additional layer of meaning. With the West as a particular set of places that not only lay claim to being the epitome of (social, economic, technological or cultural) mobility but also confront the rest of the world with related notions of development and progress, mobility-related questions are connected with particular spatialized experiences. By and large, the spatial dimension of the Occidentalist imaginary posits the mobile West in opposition to the immobile non-West. As spatialized categories, East and West—or Orient and Occident—appear through their links with questions of displacement. John Hobson (2004, 8) argues that while the West is usually presented as a set of places that "enjoyed dynamically progressive, liberal and democratic values," this is often contrasted with negative images of the East:

> the East was branded as permanently inferior. It has allegedly endured despotic values and irrational institutions, which meant that in the very heart of darkness, a cruel collectivism strangled the rational individual at birth, thereby making economic stagnation and slavery its eternal fate.

The stagnant, slow and inflexible East is thus portrayed as neither willing to move nor able to connect potential movement with new meaning. For the East, the direction of travel—if movement is taking place at all—is mostly pointing backwards. Even if attempts are undertaken

to follow the Western world, the sheer speed of transformation and 'progress' in the West poses a formidable challenge to Easterners mired in stasis.

Overall, Occidentalism's appraisal of mobility is staunchly positive, embracing productivity, progress and the "creative destruction" (*schöpferische Zerstörung*) inherent to capitalist expansion (see Schumpeter 1994 [1942]). Occidentalism's Orientalist images, in turn, locate immobility as unproductivity in the East. Motionless being or stillness are 'othered,' with Occidentalism contrasting the active and productive West with the passive and often lazy East (see Adey 2017, 94). According to Said, Occidentalism with its Orientalist imaginary puts forward notions of a static Orient that primarily "exists" (Said 2003 [1978], 300). Instead of actively shaping history, immobile Easterners react (ibid., 97): "The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement – in the deepest sense of the word – is denied the Orient and the Oriental. As a known and ultimately an immobilized or unproductive quality, they come to be identified with a bad sort of eternality." A step towards challenging Occidentalism's uncritical embrace of mobility consists in acknowledging that "[m]obility is not essentially good or bad. Rather mobility is given or inscribed with meaning and the way it is given meaning is dependent upon the context in which it occurs and who decides upon the significance it is given" (Adey 2017, 66). A critique of Western modernity's approach to mobility, then, can be part of a more general appraisal of the pitfalls of an Occidentalist worldview where globalising mobile forces threaten the local as the most important reference for immediate human experience. More fundamentally even, a positive appraisal or rediscovery of immobility as stillness resonates with the challenges of (post-)modern life and its constant exposure to (moving) flows of information and expectations to adapt.[39]

Despite these obvious links between im_mobilities and the human condition, literary scholars seem to remain largely indifferent to the 'mobility turn' in the humanities and social sciences (Pearce 2020). This is all the more surprising as a considerable range of literary genres—notably the modern novel—engage with mobility-related questions. While Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1948 [1857]) engages with the desire for social mobility and the promises of material wealth, Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* (1994 [1925]), for instance, focuses on how movement and social change are experienced over the course of a single day. With regard to

[39] As David Bissel and Gillian Fuller (2011, 4f) put it, "[a] desire for still might be the relational Other of the everyday freneticism of neo-capitalism: a desire that is only exacerbated by its seeming unattainability. Durations of 'break' from work, in the form of a siesta, a weekend, a holiday could be apprehended as stillnesses sanctioned by capital and compliant with the needs to recharge and re-energize the body to respond to the unbound demands of working life."

Woolf and Elizabeth Gaskell, Adey (2017, 29) argues that modern English literature provides a "fascinating genre within which to explore the expression of gendered mobilities" (see Parkins 2004; 2009). Overall, modern literature captures how the fundamental transformations of modernity enable "eine neue Form der Mobilität" (Vietta 2007, 20), including through rapid urbanisation processes. New means of transport—from bicycles to cars or tramways—play a particularly central role in the modern *Großstadtroman*, such as Alfred Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (2002 [1929]). Questions of im_mobility are further accelerated—and brought to a breaking point—through the experience of transitioning from imperial to post-imperial realties (see Magerski 2018). The demise and destruction of empire as the fundamental ordering principle and the emergence of new forms of order epitomise some of the challenges and potentials inherent to modernity's large-scale transformations.

As will be outlined in Chapter 3, imagological close reading offers a concrete tool for examining representations of im_mobility in literary texts. Building on a critical engagement with modernity's spatialities, Tim Cresswell (2010, 21) suggests focusing on narratives and representations of mobility often "constructed around the brute fact of moving." Given Occidentalism's focus on Western notions of rupture and progress, the analysis of modern spatalities in literary texts centres on and unfolds across the spectrum defined—but not limited—by the 'im_mobility' binary (see Chapter 3.3. for a more detailed operationalisation). The relationship of and the space between the poles of mobility (as the combination of movement and meaning) and immobility (as the lack of one and/or the other) provide a key reference to gauging how and to what extent literary work engages with Occidentalist spatiality.

2.4.2. Civilisation: Form_Content

The notion of 'civilisation' is an inherently modern construct. In everyday language, it has come to refer to "a relatively high level of cultural and technological development" or, more generally, "the culture characteristic of a particular time or place" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022d). The terminological trajectory behind it, however, is inherently linked to the Occidentalist condition. Sebastian Haug and Supriya Roychoudhury (forthcoming), with reference to Göran Therborn (2021) and John Hobson (2012), argue that this reinforces old cultural strata:

> References to Civilization – singular – emerged in 18th-century France as part of European attempts to divide the world between 'the civilized' and 'the savage'. Following World War I, civilizations – plural – became part of discussions to depict (the rise or decline of) cultural identification frameworks, or what Göran Therborn refers to as the oldest and broadest cultural strata.

In the 19th century, the notion of civilisation (singular) was thus inherently linked to one single stratum of reference, namely the dominant forces of Western modernity. As Ayşe Zarakol (2011, 54) has highlighted, the Standard of Civilisation put forward by European powers "is best understood as a closed social stratum of actors […]. Non-members were denied basic rights […] and were stigmatised as being inferior, backward, barbaric, effeminate, childish, despotic, and in need of enlightenment." Western claims to global superiority and the materiality of domination through the colonial enterprise were thus framed through rhetoric that contrasted the civilised with the barbaric. This is how questions about civilisation (singular) came to stand at the centre of Europe becoming the 'West,' i.e., the foundation of the Occidentalist condition.

Western modernity's civilisational forms centred around technological progress and development as well as legal frameworks and institutional standards closely connected to the expansion of capitalism. The "thematization of modernity in terms of form and content" (Roudometof 2003, 37) is a constitutive element of Western intellectual history emerging from European and Europe-centred debates. Aleida Assmann (2012, 30) describes this as follows:

> Die Dialektik von Schein und Sein ist eine spezifische Errungenschaft bzw. Obsession der westlichen Kultur, die in der Geistesgeschickt zwei große Auftritte hatte, zum ersten Mal in einem philosophischen und erkenntnistheoretischen Kontext in den Schriften Platons […] und zum zweiten Mal in einem religiösen und konfessionspolitischen Kontext mit dem Geist der Reformation in der frühen Neuzeit.

Building on Plato's allegory of the cave, the differentiation between true being, on the one hand, and a mere reflection or representation of reality, on the other, was particularly influential in introducing the notion of a hierarchy of being: "Es gibt eine reale Realität, und dann gibt es eine zweite, untergeordnete Realität" (Ruin 2021, 146). Assmann (2012, 31) locates the general obsession with the binary of 'appearance' and 'true being'—i.e., the distinction between form and content—in the difference between the representational surface, on the one hand, and a less palpable depth or essence, on the other. From this vantage point, the formal contours of civilisational progress—economic, political and legal artefacts or forms of oppression—are contrasted with the underlying (cultural) essence of being.

The Occidentalist condition imposes questions about form and content of civilisational belonging well beyond European societies. The 'Occident' as a central and superior reference carries the Standard of Civilisation as a constitutive element of Western modernity, expanding in dominance and visibility. Venn (2000, 82) describes this in the following passage:

> From the nineteenth century, salvation and emancipation are transformed into the promise of 'development' and 'modernization' presented as ultimate goods, the gift or rewards of

> ‘civilization’ that will be bestowed at the right time, provided the colonized ‘other’ renounces her ‘otherness’ and acknowledges the law of Europe.

This, as Venn (ibid., 147) highlights, is how “Occidentalism recruited or compelled Europe’s ‘others’ to join in the long march towards ‘civilization.’” As Said (2003 [1978], 70) has argued, the Orient as (part of the) “non-West” had a constitutive role to play in the formation of Occidentalist accounts of Western civilisation[40]: “The European encounter with the Orient, and specifically with Islam, strengthened this system of representing the Orient and […] turned Islam into the very epitome of an outsider against which the whole of European civilization from the Middle Ages on was founded.”

Confronted with the dominance of Western modernity’s rapidly evolving forms, debates about civilisational belonging take place across different scales. This includes neighbourhoods as social frameworks particularly close to individual experience, produced by the “relationship between local and global realities” (Appadurai 2010 [1996], 184). As Arjun Appadurai argues, the neighbourhood’s modes of localisation are often “opposed to the imaginary of the nation-state,” just as their locality may oppose or support broader frameworks of (civilisational) belonging. Questions about the content of individual and collective lifeworlds engage with dimensions of life beyond technological progress or economic development. Notions of ‘sincerity’ and ‘authenticity’ come to the fore as “Differenzbegriffe” (Assmann 2012, 29) juxtaposed with attempts of imitating or approximating—but never reaching—Western forms.

Faced with the apparent dominance of Western modernity, a number of writers began to identify and highlight cultural or religious experiences—usually with strong references to pre-modern elements—as vehicles or spaces of expression for more authentic or genuine lives. For societies directly faced with Western imperial or colonial domination, in particular, the (im)possibilities of combining Western civilisational forms with ‘non-Western’ content became an increasingly central concern. While polities outside the Western core, such as the Ottoman Empire, had long been framed as a “constant danger” (Said 2003 [1978], 59) to European civilisation, Occidentalism established Western superiority as an increasingly obvious fact of global life. The question for cultural production was thus not whether but how to engage with questions about civilisational belonging. Were Western templates, such as the modern novel, to be adopted in an act of imitation and/or mimicry? While the struggle for (the possibility of) authenticity was a central concern for literary production in both ‘Western’ and ‘non-Western’ contexts, the latter faced a considerably more intricate position. The expanding clout of

[40] On how this relates to the Ottoman-European encounter and mutual identity representations, see Chapter 3.

Occidentalism confronted writers outside the Western European core with constant reminders about the need to position themselves vis-à-vis dominant forms of cultural production that unfolded beyond their control.

Given Occidentalism's embrace of Western civilisational forms, the analysis of how literary texts address questions of civilisational belonging is directed towards a spectrum building on the binary of form and content. As 'form_content,' that spectrum unfolds between and potentially also beyond the two poles, centring around questions of authenticity and originality (see Chapter 3.3. for a more detailed operationalisation). In the context of the rise of Western modernity, questions about the possibility of authenticity are raised with regard to both individual and collective experiences. Whereas individual authenticity relates to the discovery of a true inner essence, the quest for an authentic collective identity resonates with the emergence of national communities that suggest a commonly shared origin among those who belong to what is imagined as the modern nation (see Anderson 2006 [1983]). Against this backdrop, the work of writers based outside the core of Western European literary production is set to shed light not only on questions of authenticity but also on how they relate to the quest for genuine content in the context of dominating Western forms.

2.4.3. Temporality: Past_Future

Temporality can be broadly defined as "the quality or state of being temporal," i.e., relating to the phenomenon of time as opposed to eternity and often also as an opposite to space (*Merriam-Webster* 2022f; 2022g). The focus on time as inherently evolving, and thus defined by change, is generally seen as a—if not the—defining feature of modernity. As Friedman (2012, 499) puts it, "modernity has been predominantly a temporal concept, emphasizing a rupture separating the present and future from the past." With change and rupture at its heart, modernity offers a particular approach to the broad past_future spectrum. Modern temporality introduces an explicit and often violent distance to times gone by and embraces the notion of transformation and ongoing development. As Matz (2004, 7) argues, Western modernity "is the world of the present, adrift from tradition and bound for the future, traumatized by conflict and wracked by doubt; but it is above all a world of change." It is, as the poet Charles Baudelaire (1868, 69) put it, "le transitoire, le fugitif, le contingent."

With reference to scholars of (post-)modernism such as Frederic Jameson, Espen Hammer (2009, n.p.) has argued that "the culture of modernity was temporally structured around the emergence of a commodified, linear and homogeneous time." This linear homogeneity centres around the notion of progress, reflected in what 'modernisation' theories would later promote

as models of development building on Western (economic) experiences (see Rostow 1990 [1960]). Building on the Latin meaning of *progressus* or *progressio*, the term 'progress' has captured ideas of "Fortgang" or "Fortschreiten primär zum Besseren" (Ritter n.d., 1), connecting modernity's focus towards the future with a strong confidence and clear direction, i.e., "Bewegung nach vorn" (ibid., 19). As Johannes Fabian (1983, 17) has argued, modernity transformed the previously prevalent belief in faith in salvation to faith in progress. As "the only place in which the past can live is the present" (Agamben 2019, 2), the present's demotion of the past and its often-blind belief in (a certain version of) the future changed the ways in which individuals and society at large were thought to engage with their own temporalities.

Overall, few have been able to emancipate themselves from the increasingly dominant notion of continuous linear development. While Nietzsche qualified progress as "bloss eine moderne Idee, das heisst eine falsche Idee" (Nietzsche, cited in Ritter n.d., 20), most contemporaries found it difficult to ignore or counteract the expansion of modernity's material and mental maps. The modern conception of time defined a scheme where "not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time – some upstream, others downstream" (Fabian 1983, 17). Non-Western societies faced a particular set of challenges. Occidentalist assumptions constituted the idea of progress in opposition to the notion of stagnation or regression, usually constructed with reference to the non-Western Other (see Chapter 3). The discovery of the world—as discussed above with reference to Columbus' voyage to the Americas—was framed as the epitome of the West's civilisational progress, while the subjugation of non-Western people and spaces was either ignored or celebrated as a victory over (often dangerous) backwardness. In opposition to the advanced Western Self, the notion of the "primitive" Other was "essentially a temporal concept" (ibid., 18) highlighting the 'not yet' of non-Western societies. At its core, this distinction with both its material and mental repercussions would have long-lasting effects on the constitution of global interaction. As Hobson (2004, 9) has put it, this led to the creation of "a kind of 'intellectual apartheid regime'":

> European history was inscribed with a progressive temporal linearity, while the East was imagined to be governed by regressive cycles of stagnation. In particular, within the Eurocentric discourse this divide implied a kind of 'intellectual apartheid regime' because the superior West was permanently and retrospectively quarantined off from the inferior East.

In terms of temporal belonging, this bifurcation between East and West informs a global mapping where "[t]he Orient comes to stand for tradition, the Occident for modernity" (ibid., 16). What is imagined as Eastern traditions, then, often provides an important—and arguably necessary—contrast to Western rupture and transformation.

Faced with the often-militant Western progress as an increasingly dominant standard, a key trope among experiences beyond the Western core centres around the notion of belatedness. Europe's economic and military expansion intertwined with technological development and colonial domination meant that societies and polities outside Western Europe, such as the Ottoman Empire, were confronted with increasingly visible forms of Western hegemony. Over time, Western conceptions of progress and superiority led to what Fabian (1983) has referred to as a "denial of coevalness" vis-à-vis non-Western Others, i.e., "the refusal of the West to see other societies as existing on the same temporal plane" (Martin 2016, n.p.). This time-lag between the Western Self and the non-Western Other would become a constitutive feature of the global. Building on Fabian's analysis, Martin (ibid.) has argued that with Western notions of linear development, "temporality itself becomes a way to divide ostensibly 'advanced' or 'up-to-date' societies from 'backward' ones." This distinction has had lasting effects, with belatedness as part of a complex set of emotional experiences. Friedman (2012, 512) explicates this as follows:

> The power of the Eurocentric diffusionist ideology of modernity and the imperialism it rationalized has itself created a psychical reality of belatedness outside the West, one especially exacerbated by the continuing effects of the shame and humiliation that are key phenomenological dimensions of conquest and colonialism.

Literary forms of expression grappled with these divided temporalities of modernity in different ways. The general modern condition meant that authors across the board had to revisit what they wanted to write about and how they wanted to write. Towards the end of the 19th century, and particularly with the First World War, "it became fully clear to writers of all kinds that a changing world demanded a new kind of fiction" (Matz 2004, 13). The modern novel provided one way of reacting to changing circumstances. Matz (ibid., 1) describes how these changes shaped the 'modern' novel:

> [Modernity] seemed to break the world in two, snapping all continuities with the past, putting human character and life itself into a state of constant change. To keep up, the novel also had to snap and to split – to change. And so it become 'the modern novel,' breaking with the past, making itself new to pursue modernity into the future.

Attempts to react to or address experiences of belatedness in literary works deploy different sets of strategies. On the one hand, a focus on continuities between past and future—particularly prominent among conservative writers—can be read as a critique of modernity's proclivity towards rupture. In line with Bergson's notion of 'durée,' continuously evolving but inherently connected streams of human experience provide the foundation for attempts to reconcile 'what was' with 'what will be.' On the other hand, the experience of the (anticipated or immanent)

loss of the past can give rise to melancholy as a central phenomenon of the modern condition (Lepenies 1972; Pippin 1999; Ferguson 2005). Instead of attempting to fight against (perceptions of) rupture, melancholy embraces and builds on it by aestheticising the experience of loss. The melancholic attachment to the past and its insistence on remembering times gone by can be seen as an attempt to resist Western modernity's forced turn towards the future.

Due to the Occidentalist focus on Western mental maps, the analysis of modern temporalities in literary texts thus centres on and unfolds across the spectrum defined by the binary of past and future. The relationship of and the space between—and, potentially, beyond—these poles (i.e., 'past_future') stands at the centre of the temporality dimension of the Occidentalist Lens (see Chapter 3.2. for a more detailed operationalisation). As the literary dictum of modernity, newness—or the process of "making new" (Pound 1934)—stands out as a particularly central theme. Complex emotions connected to the temporal dimensions of the modern condition include the past-oriented inclination of 'melancholy' and its preoccupation with (anticipated) loss as well as 'anxiety' about a future defined by an unpredictable rupture. As Matz (2004, 13) has argued, particularly insightful material for this analysis are literary texts informed by "the point of view of a writer who stood on the threshold of the old and the new." As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the immediate, i.e., early literary post-imperial narrative is a modern genre particularly suited to grasp these 'threshold moments,' also and particularly with regard to experiences beyond the Western core. The work of authors who lived through the downfall of imperial structures and the emergence of a new—i.e., national—order outside Western Europe, and who used this experience to inform the literary oeuvre, is of particular relevance to the study of literature. Confronted with the often-overwhelming dominance of the West in different spheres of life, and the framing of their own existence as 'primitive,' 'belated' or 'backward,' their literary work is set to provide insights into how modernity's temporalities have been dealt with from the perspective of Western modernity's Other.

2.4.4. Gender: Fe_Male

Similar to questions of spatiality, temporality and civilisation, a focus on gender-related questions offers insights into key features of Western-dominated modernity. As Benedict Anderson (2006 [1983], 5) has stated, "in the modern world, everyone […] 'has' a gender." Initially employed as a grammatical subclass, the term gender first acquired a meaning similar to that of 'sex' to refer to "either of the two primary biological forms of a species" and later developed into a reference for "the behavioral, cultural, or psychological traits typically associated with one sex" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022h). This notion of socially

constructed identities and roles has traditionally unfolded around the male-female binary[41] and thus provides a lens for analysing relations between men and women in the context of the Occidentalist condition.

While modernity as "a mode of vital experience" has been "shared by men and women all over the world" (Berman 1982, 12), the typical male and female experiences of modernity have differed significantly. In the long 19th century, developments from empire to nation-state see democratisation and legalisation processes across Western Europe that include significant formal shifts in gender relations, maybe most visibly in the fight for women's suffrage. Against the backdrop of entrenched gendered hierarchies, evolving changes in or attempts to change the role and status of women—from women's rights movements and the evolution of legal codes to women's inclusion into the formal workforce—also have effects on men. As Jordan (2001, 18) puts it, the "melancholic stance towards the present may be intimately related to modern masculinity," suggesting that the modern melancholic male gaze is a reaction to modernity's ruptures that, among other things, lead to increasing levels of female self-determination and thus threaten patriarchal logics. These changes, however, often turn out to be less far-reaching than women's rights activists hope for. While modernity engenders significant challenges to established images of both womanhood and manhood, the promises of female emancipation face the continuing supremacy of male-dominated structures and mindsets, from the general commitment to masculinised, rational and linear progress to the formal and informal institutions of inherently patriarchal societies. According to Jordan (ibid., 16), the gender of Western modernity and its theories has indeed been male, building on a strongly male-focused trajectory:

> Many of the key symbols of the modern in the nineteenth century – the public sphere, the man of the crowd, the stranger, the dandy, the flâneur – were indeed explicitly gendered. Thus a recurring identification of the modern with the public was largely responsible for the belief that women were situated outside processes of history and social change.

From a global perspective, a focus on gender-related questions also points to another feature of the Occidentalist condition, namely the association of the West as male and the non-West as female. As Edward Said (2003 [1978], 206) highlights, 19th-century (male) writers from Karl Marx to Gustave Flaubert "kept intact the separateness of the Orient, its eccentricity, its backwardness, its silent indifference, its feminine penetrability, its supine malleability." From an Occidentalist perspective, then, the East is traditionally associated with the passivity and bendability of the female as something to be possessed. According to Said (ibid., 220),

[41] While the gender spectrum is substantially larger, the dominance of the male-female binary in classical Western modernity is taken as a main reference here to analyse how this dominant framework was perceived, adopted, transformed and/or undermined by so-called non-Western accounts.

European colonisers "poured out their exuberant activity onto the fairly supine, feminine Orient." As Manuela Boatcă (2016, 15) has argued with reference to Enrique Dussel and others, Western modernity's underpinnings suggested that the male West was to take care of the female East along the lines of established nature-culture dichotomies:

> gender, racial and ethnic differences between the West and the non-West were consequently naturalised or culturalised according to the same cumulative principle: Women, children, the elderly, the poor, non-Whites, people of the periphery, and animals were sorted under the natural world, and hence seen as disorderly, unworthy of reward, legitimately exploitable, and in need of control. White men from or in the core entered the categorisation as culture creators and nation-builders, in charge of the domination, control, or guardianship of the former.

This notion of the dominant white Western male as a central feature of the Occidentalist condition has had far-reaching implications for non-Western societies: "branding the East as exotic, enticing, alluring and above all passive (i.e. as having no initiative to develop of her own accord), thereby produced an immanent and ingenious legitimating rationale for the West's imperial penetration and control of the East" (Hobson 2004, 8f). Overall, the modern thus comes with what appears as two gender-related counter-developments: while Western modernity is accompanied by (the promise of) significantly increasing levels of female emancipation, the core of the Occidentalist mindset celebrates Western rationality, linearity and progress (i.e., the ideal male) over non-Western emotionality, circularity and backwardness, often associated with the female.

Western literary accounts see the rise of the female as a publicly visible feature of modernity. While women have long been connected to literary production and consumption in indirect or hidden ways, it is with Western modernity that women more generally come to the fore as both readers and authors. In the context of societal transformation generated through industrialisation and ensuring urbanisation in 18th-century England, upper middle-class women increasingly consume—and publish—literary works. At the same time, however, the modern separation of work (public) and home (private) also leads to a "Polarisierung der Geschlechtscharaktere" (Hausen 1976), where men actively and rationally engage with the outside world while women, more passively and emotionally, are to take care of domestic matters. Against this backdrop, modernity sees the rise of what many have referred to as 'Frauenliteratur,' i.e., literature by, for and on women:

> Mit dem Sammelbegriff Frauenliteratur wird das gesamte von Frauen* verfasste Schrifttum bezeichnet oder, in einem engeren Sinn, Literatur von Autorinnen, die weibliche* Erfahrungen thematisiert und daher als für Frauen* intendiert wahrgenommen wird (Folie 2019, 20).

As Sandra Folie highlights, dominant systems of literary production and consumption usually approach the notion of 'Frauenliteratur' as a frame centring on female authors, readers and/or protagonists, in opposition to 'normal'—i.e., male—literature that remains unmarked. In order to avoid the homogenisation and marginalisation that often comes with framings that highlight literature primarily as by or for women, a more critical strand of literary studies tends to understand 'Frauenliteratur' more as a phenomenon to be studied rather than a separate genre.

A key feature of the modern novel is the 'new woman,' a term coined by the writer Sara Grand. Widely taken up in English literature in the late 19th and early 20th century, the 'new woman' is—as Folie (ibid., 27) puts its—intelligent, educated, emancipated and able to take care of herself. Women's rights movements, including the suffragettes in the United Kingdom, provide important references for evolving ideas in literary work of what women are or how they should behave and relate to men. In the work of both female and male writers across Western Europe and the United States of America, the 'new woman' becomes a central phenomenon in a variety of texts, from Henrik Ibsen's drama *A Doll's House* (1879) or Henry James' novel *Portrait of a Lady* (1881) to *The Awakening* (1899) by Kate Chopin or *Anna Lombard* (1901) by Victoria Cross. As Kerstin Barndt (2003, 12, cited in Folie 2019) has put it with reference to 'new woman' novels in 1920s Germany: "Die Protagonistinnen der Romane loten in modellhafter Weise Extrempositionen moderner Weiblichkeit zwischen Liebe, Mutterschaft, Beruf und Kultur aus, sie spielen mit den populären Bildern der Neuen Frau und experimentieren mit einer Reihe von Weiblichkeitsentwürfen."

Importantly, the 'new woman' as 'true woman' in these literary texts from the late 19th and early 20th century is usually a—or the epitome of the—Western woman: white and affluent (see Klaiber 2007, 216). In contexts framed as non-Western, this particular understanding of what 'real' female or male protagonists are connects gender-related dynamics to questions of authenticity: how can a woman be a modern woman without being an imitation of a Western woman, for instance, and to what extent is an Eastern dandy nothing but a simulation of a Western role model?[42] Debates about the role and position of women are often inherently linked to questions about Westernisation, such as the ways in which female emancipation through education is to be adapted to Eastern traditions (see Sönmez 1969; Elaman-Garner 2017). In the Turkish context, for instance, "post-independence patriarchal nationalism" (Göknar 2013, 47) combines a focus on women's rights with a strong and continuing commitment to patriarchal structures. In order to unearth and examine accounts of the evolving gender relations

[42] See the discussion on the '*züppe*' in Chapter 4.

stemming from literary texts, the analysis is set to centre on and unfold across the spectrum defined by but not limited to the 'male_female' binary (see Chapter 3.2. for a more detailed operationalisation). The relationship of as well as the spaces between or beyond the poles of male and female provide the central references for examining how and to what extent literature engages with notions of gender in the context of the Occidentalist condition.

2.5. In a Nutshell: Occidentalism in this Dissertation

This chapter has provided the conceptual foundations for this dissertation's engagement with literature in early republican Turkey. With reference to modernity as a broad category centring on disruption and transformation, I have discussed the Ottoman experience of modernity as a macro-social phenomenon, from the formation of public opinion to a recalibration of gender relations and a general increase in technological and social mobility. While the centres of modernity are usually taken to be located in Western European metropoles such as Paris and London, the Ottoman Empire and its capital city, Istanbul, were framed as being positioned at the margins of or outside the West. With Western Europe as the central reference for what it meant to be modern, Ottoman society embraced reforms across different spheres to Westernise, i.e., approximate European standards of development and progress. Ottoman modernity was further shaped by processes of imperial decline, where Ottomanism as a broad framework of belonging increasingly gave way to nationalist movements challenging the territorial integrity of the empire. With reference to modernism as the expressive dimension of modernity dealing with experiences of change and rupture, I have highlighted how Ottoman literary production and particularly the emerging genre of the Ottoman novel reflected increasing attempts at Westernisation during the Tanzimat.

A defining feature of the context in which (literary) modernity in the 19th and 20th century unfolds is Occidentalism, i.e., the global dominance of Western modernity. The imperial expansion, colonial domination and increase in capitalist exchanges emanating from Western Europe have had a defining impact not only on economic and political relations but also on cultural production. Following Venn (2000), the notion of Occidentalism accounts for the direct and indirect ways in which individuals and collectives both within and beyond Western societies have been confronted with specific notions of progress, development and civilisational belonging. It is through Occidentalism that specific (idealised) parts of (Western) Europe become the 'West' as the superior reference for what it means to be modern.

In order to translate the general Occidentalist condition—i.e., the experience of Western-dominated modernity—into an analytical framework, I have put forward the Occidentalist Lens as a four-dimensional heuristic for examining cultural artefacts such as literary texts (see Figure 1 for an overview). Spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender are key dimensions of Occidentalism that capture fundamental components of Western modernity's global legacy. The spectra of these four dimensions centre on binaries, notably 'im_mobility' (spatiality), 'content_form' (civilisation), 'past_future' (temporality) and 'fe_male' (gender). While these binaries provide the definitional core of Occidentalist dimensions, the Occidentalist Lens opens up space to consider the extent to which texts explore experiences between or beyond these poles. Through an engagement with the binaries of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender, the Lens can be applied across different scales, from individual to collective, and offers a systematic framework for examining how the Occidentalist condition is imagined, reproduced, engaged with and/or resisted against. In addition to providing a heuristic for the literary analysis in this dissertation, the Occidentalist Lens makes a conceptual contribution to debates about Occidentalism and modernism studies more generally.

The Four Dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens

DIMENSION	SPECTRA CENTRING ON (BUT NOT LIMITED BY) BINARY POLES		
Spatiality	immobility	____	mobility
Civilisation	content	____	form
Temporality	past	____	future
Gender	male	____	female

3. Imagology: Studying Images of Self and Other

This chapter introduces imagology as the methodological tool kit for operationalising the Occidentalist Lens and thus sets the stage for the analysis of literature in early republican Turkey. As a methodology developed in and through Comparative Literature, imagology encapsulates one of the central tenets of the discipline, namely a cross-border focus on identity formation in and through literary texts. Embedded in and shaped by Western-dominated modernity, i.e., the Occidentalist condition, comparative literature emerged as a discipline in Western Europe in the early 19th century. Dissociating itself from national philologies, it aimed at comparing different literary traditions—conventionally French, German and English—from an explicitly "nicht nationalgebundenen Standpunkt aus" (Dyserinck 2015, 275).[43] The idea of understanding literature as part of a more inclusive global discourse of 'world literature' rather than as the feature of particular national identities emerged at the same time. As early as 1827, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe famously proposed the concept of *Weltliteratur* to go beyond the limits of national literature: "Nationalliteratur will jetzt nicht viel sagen; die Epoche der Weltliteratur ist an der Zeit, und jeder muß jetzt dazu wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen" (see Weber 1998, 1134).[44] Towards the turn of the 20th century, the terminological transition from "comparative literary history" to "comparative literature" led to a gradual *Verwissenschaftlichung* and the institutionalisation of the discipline (Zymner 2013, 7f).[45] Through the interpretation of literary texts, comparative literature as an independent academic discipline began to engage more systematically with the multicultural and diverse social composition of Europe.

Against this backdrop, imagology emerged as a potentially transnational field of study within comparative literature in the aftermath of the Second World War in France and Germany. Its engagement with questions about identity formation, expression and perception across borders centres around the analysis of (national) images of Self and Other in (literary) texts. As "the smallest unit of imagological analysis" (Laurušaitė 2018b, 13), images are "mental imaginations, ideas and *Vorstellungsbilder*" (Beller 2007a, 4) that usually contain "evaluative

[43] Whether Comparative Literature as a field and those contributing to it can actually live up to Dyserinck's idealistic approach is still hotly debated. Despite the intrinsic transgressive focus of the discipline, the analysis of 'world literature' has for a long time been limited to mainly English, French and German texts.

[44] Goethe's statement was passed on by Johann Peter Eckermann (see Weber 1998).

[45] Rüdiger Zymner (2013, 7) lists Abel-François Villemain's *Examen de l'influence exercée par les écrivains français du XVIIIe siècle sur la littérature étrangère et l'esprit européen* (1829) as one of the first "comparativist" works on literary history. With regard to German academia, Achim Hermann Hölter (1995, 572) finds evidence for even earlier accounts that are indicative of an emerging divide between *literature comparée* and *philologie allemande*.

dimension of representations" (Dukić 2022, 71). As Laura Laurušaitė (2018b, 14) has put it: "The image in imagology is understood not as an individual element but one associated with group identity, as a symbolical foundation of collectivism that conveys the ideological and cultural programme of a group of individuals." Sources for imagological studies are traditionally "works of literature, plays, poems, travel books and essays" (Beller 2007a, 7).[46]

In line with the Eurocentric focus of the wider discipline of Comparative Literature (see Moretti 2000; Apter 2004),[47] imagology has traditionally put a strong—and often exclusive—focus on (Western) European contexts. So far, there has been little engagement between imagology and ongoing debates about opening up world literature and decolonising its standard Eurocentric repertoire (see Sturm-Trigonakis 2020).[48] By connecting imagological tools with a conceptual focus on the Occidentalist condition in Turkish literature—and thus engaging with a context often framed as non-European—this dissertation expands the application of the methodology beyond its traditional range of use. It hence contributes to connecting Turkish literature to the debates and approaches taking place in the still largely Eurocentric discipline of comparative literature. In what follows, I start off with providing an overview of imagology as a methodology to study images of Self and Other (3.1.). I then discuss how images of Self and Other were historically mobilised in processes of mutual representation between Europe and the Ottoman Empire (3.2.) in order to set the stage for outlining how imagology helps operationalise the Occidentalist Lens (developed in the previous chapter) for the analysis of

[46] As I will argue in Chapter 4, what I refer to as the immediate post-imperial narrative is a particularly suitable literary form for imagological analysis.

[47] Criticising the long-lasting Eurocentric cultural and linguistic focus as contradictory to Goethe's open-minded approach, Franco Moretti (2000, 54) points out that "comparative literature has not lived up to these beginnings. It's been a much more modest intellectual enterprise, fundamentally limited to Western Europe, and mostly revolving around the river Rhine (German philologists working on French literature). Not much more." Building on Moretti with a slightly different argument, the American comparativist Emily Apter (2004, 76) notes that "comparative literature was in principle global from its inception," but that there has been a "selective forgetting of ways in which early comparative literature was always and already globalised." Apter expands on her argument by referring to the fruitful intellectual environment German and Austrian literary scholars found at Istanbul University in the 1930s. In the rapidly modernising atmosphere of early republican Turkey, Jewish émigrés like Erich Auerbach and Leo Spitzer, two of the "foundational figures of comparative literature" (ibid., 77), were part of a network of exiled scholars and local academics from Turkey. For Apter (ibid., 95), Istanbul in the 1930s and 40s transformed "German-based philology into a global discipline that came to be known as comparative literature when it assumed its institutional foothold in postwar humanities departments in the United States." Although Apter's argument may be somewhat exaggerated—since the combination of Western European, Istanbulian and US-American voices can hardly be considered as a truly global turn of the discipline—it nevertheless points to the necessity of broadening the scope of sources, languages and contexts of comparativist engagement. The study of literature from Turkey has up until now played a rather marginal role in global Comparative Literature (see Rentzsch and Kučera 2022).

[48] For an overview of Comparative Literature and its fields of engagement across the globe, see Eoyang et al. 2021. In Turkey, the institutionalisation of Comparative Literature (*karşılaştırmalı edebiyat*) as a discipline is a rather recent phenomenon. The first departments of Comparative Literature were established at İstanbul Bilgi University in 1996, Eskişehir Osmangazi University in 2000 and Koç University in 2008. For Comparative Literature in Turkey, see Aydın 2019; İmamoğlu 2020, Irzik and Parla 2021; Şahin 2021.

early republican Turkish literature (3.3.). I conclude this chapter with a brief summary that highlights how imagology relates to this dissertation's central analytical chapters (3.4.).

3.1. Introducing Imagology

From the outset, imagological studies have been interested in identifying recurrent images characterising the (national) Other (hetero-images) in relation to the Self (auto-images)[49] as expressed in—mostly English, French and German—literary texts. As Brigitte Le Juez (2021, 8) points out, "[c]omparisons between different literatures were then conducted in a spirit of nations better understanding themselves and discovering others. Their aims were humanistic. Imagology was born of such constructive endeavours." Imagology first developed as a field of comparative literature in 1950s French academia. French and later German scholars aimed at analysing images of the respective Other that they believed to have contributed to dehumanising mutual devaluation and the political horrors on the European continent in the first half of the 20th century. The French comparativist Jean-Marie Carré was one of the first to focus on images of the German Other in French writings (*Les Écrivains Français et le Mirage Allemand*, 1947).

One of the founding theoretical imagological texts was written by Carré's student Marius-Francois Guyard (see Dyserinck 1966). In his programmatic paper "L'Étranger tel qu'on le voit," Guyard (1951, n.p.) critically approaches "simplifying" images of the (German) Other in French texts that do not or only "accidentally" reflect the "original character" of the described group or country: "Mais c'est un autre fait que chaque homme, et même chaque groupe, et même chaque pays se font des autres peuples une image simplifiée, où subsistent seuls des traits, parfois essentiels à l'original, à d'autres moments accidentels." Guyard proposed his approach as "un changement de perspective" and as "un véritable renouvellement" of comparative literature. As the quote illustrates, early imagology still suggested a (from today's vantage point rather problematic) differentiation between the representation of a group and its actual 'core self' or 'essence.' Nevertheless, by differentiating between the representative character of attributions and the described group itself, early imagology took the first steps towards moving beyond the racist fundament of the *Völkerpsychologie* that had emerged in the 19th century.[50]

[49] In what follows, I use 'auto-image' and 'self-image' as synonyms.

[50] According to Dyserinck (2002, 57) *Völkerpsychologie* was a research area that essentialised certain 'intrinsic characteristics' as key features of peoples or nations. It was a "Forschungsrichtung, die etwa um die gleiche Zeit wie die Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft entstanden war und vom Glauben an die Existenz genau definierbarer Völker bzw.

Carré's and Guyard's stance, however, would lead to what René Wellek (2009 [1959]), a representative of the American comparative literature branch of "New Criticism," referred to as "the crisis of comparative literature." In his discussion of the role, function and subjects of comparative literature, Wellek cautioned against significantly broadening its field of study. Instead of opening up literary analyses to questions of biographical, historical, political and, hence, contextual premises of text production, Wellek (ibid., 170) highlighted the need to pursue solely work-immanent interpretations focusing on the intrinsic aesthetic qualities of texts. In his classic critique of the French school of imagology, Wellek seeks to establish comparative literature as an independent discipline and warns against its reduction into an ancillary science for sociology or history. For Joep Leerssen (2007, 22), this methodological rift prevented the early success of the French "initiative towards a post-national imagology." Even more so, the "Wellek-imposed dilemma between 'intrinsic' textual analysis and 'extrinsic' contextualization did much to paralyse Comparative Literature worldwide" (ibid., 23).

In the 1960s, the Aachen-based Belgian scholar Hugo Dyserinck "programmatically defined imagology" (Leerssen 2016, 16) and defended the French imagology school as a helpful starting point for the further development of imagology as a comparativist research branch: "die von den französischen Komparatisten vorgebrachte Empfehlung zur Erforschung des 'Bildes vom andern Land' [hatte] durchaus einige neue Perspektiven eröffnet." While Dyserinck undertook considerable efforts to establish imagology as part of the wider discipline (see Schmidt 2018), his followers were few, and by the late 20th century, imagology "had been all but abandoned within Comparative Literature" (Leerssen 2007, 24). It was not until the early 21st century that imagology experienced a renaissance through efforts by Joep Leerssen at the University of Amsterdam's Department for European Studies to promote imagology as a central component of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature. As Edtstadler et al. (2022) highlight, Leerssen's contributions can be seen as the reason why today "imagology is firmly established within the discipline of comparative literature."

With Dyserinck, imagology had already begun to explicitly approach national images as social constructs rather than as *true* or *wrong* reflections of reality. As Leerssen (n.d., n.p.) has emphasised, "in the field of Comparative Literature, cultural difference has come to be studied in terms of attitudes and perceptions rather than essences. Nationality and 'national cultures'

Nationen und eines jeweils zu ihnen gehörenden 'Volksgeistes' (bzw. 'Volksseele') ausging – wobei sie nach Möglichkeiten suchte, diese 'Seelen' wissenschaftlich zu erfassen."

are now seen as patterns of identification rather than as identities." The tasks of more recent imagological analyses have thus not been to examine whether or to what extent collectivised images of groups, peoples or nations are 'authentic' representation of an alleged inner essence. Sensitive to how stereotypical characterisations inform and influence social and cultural praxis, current imagological approaches instead focus on the *discursive* characterisations, attributes and stereotypes assigned to Self and Other(s) in specific texts. Resonating with the tenets of imagology, social constructivist theories have established that in (transnational) identity formation processes, images of Self develop relative to those imagined as Others (Zehfuss 2001). Based on this assumption, the Self is necessarily "construed in terms of its interdependence with other people, situations, and contexts—all of which shape the construction of the self and interact with it" (Ge et al. 2022, 30).

Imagology's primary concern has been collective images of Self as 'us' and Other as 'them,' notably in the context of nation-building processes. As the focus of imagology has largely been directed at images of the *national* Self and its Others, it has engaged with the dismantling of so-called 'national characters' mostly relating to ethnotypes like 'the' German or 'the' French. To a certain extent, imagology has also been sensitive to broader bipolar logics underlying the Self-Other formulation of collective frameworks of belonging: "Nicht nur das klassische Gegensatzpaar Grieche = zivilisiert versus Barbar = unzivilisiert, sondern auch die ganze Skala unserer Auto- und Heterostereotypen erfüllt das Schema einer bipolaren Logik" (Beller 2006, 271). As discussed in Chapter 2, a central category and key reference point in Occidentalist modernity is the East-West divide with the idea of a progressive Europe at its heart (see Beller 2007b; Van Doorslaer 2019, 63). Understanding Europe as an idea construed in relation to what it is not, Leerssen (2019,14) has argued, "it is a fundamental principle in imagology that a given image can only be adequately studied as part of a discourse of contrasting opposition: the idea of the north must thus be studied as the discourse of a north-south opposition."

In addition to the critical focus on binary imaginaries, a key feature of current imagological analyses is an engagement with the context in which literature emerges. By explicitly taking 'text-external' factors of literary (image) production into account, Leerssen's (2016) approach has contributed to the interdisciplinary and "context-sensitive" orientation of imagology. As such, contemporary imagology seems to have transcended the above-mentioned disciplinary rift between text-internal and text-external analyses. In line with the 'cultural turn' in the humanities, contextual factors such as historical background, political environment or

biographical aspects inform the imagological study of literary images.[51] Overall, today's imagology can be understood as a critical methodology to identify how (national) culture and cultural differences are construed, perceived and imagined through representations of identity and belonging. Questions of alterity (see Müller-Funk 2016), including how images of Self and Other are employed, are thus at the heart of imagological analyses.

On the textual level, an imagological analysis pays attention to the usage and functions of 'imagines,' most notably 'auto-images' and 'hetero-images' (Beller and Leerssen 2007, xiv) that respectively focus on images of Self and Other. Although still rooted in comparative literature, imagology is now inarguably interdisciplinary, and many studies contextualise literary images against the backdrop of their socio-cultural and historical formation (for examples, see Krnić 2012 and Porietti 2012). Informed by cultural studies and the post-colonial turn in comparative literature, imagology pays particular attention to the intertwined, inter-dependent, repetitive and, hence, intertextual character of images of Self and Other. Leerssen's (2016, 20–21) suggestion to analyse literary texts through a "threefold procedure"—a combination of textual, contextual and intertextual examinations of narratives—synthesizes different strands of imagological research.

By and large, imagology has remained focused on the study of national characters and collective internalised self-images as part of the formation of a broader cultural identity. Critics have highlighted that "imagology's eurocentric bias" (Perner 2013, 32) often leaves aside the study of national characters—or more generally images of collective belonging—in other parts of the world, turning imagology into a "dominantly European and less assertive older sister of post-colonial studies" (Dukić 2012, 15). Indeed, most imagological publications deal with images of Self and Other in (Western) European countries or European images of contexts framed as non-European. A cursory search in the database of the Amsterdam-based 'Imagologica' webpage confirms this pattern (see Imagologica n.d.). In this bibliographical search engine, users can select nationality tags from 'Spectant' and 'Spected' in the dropdown lists to receive relevant secondary literature about how "in a literary tradition X (the Spectant) certain temperamental characteristics are imputed to a nationality Y (the Spected)." An exemplary search with 'German,' 'European' and 'Turkish' across X and Y categories provides illustrative insights: For 'German' as Spectant and 'Turkish' as Spected, 36 bibliographical references are quoted, whereas the results for 'Turkish' as Spectant and 'German' as Spected only list one

[51] Leerssen's series *Studia Imagologica* (Brill) currently encompasses 30 volumes, the most recent being *New Perspectives on Imagology* (Edtstadler et al. 2022).

publication, namely Nedret Kuran Burçoglu's (1997) article "The Image of 'Self' and the 'Other' in the Works of Turkish Migrant Authors in Germany." Similarly, choosing 'Europe' as Spectant and 'Turkish' as Spected yields 23 search results, while the reverse constellation results in no references at all. Although this bibliographical information might not be complete, it reveals imagology's strong and sometimes exclusive emphasis on images emanating from (Western) Europe.

In the preface to their handbook on imagology, Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (2007, xiv) explain their focus on the European continent with European roots in the "discursive and cultural tradition of national stereotyping." While it is true that the modern notion of nationalism emerged in Europe in the context of the French Revolution, processes of nation-building and constructions of national characters have long expanded globally, mostly due to European colonial and imperial trajectories. In light of the Occidentalist condition (see Chapter 2), it seems to be a not only promising but also necessary approach to study constructions of Self and Other in various contexts across the globe, notably those generally viewed as non-Western. As Zrinka Blažević (2014, 355f) has highlighted, however, "epistemological coupling of imagology with Postcolonial Studies has not been so successful, mostly due to the former's obstinate adherence to the tacit universalizing of Eurocentric orientation." Taking this criticism seriously, imagological research has started to broaden its field of engagement. Edtstadler et al.'s (2022, 29) volume on imagology, for instance, includes contributions[52] on the "geographical peripheries on the literary map of Europe":

> [These findings] share an interest in how the opposition of Self and Other produces an "imaginative geography of the 'our land-barbarian land' variety" (Said 2003 [1978], 54) that – in different times and contexts – tends to be articulated by geopolitical dichotomies as different as East/West, North/South, center/periphery, empire/colony, or even human/nothuman. They look at national/ethnic/territorial auto- and hetero-images as literary devices related to different systems of (post)colonial power, as well as to complex processes of identity formation and othering.

In a similar vein, Laurušaitė's (2018a, 1) volume includes contributions that link "imagological strategy with the power principle developed by postcolonialism" and explicitly connect imagology's traditional focus on national character with "broader insights concentrating on regional, national, and transnational identities that experienced a change of imagery due to historical, political, and social shifts." While the idea of linking "methodological insights from both imagology and postcolonial theory" has met with general acclaim, overall "the actual

[52] This includes my contribution "Between Orient and Occident: The Construction of a Postimperial Turkish Identity in Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's Novel *Huzur*" (see Chovanec 2022).

efforts of combining the two fields have been relatively rare" (Edtstadler et al. 2022, 28). As outlined in more detail below, this dissertation aims at contributing to this endeavour through the synthesis of imagology as a methodology with the Occidentalist Lens as a post-colonial heuristic. By applying this synthesised approach to Turkey as a space often described as non-Western, I suggest that imagology can provide fruitful tools for analyses beyond comparative literature's traditional (Western) European canon.

3.2. Imagology and Occidentalism

As I have argued in Chapter 2, the notion of Occidentalism captures a global system of inequalities associated with the political, economic and cultural dominance of the West over the last 500 years (see Venn 2000). Within Occidentalism, 'Europe' has been a key reference and starting point in what it means to be modern. The becoming-West of Europe and the creation of the East as its most important Other rest at the heart of Occidentalist frameworks of belonging (see Chapter 2.3.). Based on the West's de facto hegemony, it is through modernisation, i.e., Westernisation, that so-called non-Western contexts are urged to 'catch up.' What I have referred to as the Occidentalist condition refers to the experience of Western-dominated modernity. It is the alterity between what is imagined as the Western character of Europe and the Eastern character of its non-Western, Asian Other that stands at the centre of those frameworks of belonging produced by Occidentalism. This East-West dichotomy conditioned the "institution of a particular imaginary" (ibid., 147) forming a central reference framework for (literarily expressed) narrations of belonging.

The auto-image of Europe emerges from the Occidentalist condition as a key reference point in what it means to be advanced, progressive and hence *modern*. Seen through the Occidentalist condition, dominant perceptions of the European Self have emanated predominantly from Western Europe. While imagology has predominantly approached the importance of the image of Europe implicitly[53] rather than methodologically, Leerssen (2021, 127) has recently discussed its centrality and hegemonic position: "The very fact that 'Europe' can be silhouetted against so many others is a sign of its central position in our discursive configuration of ethnotypes about the world." As it is the case for all formulations of identity, the auto-image of Europe unfolds against the backdrop of its "implied contrast frame," making it possible to explore a "variety of Others in the European self-image" (ibid., 127f). It is most notably through

[53] Leerssen (2021, 127) refers to Europe as "the gravitational Black Hole" at the centre of his and Manfred Beller's 2007 *Imagology* handbook, reflecting the important role it plays in various identity discourses within and beyond Europe.

"Asian and African counterparts" (Leerssen 2017, 10) that Europe's Occidentalist self-image as dynamic, progressive and advanced takes shape.

Due to what has often been framed as the Ottoman Empire's ambivalent geographical position in both—or somewhere between—Asia and Europe, the question of whether (Ottoman-)Turks can be regarded as 'European' has provoked different answers at different points in time.[54] The implicit or explicit separation of Europe, on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, on the other, has been a dominant feature of identity formation in both (Western) European and Ottoman/Turkish sources over the centuries (see Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017; 2018; 2021). Embodying 'Oriental despotism' and Islam as Europe's "most potent Other," the Ottoman Empire has served as a key contrast for the "European self-identification with the values of liberal democracy, and with the values of the Enlightenment" (Leerssen 2021, 133). In a similar vein, Iver Neumann and Jennifer Welsh (1991, 330) refer to the pivotal role of the Ottoman Empire in the formation and performance of European identity:

> From the confrontations with Islam and the Spanish conquest of the 'New World', to the scramble for colonial possessions at the end of the nineteenth century and beyond, European historians and philosophers have grappled with the clash between 'infidels' or 'barbarians', and 'civilized' peoples […]. In contrast to the communities of the 'New World', the military might and physical proximity of the Ottoman Empire, combined with the strength of its religious tradition, made it a particularly relevant Other in the evolution of European identity.

Similarly, Viatcheslav Morozov and Bahar Rumelili (2012, 35) have referred to the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) as a "Europe-maker," emphasising how images of 'the Turk' have "serve[d] as a key reference point in the definition, validation and performance of European identity."

Importantly, Europe as an idea and image is not only formulated by those who self-identify as European and whose Europeanness is discursively 'uncontested' but also by those whose Europeanness is debated, denied or neglected by what Leerssen (2021, 131f) refers to as the North-Western "core-Europe." Historically speaking, the Ottoman Empire/Turkey is thus a quintessential case for examining assertions of and challenges to 'Europeanness.' Images of Europe and the West have been an important reference in debates on identity and belonging in the Ottoman(-Turkish) public in terms of both disassociation and approximation. Existing

[54] Meltem Müftüler-Bac (2000, 26f), for instance, notes that "Turks have been a part of Europe geographically since their arrival in Asia Minor in the eleventh century, economically since the sixteenth century as trade routes expanded, and diplomatically since the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman empire was officially included in the Concert of Europe." However, the implicit or explicit separation of (Western) Europe, on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, on the other, has been a dominant feature of Occidentalist modernity.

literature has extensively discussed this "Turkish ontological insecurity" (Rumelili and Çelik 2017; Çapan and Zarakol 2019; Bolükbaşı and Yücel 2021; see Haug 2020) since the 19th century. Trying to fit into the modern world order and its narrations of progress and civilisation, the Ottoman Empire faced what Çapan and Zarakol (2019, 267) refer to as "structural insecurity […] stemming from the manner of incorporation into the colonial/modern order and the ambivalent/liminal position it was situated in as always being in-between (East and West) or as a 'bridge' between East and West, as it is sometimes described." Becoming part of the modern world order shaped by the Occidentalist condition meant that the Ottoman Empire must leave its 'Oriental' or 'Eastern' character behind in order to adapt to European modernity. Identity constructions in the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) hence provide a rich repertoire of images surrounding Western and Eastern Selves, as well as Western and Eastern Others.[55]

In the following sections, I provide an overview of European auto-images in relation to the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman auto-images in relation to Europe in the context of Occidentalism in order to set the stage for the analysis of frameworks of belonging in early republican Turkey. I partly draw on my co-authored work on identity formations emerging from cultural interactions between European contexts and the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) in the framework of the 2016–2019 EU Horizon 2020 project "The Future of EU-Turkey Relations (FEUTURE): Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios" (see Chovanec et al. 2017; Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017; 2018; 2021).[56]

3.2.1. European Auto-Images in Relation to the Ottoman Empire

The self-image of Europe as the epitome of progress and modernity emerged in the context of the 18th century, when "the idea of Europe as cultural model began to take shape" and "French language and French standards of social behaviour" became increasingly hegemonic (Delanty 1995, 71f). Europeanness largely entailed the ability to speak French and partake in intellectual

[55] While debates about Turkey's—and earlier on the Ottoman Empire's—relationship with (the idea of) Europe go back hundreds of years, they have attracted widespread attention in the context of Turkey's potential accession to the European Union (EU). When Turkey was officially recognised as a candidate for full EU membership in 1999, academic publications on Europe-Turkey relations—and especially on how different European countries viewed Turkey—increased significantly, most notably in the field of International Relations. As Senem Aydın-Düzgit and Bahar Rumelili (2021, 65) have recently pointed out, "Turkish accession to the EU has raised heated political debates in Europe on whether Turkey is a European country that can have a credible accession perspective on the grounds of culture, religion, geography, and history." As Selim Deringil (2007, 710) emphasises, however, the academic discourse on Turkey–Europe relations often falls itself into the reductionism trap by reproducing Turkey and Europe as "two separate and irreconcilable entities."

[56] Our work package "Identity & Culture Drivers" approached the multifaceted and complex relationship between the Ottoman Empire (and Turkey) and what are today EU member states from a historical perspective, based on the acknowledgement that "Turkey has always been, is, and will likely remain one of the most important countries for the European Union" (Tocci 2016, 3).

debates emanating from French intellectual circles. Culturally, the idea of Europe included "the belief in a universal value system based on Reason, Progress and Science" (ibid., 75), already reflecting the key tenets of Occidentalism. This increasingly dominant European auto-image was rooted in a (sometimes secularised) vision of a united Christendom. Against this backdrop, the term 'Barbarians'[57] was used to describe the Islamic Eastern Other "in terms of the civilization which they lacked" (Perkins 2004, 239). Within the conception of the modern "European self-image as indisputably civilized, progressive, liberal, and rational" (Çırakman 2001, 64), the contours of a despotic, backward and stagnant Orient took shape. The self-image of 'Europe-as-progress' denied the 'rest' of the world dynamism and mobility. In what Leerssen (2017, 9) refers to as chronotopical Eurocentrism, "[t]he world outside Europe is seen as static, extrahistorical, or backward and as such opposed to the dynamically progressive nature of Europe, which develops and learns from the past to improve upon it." Overall, the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey) has played a key role in European accounts of the evolving creation of a European or Western auto-image, contributing to the demarcation of a civilised and progressive Self from the barbaric and backward Other. When the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a military threat to Europe following the 1683 siege of Vienna,[58] such stereotypes were used to clearly demarcate the civilisational boundaries between the Muslim Orient and the Christian Occident. In the context of increased diplomatic and economic exchange across the European continent in the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was to a certain extent seen as part of the European power architecture. Given its debt burden and dwindling economic independence (see

[57] The divide between barbarians and Hellenes goes back to Greek antiquity. While early mythological accounts about Europa's journey from Asia to the European continent connect Europe's origins to Asia, "Europe was in classical times understood as a geographical term distinguishing it from the two other known continents, Asia and Africa" (Mikkeli 1998, 5). As Justus Cobet's (2014) analysis of Herodotus's records reveals, Europe's self-image emanating from ancient Greece was already construed in relation to what it was not, namely Asia. Along the same lines, Troulis (2018, 50) notes that from Herodotus's time onwards, Europe was understood more in ideational rather than in specific geographical terms: "Herodotus was the first to understand Europe beyond specific territories or natural frontiers underlining that the Europeans […] are distinguished from the others." In a similar vein, Vladimir Biti et al. (2021, xx) have argued that a "tradition of singling out peaceful, cosmopolitan European self-perception against a background of bellicose, non-European provincialism" can be traced back to Greek antiquity. This "fundamental ethnographic division" (Geary 2013) in the classical world came to the fore through the dichotomous comparison between Hellenes, a term used to denote those who speak Greek, and barbarians (*barbaros*), denoting those who do not. The East-West dichotomy built on the "asymmetrical dualism" (Koselleck 1995 [1979], 213f) of Hellenes and barbarians (see Beller 2007b).

[58] With the move of Turkic tribes from Central Asia westwards towards Asia Minor in the 11th century, new images emerged in Western European societies, projecting pre-existing images of a barbarian Other on 'the Turk' as a new ethnotype. Images of the Turk in, for example, German, French and English sources are closely intertwined with the rise of the Ottoman Empire—and thus Ottoman Muslims—as a political and military power (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2007a, 7). When the notion of Europe was increasingly associated with the vision of a collective and universal Christendom in the early Middle Ages (see Mikkeli 1998, 30), images of the Turk were connected with the emergence of Islam as Europe's civilisational Other. Subsequently, it was the capture of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 and the Ottoman expansion to South-East Europe that "provides European Christendom with its strongest Other" (Kuran-Burçoğlu 2007b, 255).

Chapter 2.2.2.), however, it was also referred to as the 'sick man of Europe' and contrasted with the potent West (see Kaya 2013, 36).

Culturally, the empire aroused an orientalist "mixture of apprehension and fascination" and "the combination of sensuous refinement and archaic ruthlessness remained a powerful lens" (Leerssen 2017, 11; see Çırakman 2001, 49; Çırakman 2002). The Orientalist imaginary of the time also included a gendered component, sexualising the exotic Ottomans "where women are seductive and men [are] driven by fierce affects such as honour and jealousy" (Leerssen 2017, 11). The cultural and partially also political *Turcophilia* in Germany (see Gummer 2011) and Britain (see Gürpınar 2012), however, had faded towards the end of the 19th century.[59] Upon the crumbling of the empire and the Turkish War of Independence (1918–1922), Western European press coverage on Turkey became rather positive (see Zarakol 2011, 139). Although most sources did not regard Turkey as European, they celebrated the newly founded nation-state, which, alongside Japan, was regarded as the most modern country of Asia and "had made the transition from the Middle Ages to modernity in only a decade" (ibid., 136f). Our analysis of mutual identity representations in the 1920s and 1930s confirms that European media coverage of Turkey was rather positive, notably regarding the Kemalist reforms such as the 1928 alphabet change (see Chapter 3.3.). Nevertheless, only few sources regarded Turkey explicitly as part of the Western world—with Europe and the 'West' being used interchangeably in this context—and most of them reinforcing the image of two distinct and mutually exclusive civilisations (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 12).[60]

3.2.2. Ottoman Auto-Images in Relation to Europe

While the Ottoman Empire was an important reference for European auto-images—notably as the civilisational Other—the reverse also holds true, albeit with inverted positions in line with the Occidentalist condition. When the Ottoman Empire "shifted from being a conquest state to an administrative state" (Isom-Verhaaren and Schull 2018, 10) in the early 18th century, defeats on the battlefield led to the need for military reform (see Başaran 2014, 77). In this context, the

[59] European media discourses in the context of the Hamidian massacres in the 1890s reinforced auto-images of "Europe as the monde civilisé which leaves out the Ottoman Empire as the uncivil" (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 7).

[60] In the 1930s, images of Turkey as Europe's "border guard" in the Near and Middle East (Zarakol 2011, 140) and as a facilitating country between East and West emerged. Metaphors of Turkey as a bridge between East and West—or between North and South, for that matter (Haug 2020, 132)—have remained Europe's diplomatic or geopolitical imaginary until today. The issue of Turkey's accession to the EU and hence the question of Turkey's "Europeanness" continues to trigger debates on identity and the European "mental map" (see Drechsel et al. 2014, 26). Images of Turkey "moving away" from Europe and hence giving up on its facilitating—but Westward-looking—in-between position have helped to form 21st-century discourses in the West (Vuorelma 2019).

wish to learn more about European, especially French, military knowledge emerged among the ruling elites (see Hanioğlu 2008, 42). In these times, as Einar Wigen (2009) observes, the *Frenk* Other[61] was increasingly described as 'aggressive' and 'expansionist' in Ottoman sources, whereas the Ottoman Self was pictured as 'stagnant' and 'ignorant.' As Wigen (ibid., 29) has argued, the Ottoman approach towards reform, most notably in the context of the *Nizam-i Cedid* (New Order, 1789–1807) that preceded the Tanzimat reform era (1839–1876) was heavily oriented towards European practices, which the Ottomans divided into 'material' and 'spiritual' spheres. This differentiation between form and content of civilisation in the discussion of Westernisation processes lasted well into the 20th century. Alp Eren Topal (2017, 97) reveals that a new metaphor is used in the "New Order literature" of the early 19th century, namely *gerü kalmak* (staying behind), signifying an Ottoman auto-image of being belated in relation to Europe. The Ottoman Empire's endeavour to 'catch up' with the material, economic and scientific aspects of Europe would continue to form a key reference throughout its reform period.

The term 'civilisation' became a particularly important trope in the course of the Tanzimat reforms (see Chapter 2.2.2.). Ottoman texts commenting on the 1839 Tanzimat Edict were the first to make use of the concept of civilisation, which was translated into *sivilisasyon* and *medeniyet* in the Ottoman language (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 3). According to Wigen (2015, 110), the Arabic term *medeniyet* can be translated as "that which pertains to the city," signifying urbanity standing in contrast to nomadism (*bedeviyet*). *Sivilisasyon*, in turn, was incorporated into Ottoman language through the reception of French texts. In Ottoman accounts of the Tanzimat period, civilisation is ascribed to how "Europeans conduct their affairs among themselves and what makes them superior and victorious" (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 3). Nevertheless, "it is not presented as an essentialised category, unique to Europeans" and rather relates to technology, understood as practical science and knowledge and their dissemination (ibid.). Civilisation is hence regarded as a potentially universal feature connected to aspects like materialism, science, progress and prosperity that could also be reached by the Ottoman Empire. Against the backdrop of the far-reaching implications of the Tanzimat reforms for the society, culture and politics of the empire, however, Ottoman sources gradually showed ambivalence

[61] Prior to the 18th century, there were mainly two terms used for Europeans, i.e., Christians, inside and outside the Empire (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2021): The notion of *Rum* (Roman) denoted Greek Orthodox Christians and the concept of *Frenk* (Frank) was used to refer to Latin or Western European Christians. Overall, the geographical expression *Frengistan* referred to Western or Latin Christendom. As Niyazi Berkes (1998, 7) points out, the term *Turk*—often used in European sources for Muslim Ottomans—did not play a role in the Ottoman Empire itself: "A Turk of medieval times never called himself a Turk, and when a European used this word, he meant, in fact, a 'Mahometan', or 'infidel.'"

regarding the compatibility between 'civilisation' and Ottoman traditions (ibid., 4).[62] In the 19th century, Ottoman intellectuals increasingly discussed the extent to which the empire should embrace Westernisation; in this context, the quest for preserving an authentic morality—and hence a Self rooted in local values—"appeared as the only solution to supposed destructive impacts of modernization," as Çiğdem Oğuz (2022, 144) has recently argued.[63] Towards the turn of the century, the notion of Europe (*Avrupa*) became the "main defining counter concept to the Ottoman Self," which was further contrasted against the Europeanised *alafranga* Other:

> In addition to this *Avrupa* Other, the Ottoman Self has another defining counter concept, namely that of the *Alafranga*. Although these are counter concepts of the type 'us' and 'them', Self and Other, *Alafranga* and Ottoman are also competing concepts of the Self. The *Alafranga* is an alternative and negative Self that any Ottoman is in danger of becoming part of if he or she uses European practices in the wrong way (Wigen 2009, 75).

With Wigen, this delineation of the Ottoman Self from not only Europe but also the strongly Europeanised parts of Ottoman society itself contributed to an evolving differentiation process of Ottoman identity in the early 20th century. At the same time, the Hamidian era also saw the "internalisation and reproduction of the orientalist discourse within the Empire in a way that reflected on the eastern periphery of Ottoman realms" (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2021, 21). Along with the rise of Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, Turkism emerged as an alternative ideology, most notably after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution and even more so after the Balkan Wars. In the final days of Ottoman society, the previously more pluralistic notion of an Ottoman Self had thus evolved into an increasingly narrow conceptualisation, differentiating itself simultaneously from Europe and over-Europeanisation within (too Western), on the one hand, and its own peripheries (too Eastern), on the other.

In the context of the First World War and the ultimate collapse of the empire, notions of an Ottoman Self were replaced by the *ethnotypical* auto-image of the Turk within what would become the Republic of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) and his political followers eschewed the empire as an integral building block for the new national identity, and the early republic thus distanced itself from the disintegrated Ottoman Empire. Wigen (2009, 76) points to the definite substitution of "Turk/Turkish/Turkey (*Türk*/*Türkiye*) for Ottoman and Muslim

[62] The semi-colonial dependency of the Ottomans on European powers forced the ruling elites to adapt to predefined civilisational standards (see Chapter 2.2.2.): "The rulers of the Ottoman Empire were under the illusion that they would be left alone in their domestic affairs and that the sovereign rights of the empire would be recognized only if they met civilization standard […]. In reality this illusion drove them to accept the nineteenth-century Standard of Civilization that would never treat a Muslim power as an equal, and simultaneously undermine, by their own hands, the already weak hold the Ottoman Empire had over its territories" (Zarakol 2011, 119).

[63] In the second half of the 19th century, novels and theatre played an increasingly important role in the formation and negotiation of auto- and hetero-images in the contexts of Occidentalist modernity (see Chapter 4).

as the primary counter concept to Europe" in texts from influential nationalist thinkers like Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935) and Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924). In addition to and intertwined with the Occidentalist condition as the global experience of Western-dominated modernity, early republican Turkey thus also faced a post-imperial condition, i.e., the experience of a lost empire and the reorganisation of social, political and cultural orders. Irrespective of the move from an imperial to a national Self, both Europe (the dominant image of Occidentalism) and the Ottoman Empire (as the dominant image shaping post-imperiality) therefore remained key references for the Self-Other nexus.[64]

As a comprehensive literature review has revealed (Gülmez et al. 2017), however, there is little secondary literature that specifically engages with images of Self and Other in the republican era, notably when compared to analyses covering the late Ottoman period. Most publications focus more generally on Turkey's top-down Westernisation process in the 1920s and 30s "without offering a detailed analysis of how Europe was perceived in Republican Turkey" (ibid., 30). The following sections operationalise the Occidentalist Lens through imagological tools in order to set the stage for the analysis of images of Self and Other in (non-)literary texts emanating from early republican Turkey. Since the constitution of images "within a certain sociohistorical context" (Blažević 2018, 31)—understood as "the historical, political and social conditions" (Leerssen 2016, 20) within which image production takes place—should be an inherent part of imagological analyses, I also draw on important historical contextual factors centring around both Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions.

3.3. Imagology as a Methodology: Operationalising the Occidentalist Lens

Evolving images of Self and Other in early republican Turkey are negotiated in the context of the far-reaching societal changes, partially building on the late Ottoman debates on Westernisation and Europeanisation, that form the historical backdrop of the post-imperial condition. Political, juridical and social reforms—first through the late imperial Tanzimat and then via early Kemalist policies—shape the transition from empire to nation-state. These changes were undertaken to symbolise and promote the move from an Eastern past to a Western future and, at the same time, help strengthen emancipation from foreign occupation in the context of the Turkish Independence War (1919–1923). For Mustafa Kemal, Westernisation

[64] Whether they are approached in terms of Self, Other or something in between or beyond will be the question of the literary analyses in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

was a prerequisite for engaging with Western powers on an equal footing: "Um nicht dem westlichen Imperialismus ausgeliefert zu sein, galt es dasselbe zivilisatorische und wirtschaftliche Niveau wie der Westen zu erreichen" (Günay 2012, 155).

In line with Occidentalism's bias towards Western standards, a number of fundamental changes were thought to have redefined the underlying characteristics of the national Turkish Self: the replacement of the Islamic lunar calendar with the Gregorian calendar aligned Turkey with European notions of date and time; the hat reform, replacing the Ottoman fez with European headwear, changed public appearance in line with Western standards; and the alphabet reform, changing letters of the Turkish alphabet from Arabic-Ottoman to Latin, symbolised the cultural alignment with the West and the sharp break from the written heritage of the Ottoman past (ibid., 155f). The differences between past and future, empire and nation-state or East and West were further symbolised by the relocation of the capital from (imperial) Istanbul to (modern) Ankara upon the foundation of the republic. Infrastructural projects across the country increased the mobility of the population, and 'state feminism' provided women with new possibilities for self-development, although limited in scope. The formation of a new national Self followed Occidentalist references and entailed strong homogenising effects:

> A pluralistic society that accommodated differences in linguistic, ethnic, and religious affiliation and even a range of legal statues for residency and citizenship was anathema to the nationalist vision of a modern state with a homogenous population, which identified as Turkish to the exclusion of all other ethnoreligious identities, and was subject to uniform laws (Kezer 2016, 5).

It is in this context that the formation of a national canon of Turkish literature takes place. As Özlem Altan-Olcay (2009, 166) has put it, "novels and narratives produced at such a critical juncture in Turkish history are heavily coloured by the formation of the nation-state. Nationalist discourses and modernisation efforts made up the immediate experience of the writers." The early republican embrace of Westernisation is particularly complex for intellectuals that see themselves as (ardent) nationalists but are wary of (certain aspects of) Western influence (see Chapter 4). As Zeynep Kezer (2016, 23) argues, in early republican Turkey "non-Western nationalists are often painfully aware of their tenuous position as 'Easterners' in the West, and 'Westerners' in the East, but never quite at home." In this "in-between place at the interstices of their dual and conflicted identities," they "have to embark on a cautiously calculated yet volatile discourse, simultaneously reaffirming and refuting the epistemic and moral dominance of the West."

As discussed above, imagology has recently widened its field of engagement beyond the traditional (exclusive) focus on ethnotypes and national characters. Leerssen (2016, 26) has noted that "ethnicity as a frame is not an absolute and never operates in isolation," pointing to the necessity of intersectional approaches that also take other dimensions into account. In a similar vein, Zrinka Blažević (2018, 32) points out the broad scope in which images are formed:

> an image should not be considered only as a representation of the ethnic/national Other, but should comprise a wide scope of variously ontologically and phenomenologically conceptualized manifestations of Otherness alongside social, cultural, religious, confessional, civilizational, generational, and gender lines.

While there seems to be general support in the literature for this broader understanding of how images of Self and Other are constituted and unfold, Edtstadler et al. (2022, 32f) observe, "[i]t is surprising that despite these repeated efforts to encourage an intersectional approach to imagology, only few scholars have implemented frames other than nation, culture, and/or ethnicity so far."

Against this backdrop, the Occidentalist Lens (see Chapter 2) offers a promising heuristic for using imagological tools in order to unpack how global power relations are inscribed in local formulations of belonging, both in relation to and beyond the study of national imaginaries. By conceptualising the structural dominance of Western accounts of modernity, Occidentalism as a theoretical framework supports an imagological engagement with the fact that "[t]he Other is […] constitutive for individually and collectively determined selves in cognitive, emotional, and practical respects *which are embedded in the dense network of hierarchically distributed power relations*" (Blažević 2018, 32, emphasis added). Through the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens, imagology can be used for an analysis that, beyond an exclusive focus on national characters, combines central features of Western-dominated modernity—and the power dynamics embodied in them—in the examination of how Self and Other are imagined.

In the context of nation-building efforts in early republican Turkey, the dimensions of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender resonate with how authors engage with questions about heightened mobility in the modern (national) context, the position of the (Turkish) Self in relation to broader civilisational frameworks, the role of the (imperial) past in the (national) present or the characteristics of the new (Turkish) man or woman. These dimensions can also be interlinked; mobility is often gendered, for instance, and matters of civilisation are connected to discussions about temporal development from past to future. Overall, I thus suggest employing imagology as a methodology to operationalise the Occidentalist Lens for the study of (literary) texts. With reference to the four dimensions of the Lens, the remainder of this

section outlines what an imagological approach looks like that engages with images of Self and Other through notions of spatiality (centring around the binary of im_mobility), civilisation (form_content), temporality (past_future) and gender (fe_male) in the context of early republican Turkey.

3.3.1. Self and Other Through Spatiality: Mobile West and Immobile East?

Questions about (imaginative) spatiality often stand at the centre of imagological analysis. Manfredas Žvirgždas (2018, 214) argues this with regard to Europe as a spatial reference:

> Imagological studies are closely related to the paradigm of 'spatial turn' and the concepts of poetical geography, topography, and/or geo-poetics; in the collective imagination, the territory of Europe might be realized as the battlefield of various contexts, and thus the project of a European literary atlas frequently replaces the traditional linear narratives of literary history.

Imagological analyses generally put a strong focus on the close relationship between (national) geographic spaces and imaginative aspects ascribed to them in the literary text. Images, hence, often entail spatial dimensions; this is most obviously the case when it comes to country names or continents. Topographies and related ethnotypes (such as 'the German' or 'the Turk') are often imbued with meaning and relate people thought to belong to a specific space with certain characteristics. Beyond legal aspects such as a passport saying that its holder is Turkish, for instance, being Turkish entails imaginative aspects about what 'Turkey'[65] or 'being Turkish' *means*. Imagologically relevant is whether one perceives oneself or others as belonging to a specific space. Contemporary questions about whether Turkey belongs to Europe, for instance, have been heatedly debated in the context of European Union (EU) accession negotiations both within Turkey and in EU member states.

Overall, an imagological analysis sensitive to spatiality examines the meanings, evaluations or implications of geographical terms or images entailing references to spatial aspects or attributes. More generally, the very object—and the process—of imagological analysis is mobile. According to the philosopher Alphonso Lingis (2020, 30), thinking is movement. Images, in turn, as Mieke Bal (2020, 173) has recently argued, belong to the sphere of thinking: "The life of thoughts is like that of images: both are enduring, as well as constantly changing, and collectively sustained." Images and the meanings ascribed to them change over time and depend on perspectives and contexts. Yet, images also have a repetitive character and, when turning

[65] In June 2022, the country name '(Republic of) Turkey' was officially changed to '(Republic of) Türkiye' at the United Nations, highlighting the contingent nature of (the names attached to) social categories.

into stereotypes, have *Wiedererkennungswert.* Imagological analyses can thus engage with both the stability and transience of images.

As part of the Occidentalist Lens, I have introduced the dichotomy of im_mobility as a central feature of Occidentalist spatiality (see Chapter 2.4.1.). An imagological analysis of space-related imaginaries is hence sensitive to questions about (the possibility of) movement across social space. Images of im_mobility provide insights into complex power relations, not only as an immediate experience but also across levels of social interaction from the local to the global. The Occidentalist space of movement—within which the West takes centre stage as the epitome of modernity's mobility—has produced a broad imaginary defined by inequalities at different scales. Occidentalism puts forward images of the West as mobile and the East as immobile. This dichotomy plays out at different levels of interaction, including the distinction between the dynamic (mobile) city and the backward (immobile) countryside, rich (and thus mobile) and poor (and thus often immobile) people, mobile men and immobile women or intersectional combinations that bring together different aspects of what it means to be faced with the pace of Western-dominated modernity. While the word 'modern' evokes "images of technological mobility – the car, the plane, the spaceship" (Cresswell 2006, 15f), it also poses questions about whose mobility this is and can be: Who is able to use and has access modern means of transportation? Who inhabits new and evolving public spaces and discourses?

Spatial images in literary texts emanating from early republican Turkey are likely to be connected to increasing levels of mobility as a central feature of contemporary public discussions. With regard to national infrastructure, for instance, one of the "most visible effects on the Turkish landscape" (Gürel 2017, 79) stemming from the republic's turn towards the West is "the rise of a new system of movement and transportation" created by the Kemalists who "immediately nationalized the existing foreign-owned [railway] lines and began an aggressive campaign to knit 'a web of steel' around the motherland." In terms of social policy, the explicit engagement with gender roles in what is often referred to as "state feminism" (see White 2003) enables new mobilities for women. As Deniz Kandiyoti has argued (2022 [1991], 42), "the republican regime opened up an arena for state-sponsored 'feminism', but at […] the same time circumscribed and defined its parameters." In the context of an authoritarian single-party government, female im_mobilities were regulated by the state, and autonomous women's movements operated in a restricted environment. Despite these limitations, the status quo on gender roles began to change, and women became a more visible—and mobile—part of public life. A few days before the proclamation of the Republic of Tukey, for instance, "the Istanbul

head of police had taken an administrative decision desegregating public transport, so that men and women would no longer be separated by curtains or special compartments" (ibid., 22). More generally, as Perin Gürel (2017, 71) highlights: "The Kemalist state […] placed its bets on the new Turkish woman […] and […] encouraged female students' athleticism and instituted girl scout troops who represented an upright, orderly, asexual mobility at national parades."

Mobility-related questions in modern Turkish literature have to some extent been discussed in the context of Westernisation and modernisation processes since the 19th century, focusing on metaphors of progress and speed. Gürel (ibid., 95) summarizes these discussions:

> Literary selective westernization (and, as its centerpiece, the Turkish novel) started as a movement to secure boundaries between useful mobility and aimless mobility, between appropriate gender relations and over-westernized sexualities and irrational loves, and between the novel as the bearer of a disenchanted worldview and mystical allegory.

As a concrete example of mobility-related images, Jale Parla (2003, 535) has identified the 'car narrative' as a sub-genre in late Ottoman and later Turkish novels, reflected in "a literary preoccupation with cars, along with other vehicles such as carriages, buses, and tractors, in the Turkish novel from its very beginnings. These vehicles, whether carriage, train, bus, tractor, or van, appear as tropes rather than means of transportation." As Gülce Başer (2018, 200) has noted, the car in novels is also a signifier of wealth and status: "Only wealthy protagonists appear with mostly American cars up to 1980s in novels."

Overall, images related to im_mobilities are thus likely to offer a fruitful starting point for engaging with the spatiality of the Occidentalist condition in early republican Turkey. An imagological approach to questions of spatiality in the context of the Occidentalist condition critically engages with the dichotomy of im_mobility in (literary) texts to uncover (im)possibilities of movement and related aspects of power. A central concern is whether and how authors engage with images of the mobile West and the immobile East and related normative judgements, i.e., whether the dichotomy is used as a reference point, reproduced and/or critically transcended. More specifically, the analysis is set to entail a sensitivity towards whose im_mobility is narrated and why, tensions over the gain or loss of mobility and the meanings and emotions ascribed to the (im)possibilities of mobility. This also includes an engagement with historical-contextual features that are explicitly taken up by or implicitly reflected in texts. Of particular relevance for textual analysis are expressions of movement or standstill, literally or figuratively, from walking and running to standing and waiting, as well as transportation metaphors, such as the car or the train, or images relating to im_mobility in broader or more abstract ways, such as life and death. In addition to 'change,' 'rupture,'

'progress' or 'motion,' the analysis is set to also engage with references to 'stagnation' or 'stasis' as well as the speed ('slow,' 'rapid') or direction ('forward,' 'backward') of movement. Travel is set to play a central role, both in novels or with regard to authors' own experiences, ranging from detailed narrations of long journeys to accounts of *flâneurs* in the metropolis (see Adey 2017, 86f).

3.3.2. Self and Other through Civilisation: Western Form and Eastern Content?

Beyond the classical focus on ethnotypes, imagological research has also engaged with broader frameworks of belonging, notably when questions of national character are linked to or intertwined with the evocation of cross-regional, hemispherical or civilisational spaces centring around the distinction of North-South or East-West: "(t)he study of national images is in and on itself a comparative enterprise: it addresses cross-national relations rather than national identities" (Leerssen 2007, 29). Leerssen (ibid.) has noted this, with a focus on Europe:

> Certain imaginated moral-characterological oppositions are nationally unspecific and can be encountered in many different cases: northern-cerebral vis-à-vis southern-sensuous, peripheral-timeless vis-à-vis central-modern, or western-individualistic-active vis-à-vis oriental-collective-passive. This indicates that national characterizations are often specific instances and combinations of generic moral polarities, and that our way of thinking in terms of 'national characters' boils down to an ethnic-political distribution of role patterns in an imaginated anthropological landscape.[66]

From a global perspective, and reflecting these binary attributes, the distinction between East and West has stood at the centre of the Occidentalist condition, with Europe-as-the-West embodying the epitome of an advanced and enlightened—but also decadent or soulless—civilisation facing "a non-civic East" (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021, 1) as its Other (see Arndt 2007, 389). Across South-Eastern Europe, images of countries as civilisational 'bridges,' 'thresholds' or 'border guards' have developed with reference to the general binary distinction between Europe and its Other(s) discussed above.[67] Questions about civilisational belonging

[66] Examples of such larger frameworks of belonging are the "Nord-Süd-Polarisierung" (see Arndt 2007; Leerssen 2019) across the European continent often reflected in 19th-century travelogues. More recently, debates about the 2008 financial crisis that saw framings of "a protestant work and frugality ethic by Northern countries" pitted against "an undisciplined, self-indulgent or even lazy Catholic South" (Barkhoff and Leerssen 2021, 1). On a contemporary discussion of 'Nordic' civilisation and the construction of 'Northernness' in the context of Scandinavia, see Žvirgždas 2018 and Schimanski 2021. On a more general level, broad references to the '(Global) South' and the '(Global) North'—notably with regard to historical trajectories of uneven development—have built on similar assumptions while adding a bend of Southern resistance to Northern imposition (Haug et al. 2021).

[67] In Central Europe and thus in relative proximity to what is referred to the East, Christianity "has been an important impulse for the formation of the national self-image" (Bárczi et al. 2020, 7), reflecting broader associations between the West as representing Christianity and the East as standing for the Islamicate world. The self-image of Croatia as the defender of Christian civilisation, for instance, developed against the backdrop of Islamic—i.e., Ottoman—threats from the 16th century onwards and has more recently been utilised in anti-immigrant rhetoric (Blažević 2021).

often centre around (the congruence of or misfit between) form and content, i.e., outward appearance and inner true being (see Chapter 2.4.2.). This is particularly pertinent for individuals and groups positioned at the fringes of an imagined civilisational space and urged to adapt to the standards of Western modernity through modernisation understood as Westernisation or Europeanisation (see Flenley 2021). Feelings of alienation may trigger nostalgic accounts of what is evoked as lost civilisations whose lifeworlds, values and traditions are contrasted with the individualistic and 'atomary' modern experience connected with Western civilisation. The moral and ethical ideal of authenticity, "understood as the way in which the conscious self remains true and loyal to itself" (Smelik 2011, 77), therefore, serves as a key reference in negotiations of modern belonging.

An imagological approach to questions of civilisation in the context of the Occidentalist condition critically engages with this dichotomy of form_content and associated images relating to questions of authenticity and originality as well as incongruence and imitation. As outlined in Chapter 2.3., questions about the Standard of Civilisation stood at the centre of Europe becoming the West, i.e., the foundation of the Occidentalist condition. Given the nature of Western-dominated modernity, a focus on civilisational belonging through the form_content dichotomy is interested in what role the notion of civilisation plays in (literary) texts and how it relates to other individual and collective frameworks of belonging.

While questions of belonging across the global North-South divide play a certain role in Turkish politics, notably with regard to Turkey's links with the so-called post-colonial world through development cooperation and multilateral alliances (Haug 2020; Haug et al. 2021), notions of East and West have been central to societal and cultural debates. As discussed above, modernisation processes since the 18th century had led to discussions about whether or to what extent the Ottoman Empire should Westernise, transitioning into questions about whether republican Turkey was at its core a Western, and more specifically, European country. In early republican Turkey, attempts to be perceived and accepted as part of the West constitute "Turkey's quest for 'civilization'" (Zarakol 2011, 157). In official Kemalist discourse, both Europe and the Ottoman Empire are central reference points in the formation of images of the national Self, the former as a point of aspiration (and potential threat) and the latter as a historical Other. Şükrü Hanioğlu (2017, 57) highlights Atatürk's duality on the issue:

> [Atatürk] viewed European civilization as the zenith of progress and the epitome of modernity, yet at the same time was wary of Europe's power and designs on the Ottoman Empire, especially after the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 — the most ignominious defeat in Ottoman history, and one that almost instantaneously transformed a multicontinental empire into an Asiatic country. As

> he confessed to an interviewer in 1923, the West was 'an entity that, seeing us as an inferior society, has exerted its best efforts to encompass our destruction'.

As Ayşe Zarakol (2011, 114f) has argued, Turkey's actions in the early republican period were "driven by the overwhelming aim of joining the community of 'civilized nations' – a community that she had not been able to penetrate when the country was an empire – and of escaping the stigmatization of backwardness, barbarity, and Easternness." According to Zarakol, domestic reforms under the Kemalist regime "were very clearly driven by the quest for stature and civilization" (ibid., 152). Westernisation through language, script or clothing are regarded as important features in the formation of Turkish identity (see Çolak 2004).[68] Certain phenomena symbolise this civilisational transition:

> The adoption of the European hat as national headgear would eliminate that visible marker of Turkish Muslim difference and inferiority and would symbolize Turkey's (aspirations for) modernity and inclusion in the 'civilized world,' while simultaneously serving as a powerful symbol of its break from the Ottoman era and a harbinger of the coming of a new era (Yılmaz 2013, 29).

Amid the reforms and infrastructural projects, imperial Istanbul's central districts of Fatih and Beyoğlu increasingly came to stand for East and West, respectively, symbolising different approaches to questions of civilisational belonging on "the two sides of the Golden Horn" (Şenışık 2018, 505).

Since its emergence in mid-19th century, the (Ottoman-)Turkish novel has dealt with questions of belonging in line with East-West framings and, more specifically, the "issue of Westernisation" (*Batılılaşma sorunsalı*) (see Moran 1998 [1983]). In the late Ottoman Empire, the "estheticization of the question of West and East" (Kučera 2017a, 23) included negotiations between "*alafranga* (Eastern way of life) and *alaturka* (Western way of life)" (see Chapter 4). The adoption of the novel as a Western form in the 19th century was considered as one of the tools for reaching (Western) 'civilisation' (*medeniyet*). In the eyes of many Ottoman reformers and intellectuals, embracing a narrative genre originating in Europe contributed to "progress" (*terakkî*), and the novel's content was to be used to educate people in order to enhance civilisational standards (Moran 1998 [1983], 12). After the downfall of the empire, literary production continued to explore questions of civilisational and national belonging in a societal atmosphere shaped by the "monocultural and monolingual Western oriented Kemalist

[68] While Kemalist rhetoric presented the Ottoman Empire as civilisationally inferior and backward, nationalist-Islamist forces have used references to (early) Ottoman power and wealth to formulate aspirations for today's Turkey; see Yavuz 2020 and Chovanec et al. 2021.

discourse" (Sagaster 2009, 64). As Kaitlin Staudt (2020, 191) has recently argued, the novel was an instrument of this policy:

> As a genre, the novel in the early Republic was under extreme pressure to participate in Turkey's modernization projects by producing progressive, rationalist, and realist aesthetics that were deemed suitably 'Western' and authentically Turkish, while also serving as an instrument for modelling new concepts of Turkishness, citizenship, womanhood, and above all, modernity.

Overall, the imagological focus on civilisation in the analysis of early republican literature is set to focus on the extent to which the hegemonic modern dichotomy of Western 'original' and Eastern 'imitation' is reproduced or critically transcended. In this context, it engages with questions centring on images of—notably the East's—authenticity and originality as opposed to ascribed superficiality and imitation, for example, in the portrayal of 'untouched' and 'genuine' local contexts. The link between nation and civilisation is particularly relevant here, as is the relationship between 'authentic' (Eastern) locality and 'exchangeable' (Western) globality in the context of Occidentalism, reflected in the neighbourhood as a site of resistance against or adaptation to the unifying forces of Western-dominated processes of globalisation. The "production of localities" (see Appadurai 2010 [1996], 189) is particularly insightful for understanding engagement with images of civilisational belonging in individual and collective lifeworlds, focusing on how form and content of civilisation are narrated and what role smaller units of belonging come to play.

A central starting point for the analysis of (literary) texts through a focus on form_content are expressions of authenticity, or the lack thereof. In ordinary usage, the term 'authentic' has a close semantic relationship with adjectives such as 'real,' 'actual,' 'original,' 'genuine,' 'sincere' or 'true' (see Weixler 2012, 1). The concept employed as a noun or adjective can be used to denote both people and things (Knaller 2007, 8). While object authenticity mostly relates to value and aesthetics in the cultural realm, subject authenticity refers to the formation of and adherence to individual and collective identities. The term 'authentic' is also to be understood in comparison to what it is not: "real or genuine" in contrast to "copied or false" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022e). As Kyle Shuttleworth has recently argued (2021, 1), imitations, reproductions or copies "are deemed inferior" because "they lack the history of the original." Terms related to authenticity or imitation as well as explicit references to civilisation in literary works thus offer a primary reference for images that reflect meanings and emotions ascribed to frameworks of belonging and can point to an engagement with broader form_content discussions along the lines of East and West.

3.3.3. Self and Other through Temporality: Eastern Past and Western Future?

Contemporary imagology stresses the importance of the historical background in which (literary) texts are embedded and, hence, examines how they are influenced and shaped by the socio-historical conditions of their production. As Leerssen (2007, 28) has noted, "Literary texts cannot be interpreted in a *timeless*, aesthetic never-never-land" (emphasis added). Context-sensitive imagological analyses pay attention to the fact that images are formulated and disseminated at a particular point in time by authors with specific positionalities in a given societal field and are usually addressed to specific readers or audiences and unfold through particular genres and media.

Consequently, not only the text itself but also the images embedded in it are construed in reference to evolving temporalities. In their traditional focus on national character, imagological analyses have to some extent paid attention to the temporal implications of configurations of Self and Other, most notably in relation to how images of the present national Self take shape in reference to representations of Self located in either past or future. An idealised or imagined past, for example, can be evoked in nationalist discourses in order to root the national Self in the alleged values and traditions of times gone by that are supposed to be at least partially rejuvenated.[69] The past can also be Othered in order to create distance between the present Self and its previous spatial and political framework of belonging, as in the case of nationalist movements distancing themselves from previous imperial frameworks.[70] As Casey Ford (2020, 177) has argued, the future—just like the past—can also become a key reference in the formulation of national goals, "[w]hile nationalist ideology constructs itself on the basis of the past, […] it must also complete itself through a determination of the future, specifically as a line of 'progress.'"

Despite implicit references to the temporality of images in imagological research, an explicit temporal focus centring on how images of Self and Other unfold with regard to temporal axes has yet to be established. As Leerssen (2007, 29; see Leerssen 2016, 22) has noted, "[t]he extent to which national self-images have a specifically diachronic dimension, not in the self-other dynamics of setting domestic culture off against others, but in the identitarian process of

[69] Early 21st-century English nationalism, for example, merged "post-imperial melancholia with anti-European sentiment"; a nostalgia for the past set the stage for "increasingly organised and popular anti-European politics" (Wellings 2010, 498 and 501).

[70] The Ottoman past, as Edin Hajdarpašić (2008, 715) has argued, "remains one of the most controversial historical subjects across much of the Balkans." In Serbian nationalism, for example, the Ottoman rule has been predominantly portrayed in a negative light (see Jovanović 2017).

maintaining a sense of selfhood across time, deserves further attention." An imagological analysis sensitive to temporality may also focus on images of rupture and change as constitutive aspects of the modern experience (see Chapter 2). As I argue in Chapter 4, the post-imperial narrative—based on the experience of loss of empire and the formation of a new order—is a particularly suitable genre to trace images surrounding modern experiences of breaks and transitions.

With regard to temporality in early republican Turkey, many authors have stressed that the nation-building process led by Atatürk was based on a significant break with the Ottoman past in many spheres of society. The abolishment of the Sultanate (1922) and the Caliphate (1924) legally and symbolically marked the (political) discontinuity with the imperial past (see Günay 2012, 145) and its multinational composition (see Reinkowski 2021, 152–157; Aktar 2009), including the denial of genocide (see Göçek 2014). The adoption of the Latin script and language policy attempted to ('re')create an 'original Turkish' (*öz Türkçe*) by eliminating 'foreign' Arabic and Persian terms introduced a very practical distance to the 'Eastern' Ottoman heritage (Çolak 2004, 68).[71] As Jale Parla (2008, 28) has noted, the "project succeeded in obliterating the past by making it inaccessible to the generations born after 1925." In many ways, the late Ottoman period served as a key Other for the political conception of the new national Self. As Christine Philliou (2011, 172) has pointed out, "the Ottoman past came to be understood as backward and in conflict with the new and modern Kemalist Turkey and therefore lacking in value." In that sense, Philliou argues, the "Kemalist version of history […] has its own internal logic that jibes very well with European orientalism (in positing an oppositional and mutually exclusive relationship between 'East' and 'West' and essentially declaring that Turkey was switching sides)."

Recent scholarship has pointed out, however, that despite its official rejection in the early days of the republic, (pre-) Ottoman history continued to play a role in historiography, culture and—to a limited extent—also politics. Ayşe Özge Koçak (2015, 68) has noted this role:

> it was essential that the new nation did not see itself as a rootless artificial invention, thus the nationalist rhetoric returned to a mythical past which predated the Ottomans. This rhetoric depicted the Turks as historically industrious and intelligent, traits which had been forgotten through the absorption of Turkish culture by Eastern cultures.

[71] Çolak (2004, 68f), however, also notes that these language purification attempts were not a new invention of the republican elites but attempts "dated back to the Tanzimat reform movement in the nineteenth century" when "Ottoman modernization led to the emergence of a new idea of the people needing to be composed of individuals who were educated and enlightened."

In addition to this focus on pre-Ottoman history, however, Ottoman historiography also thrived during this period:

> the fields of pre- and ancient history enjoyed enthusiastic state support during the 1930s and attained a hegemonic position over other areas and periods of history in early republican historical writing […]. Ottoman historiography continued to flourish in its own realm throughout all this period (Sönmez 2021, 768).

As an increasingly 'nationalising empire' from the late 19th century onwards (Berger and Miller 2015; see Chovanec and Heilo 2021b, 4f), Ottoman history was imbued with nationalist rhetoric even before its dismemberment, having "already received a nationalized content, vocabulary and agenda before the republican era" (Sönmez 2021, 768). In a similar vein, Nicholas Danforth (2021, 106; see Danforth 2014) has highlighted that Ottoman history was re-appropriated and 'turkified' in the single-party era, most visibly after Atatürk's death in 1938.[72] Danforth (2021, 101) argues that almost all works on Ottoman history published during the single-party period (1923–1945) nationalised Ottoman military successes, architecture and culture and thus "can be read as efforts to prove that Turks deserved credit for the glorious parts of the Ottoman past." Between rejection and reappraisal, the Ottoman past hence functioned as an ambivalent reference point in early republican Turkey—sometimes as Other, sometimes as Self. The notion of the future-as-Western was seen in a similarly ambivalent light. As Şükrü Hanioğlu (2017, 57) has put it, "[o]n the one hand, the West symbolized intellectual and scientific ascendancy, and provided the blueprint for the ideal society of the future; yet on the other hand, it was a predatory monster that fed on Ottoman wealth and territory."

Literature captured this general societal ambivalence, providing different ideas and suggestions for a late Ottoman and then Turkish identity between (Eastern) past and (Western) future. On the republic's links with the Ottoman Empire, secondary literature has pointed to the notion of 'belatedness' as a key topic in the (Ottoman-)Turkish novel. With reference to the Tanzimat novelists' quest for originality in a context in which the (imperial) past is increasingly neglected in favour of a (republican) Turkish future, Nurdan Gübilek (2003, 621) has argued that "[i]n the modern world being belated is imagining oneself peripheral, provincial, underdeveloped, and inadequate." Peripheralized by the Occidentalist condition, in the context of which "the non-West has been labelled 'backward'" (Ahıska 2010, 38), (Ottoman-)Turkish novelists

[72] Even with regard to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's often-referenced 'anti-Ottomanist' stance towards history, Danforth (2021, 99) notes that "[o]nce it was no longer necessary to condemn the Ottoman dynasty for immediate political reasons, Atatürk and his successors could rework their relationship with the Ottoman past in order to paint a more glorious history for their nation."

explore if and to what extent the Eastern past can be brought in accordance or be synthesised with the premises of a Westernising present and the parameters of a potentially Western(ised) future. Inscribed in this uprooting temporality are images of wrong or exaggerated Westernisation, triggering anxieties about a loss of Self: "The state of belatedness concerns not only ideas and ideologies but also desires and aspirations, anxieties and fears, envies and resentments—the desire to be the other and the fear of losing one's self in the other" (Gürbilek 2003, 615).

Overall, an imagological approach to questions of temporality in the analysis of post-imperial narratives in early republican literature—unfolding in the context of the Occidentalist condition—is set to critically engage with images centring around the dichotomy of past_future. As I have argued in Chapter 2, just as Occidentalist modernity is an intrinsically spatial concept, it also is a temporal concept with change at its heart, separating the 'old' from the 'new.' Occidentalist temporality creates a homogenous time centring around the future-oriented notion of progress, favouring the novel over the known. In this world of images, the non-Western Other is presented through notions of belatedness in the naturalised and linear temporal framework embodied by the West. Within the Occidentalist condition, the peripheralized East relates to the past whereas the centralised West stands for future. As Leerssen (2022, 64) has recently noted: "The strong activation of a centre/periphery polarity correlates with a chronotopical distribution of modernity (in the centre) and pastness (in the periphery)." The 'time-lag' between Western Self and non-Western Other is expressed in the dichotomy of 'advanced' and 'backward.' In accounts critical of the homogenising forces of Western-dominated modernity, often implemented through the economic and political requirements of Westernisation, images of the past may be evoked in a nostalgic light, representing a once untouched and authentic time-space, while the future is approached anxiously as a further distancing from one's roots and heritage.

A temporal focus on images allows for nuanced understandings of how Self and Other are narrated in relation to time. Imagological analysis can be sensitive to how selfhood and otherness is approached through the lens of time by grasping temporality as a concept for "how the past, the present, and the future are tied together in a particular narrative" (Gökmenoğlu 2022, 644). A central issue is whether and how writers engage images of a belated, past-oriented East and a progressive, future-oriented West and related judgements: To what extent is that dichotomy transcended or reproduced? How are selfhood and otherness narrated in relation to time? How are temporal (dis)continiuities or ruptures narrated and reflected in images of Self

and Other? Approaching temporally framed constructions of Self and Other in literary texts allows us to examine images of time or temporalized images and how they unfold between or beyond the poles of past and future. In addition to 'past' and 'future' and their links with the continuously evolving 'present,' key terms in the analysis of literary texts with a focus on temporalities might want to include references to 'old' and 'new,' 'novel' and 'lost,' 'linear,' 'belated' or 'progressive.' An imagological approach towards questions of temporality is sensitive to how images of the past, present and future are utilised for the creation of (in)consistent frameworks of belonging. Such a sensitivity towards narrative temporalities may reveal how continuities or discontinuities, stable or instable frameworks of belonging are inscribed in the temporalized construction of Self and Other.

3.3.4. Self and Other through Gender: The 'New (Wo)Man' across East and West?

In line with spatiality, civilisation and temporality, the fourth dimension of the Occidentalist Lens, gender, offers key insights into how images of Self and Other unfold and evolve. An imagological approach to gender-related questions critically engages with the dominant dichotomy of male_female and imaginaries attached to it. While there are few early imagological studies that explicitly engage with gender,[73] overlaps between the formations and perception of national identity and the construction of masculinities and femininities are increasingly part of intersectional approaches in imagology (see Edtstadler et al. 2022, 31; Laurušaitė 2018a, 4).[74] Margarita Malykhina (2018, 154) argues that the concept of gender "is discursive and anti-essential, and thus easily falls into the domain of imagological studies." In literary texts, gender often functions as a marker of difference. Along the lines of—and sometimes beyond—the male_female binary, explicitly or implicitly gendered images of Self and Other are, as most dichotomous oppositions, usually imbued with normative implications:

> Stereotypical gender arrangement and the binary images of men and women that they sustain – men are supposed to be strong, rational, and to operate in the public sphere while women are seen as weak, emotional and ideally suited for the private sphere – enable subjects to order their many complex interrelations along recognizable terms, often to the advantage of men (Verstraete 2007, 329).

Questions of gender and national character are intrinsically intertwined and can thus be studied in combination. Since the emergence of the (European) nation-state in the 19th century, Ginette Verstraete (ibid., 330) argues, "the ideal national citizen has always been a white heterosexual

[73] For an exception, see Florack 2000.

[74] Laurušaitė's volume includes a section on "Gender Identity as an Imagological Resource," discussing how "gender becomes inscribed in and affected by national images."

man […]. Women, by contrast, have mostly been addressed in their function as biological reproducers of the citizens and as culture carriers responsible for socializing children."

As I have argued in Chapter 2, the advent of Western modernity challenges established images of womanhood and manhood, giving way to novel ideas about how the 'new man' and 'new woman' should look like and behave: "In virtually all cultures there are somewhat similar stereotypes about manly and womanly behaviour; there are prototypical images of the Ideal Woman and the True Man in all national mythologies" (Malykhina 2018, 154). The rise of feminism in the wake of modernity also triggers a differentiation of masculinities. Malykhina (ibid., 156) describes feminism as a "turning point in the history of masculinity" leading to the establishment of new cultural scripts. The "Traditional Man," she argues "is definitely a 'pre-feminist' formation: he is the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity." Gendered power dynamics are inscribed not only in the relation between sexes and those who do not conform to the hegemonic gender images in a given socio-cultural and political context but also in Occidentalism more generally. An imagological approach to questions of gender in the context of the Occidentalist condition thus pays attention to the fact that Western modernity builds on a male-focused trajectory, setting the Western white heterosexual male as the standard and motor of civilisational progress. Inscribed in the globalised gender relations of modernity is the dichotomous image of a masculine, dominant West and a feminine, subordinate East. At the same time, and in opposition to the enlightened West, the Eastern Other comes to stand for the backward oppression of women. As Verstraete (2007, 331) has noted, "[w]hile white nationhood is perceived in terms of women's liberation, the 'barbarian (male) others' are pictured with women forced to be silent, wear veils, undergo genital mutilation, and be part of a harem."

Debates on women's rights and duties in late Ottoman times were closely intertwined with questions about Westernisation (see Chapter 2.2.1.). Western-oriented reformers such as Namık Kemal considered the education of women a necessary step towards civilisational advancement, challenging traditional approaches that saw women primarily "as a source of pleasure, such as musical instruments and jewellery" and arguing that women were "not created to be servile to men" (cited in Sönmez 1969, 8). At the same time, education was seen as a key to prevent women from falling victim to the superficial and uncritical imitation of Western styles, highlighting how the Occidentalist condition shaped questions of how modern womanhood was to be translated into the Ottoman context. Ottoman reformers tried "to strike a balance between Islam and modernisation in the creation of the 'ideal' Turkish woman" (Elaman-Garner 2017,

434). In early republican Turkey, women's issues were also strongly interconnected with the state's attempts at reform. As mentioned above, 'state feminism' reshaped the urban public sphere and "brought new opportunities for women: equal education, equal divorce and custody rights, and the right to vote, for instance, were some of the important gains that also enabled women to be more visible and active in the public sphere" (Akdoğan 2022, n.p.). With regard to new dressing practices, Sevgi Adak (2022, 36) has recently noted, "Since veiling encompassed the whole system of seclusion of women, anti-veiling campaigns entailed direct state intervention in deeply rooted gender codes, and reshaping of the urban space according to new ones." These shifts led to new images of femininity.[75] Elif Küçükalioğlu (2007, 5) has discussed how the formation of a Turkish national identity was intertwined with the establishment of images surrounding the 'new woman,' ushering into a "new modern – yet modest" emancipated female identity. More generally, Küçükalioğlu highlights that the 'state feminism' of the early republic was based on these standards:

> [a] combination of conflicting images according to which the new Turkish woman was expected to make a balance between being modern with her education, her active participation in public and social life and her unveiled presence; and being traditional with her motherhood, her modesty and her attachment to family. In this constructed 'image' of the new woman, the erasure of her sexuality was of crucial importance in terms of representing the morality of the nation.

Turning to the sphere of literature, late Ottoman novels had already discussed images of femineity and masculinity. As Sönmez (1969, 64f) demonstrates with reference to Hüseyin Rahmi's (1864–1944) novels, the ideal image of a woman was based on the distinction between false Westernisation and true civilisational advancement: although women were to be educated, they should not neglect their duties as wives and mothers in the domestic sphere. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, the figure of the male *züppe* as a super-Westernised dandy came to stand not only for failed progress but also for failed masculinity (see Gürbilek 2003). In a similar vein, early republican novels not only discussed images of womanhood—often outlining the parameters of decent or problematic female behaviour—but also touched upon the impact of societal transformations on men. As Çimen Günay-Erkol (2012) has noted with reference to Orhan Kemal's novels, the disappearance of the imperial order and the experience of loss destabilised traditional images of masculinity.

[75] As Perin Gürel (2017, 71) has put it, "[t]he idealized masculine figure of the army officer, who no longer wore a fez, met his feminine counterpart in the unveiled schoolteacher ready to form Turkish children into figures of nationalist modernity. Legislating heterosexual monogamy, glorifying motherhood, and advancing asexual images of the modern Turkish woman in the newly heterosocial public sphere, Kemalists sought to secure the sign of the modern and/but chaste woman."

Overall, the imagological focus on gender in the analysis of early republican literature is sensitive to questions about how Self and Other are construed in terms of gendered categories. It is set to engage with images related to the 'new man' and the 'new woman' and framings centring around the fe_male dichotomy to make sense of Turkey's position in the context of the Occidentalist condition. Like all images, depictions of gender identities along or beyond the dichotomous poles of fe_male are socially constructed and embedded in broader historical contexts. Images of gender evoked in literary texts hence point to the societal conditions of their production—they are not fixed but subject to change: "The modification of gender concepts over time due to the changing social and cultural environment also hints at their imagined rather than factual characters, and allows for the use of the diachronic approach to their study" (Malykhina 2018, 155). Imagological analysis, then, focuses on gender designations across the spectrum defined by but not limited to the fe_male binary and how these gender images overlap with other identity dimensions. This invites us to take a detailed look at expressions connected to the central notions of 'male' and 'female' and critically engage with the use of terms typically associated with them, such as 'strength,' 'father,' 'brother,' 'son' or 'boy' for men (together with adjectives such as 'dominant,' 'assertive,' 'protective' or their opposites) as well as 'beauty,' 'mother,' 'sister,' daughter' or 'girl' for women (again, together with adjectives such as 'caring,' 'emotional,' 'loving,' 'warm' or their opposites).

3.4. Imagology in Practice: Close Reading

With the aim to expand the traditional geographical and linguistic boundaries of imagology as a methodology of comparative literature, this chapter has outlined how I suggest operationalising the four-dimensional heuristic of the Occidentalist Lens through imagological tools. More specifically, I suggest an 'imagological close reading' as a method for how images of Self and Other unfold in selected literary and non-literary texts from early republican Turkey. According to Matthew Jockers (2013, 6 and 17), the "disciplinary habit of closely studying individual texts" is the primary dimension of close reading, which "relies upon careful observation, the sustained, concentrated reading of text." Authors have further referred to the necessity of acknowledging in-text contradictions and ambivalences without trying to harmonise them. Jonathan Culler (2010, 22) describes the practice of close reading as follows:

> [embodying] a respect for the stubbornness of texts, which resist easy comprehension or description in terms of expected themes and motifs. The close reader needs to be willing to take seriously the difficulties of singular, unexpected turns of phrase, juxtapositions, and opacity.

> Close reading teaches an interest in the strangeness or distinctiveness of individual works and parts of works.[76]

As a result, close reading does not mean to iron out discrepancies and complexities for the sake of an unambiguous and homogeneous literary analysis. Along the same lines, Mara De Gennaro (2020, 4) has ascribed a political and ethical value to "'difficult' literary language, difficult in the sense of enacting, whether subtly or conspicuously, conceptual dilemmas that an expanded awareness of the world as distinct from one's habituated worldview poses to perceptions of coherence." This is the value of what Gayatri Spivak (2003, 26) describes in *Death of a Discipline* as "difficult, even mysterious texts" that "stage the question of collectivity," without providing easy answers, "curious texts, where collectivities become undecidable."

In this dissertation, the imagological close reading of (non-)literary texts emanating from early republican Turkey is context-sensitive as it takes into account both Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions. It is intertextual by building on a historical trajectory of images and considering links between literary and non-literary texts and their authors. And it is textual by engaging in-depth with individual texts through close reading in order to identify and analyse specific sets of images. As a methodological tool operationalising the Occidentalist Lens as a post-colonial heuristic, the imagological close reading in this dissertation further entails a sensitivity towards strategies of 'writing back' that "attempt to imagine the beyond of occidentalism" (Venn 2000, 83). Building on Salman Rushdie's phrase "The Empire Writes Back" (1982), Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (2002 [1989]) use the phrase 'writing back' to refer to post-colonial authors writing *against* and not *for* imperial centres (see Bartels et al. 2019, 189). The term has also been utilised to explore the literary strategies of writers in post-colonial settings, most notably with regard to how they challenge English literature as the modern literary standard: "'Writing back', 'counter-discourse', 'oppositional literature', 'con-texts': these are some of the terms that have been used to identify a body of postcolonial works that take a classic English text as a departure point, supposedly as a strategy for contesting the authority of the canon of English literature" (Thieme 2001, 1). As Bartels et al. (2019, 190) argue with reference to Evan Mwangi (2009, 2), the concept has also been challenged: "The dominant notion that postcolonial literature 'writes back' to the Western metropolis has been criticized by authors and scholars from the global South, since it is questionable to suggest that Anglophone Literatures are inevitably characterized by a postcolonial rewriting of Western master texts." However, instead of understanding post-

[76] In a similar vein David Greenham (2019, 4) notes that "[c]lose reading is about enjoying the way the words on the page create beauty in complexity."

colonial contexts as "simply 'writing back' to an English canonical text," John Thieme (2001, 54) notes that the concept rather refers to the "discursive field within which such a text operated and continues to operate in post-colonial worlds."

The imagological close reading of texts in the discursive field of Western-dominated modernity, then, is sensitive to whether and how the above-discussed Occidentalist dichotomies along the lines of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender are reproduced, challenged, transcended or revalued. Dominant auto- and hetero-images, such as the Occidentalist images of Europe as the progressive West contrasted with the Ottoman Empire as the stagnant East, can travel and come to play in different settings. External attributions, such as Others' hetero-images with which the Self is faced, can be internalised and integrated into auto-images; they can also be challenged, refuted or subverted. In strategies of revaluation, in turn, a negative hetero-image becomes a positive auto-image.

3.5. In a Nutshell: Imagology in this Dissertation

This chapter has introduced imagology as a methodology rooted in Comparative Literature and traditionally occupied with the analysis of images of Self (*auto*) and Other (*hetero*), predominantly focusing on national characters in the context of (Western) Europe. Current imagological analyses usually engage with the triangle of context, intertext and text (see Leerssen 2016). Context sensitivity means explicitly taking 'text-external' factors of literary (image) production into account. Intertextuality refers to how images unfold and are reproduced in the context of time and across genres and authors, while the textual analysis focuses on how Self and Other are represented through in-text images. I have discussed that contemporary imagology has been confronted with criticism regarding its Eurocentric bias, the lack of methodological links with post-colonialism to establish a more explicit engagement with power relations, as well as its often-exclusive focus on national character. As Leerssen (2016, 27) has emphasised, "[w]ere imagology to go truly global […] a number of European-based working methods and a priori models would need to be re-calibrated, and that in itself would be an exciting and enriching intellectual enterprise." By focusing on images emanating from Turkish contexts, this dissertation contributes to opening up the field, sources and languages of imagological research. Addressing the need to bring imagological and post-colonial approaches in conversation with each other, I suggest operationalising the Occidentalist Lens as a post-colonial conceptual framework through imagological tools, enabling imagological analysis to more explicitly engage with (global) power dynamics. As the focus of this dissertation is not

the study of the Turkish national character but rather a broad variety of image formulations centring around Self and Other in texts emanating from early republican Turkey, I also broaden the scope of images traditionally discussed in imagological analyses.

I have suggested that the Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions are two central context factors in the imagological study of texts in early republican Turkey. On the one hand, the Occidentalist condition as the experience of Western-dominated modernity centres around the distinction between what is imagined as West and East, with the image of Europe as a reference for progress against which (Eastern) Others are positioned as backward and stagnant. I have outlined how the so-called non-West—notably the Ottoman Empire (and later Turkey)—played a key role in the formation of dominant Occidentalist auto-images; and I have highlighted how the image of Europe as the epitome of civilisational progress became a central reference in late Ottoman accounts, setting the stage for image formations in early republican Turkey. On the other hand, I have introduced the post-imperial condition as the experience of facing the loss of Empire and the replacement of the imperial order. Building on rapid societal transformation in the late Ottoman Empire, Turkey's post-imperial condition is shaped by increased mobilities, discussions about civilisational belonging predominantly discussed in reference to East and West, a recalibration of temporality through the loss of Empire and the orientation towards a future imagined as Western and a reorganisation of gender relations. Overall, the image of Europe-as-the-West (at the heart of the Occidentalist condition) and the image of a lost Empire (at the heart of the post-imperial condition) are central reference points in early republican Turkey. Through an imagological close reading that allows for ambiguities and takes into account how authors engage with Occidentalist dichotomies, the analysis of texts emanating from this context is set to focus on how and to what extent authors engage with, reproduce, challenge and/or transcend images of the mobile West and immobile East, Western form and Eastern content, Eastern past and Western future, and the 'new (wo)man' in the East and/or the West. As I outline in the next chapter, the post-imperial narrative as a modern literary genre is particularly suited to trace and explore how images of Self and Other engage with these binary formations.

4. The Post-Imperial Narrative: Literature and the Legacy of Empire

This chapter focuses on how literature engages with empire and its legacies as well as introduces the post-imperial narrative as a subject for the imagological analysis of auto- and hetero-images in early republican Turkish literature.[77] The (post-)imperial narrative, broadly speaking, is a cultural, political or social narration related to, respectively, existing or bygone empires. The literary (post-)imperial narrative, more specifically, is a modern form of narration concerned with the transformation of order and, therefore, related to questions of experience and belonging. The literary imperial narrative of the Tanzimat period deals with significant transformations as well as the demise or anticipated loss of the empire. The literary post-imperial narrative in early republican Turkey, in turn, is based on the experience of contingency connected to the disintegration of Empire as an ordering principle. More specifically, it is the *immediate* literary post-imperial narrative emerging from the ruins of World War I—shaped by authors who themselves experienced the downfall of the empire—that captures the liminal moment between old and new. I suggest that an analysis of this form of narration, located between empire and nation-state, is particularly insightful when it comes to the construction of images of Selfhood and Otherness in early republican Turkey.

The first section of the chapter provides an overview of the field of post-imperial studies, closely connected to post-Habsburg studies, and outlines what a literary scholar's take on empires and their legacies may look like (4.1.). The following section approaches the characteristics of the (post-)imperial narrative (4.2.). Two illustrative case studies of Tanzimat literature, Ahmed Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* ("Felatun Bey and Rakım Efendi," 1875) and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* ("A Carriage Affair," written in 1889 and published in 1896), are discussed as examples of imperial narratives and set the stage for a more detailed engagement with Turkey's post-imperial narrative. I then introduce Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar as major authors of the early republican period (4.3.) before concluding with a brief summary (4.4.).

[77] As will be specified below, parts of this chapter have been published in Chovanec (2021).

4.1. Approaching Empire through Literature: An Overview

Over the last two decades, there has been a growing interest in the after-effects of empire and an increasing recognition of the vital links between political transformation and literary production. Against the backdrop of the so-called imperial turn, not only historiography but also cultural and literary studies have been engaged with analyses of how the collapse of Empire has reverberated in cultural artefacts. According to Antoinette Burton (2003, 2), 'imperial turn' refers to the "accelerated attention to the impact of histories of imperialism on metropolitan societies in the wake of decolonization, pre- and post-1968 racial struggle and feminism in the last quarter century." In her work about turns in cultural studies, Doris Bachmann-Medick (2016, 279f) also speaks of the emerging 'imperial turn' as "taking place in a field of historiography that is no longer centered around national history and has a critical focus on empire and imperialism." With regard to Ottoman studies, Alan Mikhail and Christine Philliou (2012, 722) note that "Empire is back like never before" as a normative category and a lens of scholarly inquiry. Post-imperial studies mirror post-colonial endeavours in dealing with the ongoing consequences of imperial rule after the demise of traditional territorial empires like those of the Habsburgs, Romanovs or Ottomans. In light of the imperial turn, cultural and literary studies have established the importance of literature in the making and dissemination of imaginations of Empire that reach well beyond literary spheres.

It is most notably in the field of post-Habsburg studies that the enduring after-effects of imperial demise in literature have been explored in detail. Literary studies began dealing with the impact of the lost Habsburg Monarchy on the modern novel as early as the 1960s. By focusing on the melancholic texts of authors like Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), Robert Musil (1880–1942) and Joseph Roth (1894–1939), the literary scholar Claudio Magris was the first to comprehensively approach Austrian (inter-war) literature from a post-imperial viewpoint (see Magris 2000 [1963]). Building on Magris' notion of a 'Habsburg Myth' in Austrian literature as well as the political scientist Herfried Münkler's empire theory, Christine Magerski (2018) has recently presented a comprehensive theoretical study of the so-called post-imperial novel in the Austrian context. This scholarly focus on Austrian literary engagement with the Habsburgs has recently been accompanied by a surge of interest in the effects of imperial demise visible in various literatures from other post-Habsburg realms. At the centre of this theme stand authors like Antal Szerb, Sándor Márai, Miloš Crnjanski or Miroslav Krleža and their engagement with the realities of the "post-empire" (Walton 2021) beyond Vienna as the previous imperial centre. A number of recent studies have shown how literature contributed to or reflected public debates

on new identities in the making, from various geographical perspectives and at different points in time.

In the framework of the two Zagreb-based literary research projects "Post-Imperial Narratives in the Central European Literatures of Modernity" (2016–2017) and "Construction of the Other from a Central European Perspective" (2018–2020), scholars have approached Empire from a comparative literary perspective. Our anthology *Post-imperiale Narrative im zentraleuropäischen Raum* (co-edited with Marijan Bobinac, Wolfgang Müller-Funk and Jelena Spreicer 2018), for example, examines narratives of Empire in German, Croatian and Hungarian literary texts, revealing the often-conflicting identity formulations between imperial past and national present in various post-Habsburg settings. In a similar vein, edited volumes by Matthias Schmidt et al. (2015), Vahidin Preljević and Clemens Ruthner (2016), Vladimir Biti (2017) and Marian Bobinac et al. (2021) examine post-imperial narratives and hi/storytelling in different contexts of Central and (South-)Eastern Europe through a broad variety of literary texts.[78] Ruthner's (2018) monography *Habsburgs 'Dark Continent'* has suggested a post-colonial approach to the study of Austrian literature in the context of Habsburg imperialism.

While contemporary Austrian literature[79] and politics largely unfold in silent demarcation from the imperial past and include few explicit references to the Habsburgs,[80] the "echoes of empire" (see Nicolaïdis et al. 2015) reverberate more loudly in contemporary Turkey. Across different fields, the scholarly engagement with Empire in the Turkish context is above all focused on neo-imperialist trends in politics. Recent years have seen a high number of publications focusing on the return of the Ottoman Empire to Turkish politics and cultural policies. Neo-Ottomanism as a central dimension of Turkish foreign policy under the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) (see Özel 2016; Hristov 2019; Wastnidge 2019; Haug 2020; Yavuz 2020 and 2022) has been studied extensively along with

[78] A recent monograph by Biti (2021, 6) approaches the "forcefully nationalized post-imperial political space" of Czechoslovakia through an in-depth close reading of Franz Kafka's oeuvre.

[79] Exceptions include Hannes Stein's counterfactual novel *Der Komet* (2014). I would like to thank Christoph Leschanz and Norbert Bachleitner for discussions about contemporary Austrian literature. Films and series centring on Habsburg-related themes, however, enjoy increasing popularity. For examples see Marie Kreutzer's 2022 historical drama "Corsage" or the 2022 Netflix series "The Empress", both of which are centring on the life and fate of Empress Elisabeth.

[80] However, a number of post-communist contexts—exemplified by Budapest, Kraków, Ljubljana and Prague—have rediscovered the Habsburg legacy after the downfall of the Berlin Wall (Bialasiewicz 2003). As the examples of Galicia and Transylvania show, Habsburg legacies have come to stand for a general notion of "European heritageophilia" (Bădescu 2020), linking a Western orientation with a desired (Central-)European belonging. Novels contribute to contemporary post-imperial retrospection: the Ukrainian author Sofia Yuriyivna Andrukhovych's bestseller *Фелікс Австрія* (*Felix Austria*, 2014), for example, takes readers back to fin-de-siècle Stanisławów, a Galician town on the outskirts of the Habsburg Empire.

its materialisation and spatialisation in cities like Istanbul (Walton 2016; Ghulyan 2019). Since the 1980s, remnants of Empire have resurfaced through the (historical) novels of Noble Prize laureate Orhan Pamuk,[81] and the visibility of Empire in the literary realm has arguably set the stage for a broader "cultural Ottomania" (Ergin and Karakaya 2017) popularised through films and series. Pamuk's aestheticized notion of *hüzün* as an Istanbul-specific "end-of-empire melancholy" (Konuk 2011; Kučera and Chovanec 2022) emphasises the collectivised and generalised experience of imperial loss. With her focus on the multinational and multicultural past, Elif Shafak—an author well known to readers outside Turkey—has also been studied through a post-imperial lens (Furlanetto 2017). Taking Magris' (1963) above-mentioned notion of a Habsburg Myth in Austrian literature as a point of departure, I have outlined key aspects of an 'Ottoman Myth' in Turkish literature, ranging from late imperial to contemporary examples (Chovanec 2021). Tracing the roots of melancholy[82] from late Ottoman to contemporary Turkish literature, I argue that it was a specific political and cultural climate in which the anticipation of imperial loss gave rise to a nascent notion of gloom. The literarily expressed melancholy paralleled political efforts promoting Ottomanism as a transnational, multiethnic and multi-religious framework of belonging. Whenever imperial imaginations play a role in literature—from late Ottoman novels to early republican texts or contemporary works—questions of belonging and thus images of Self and Other come to the fore. Although imperial imaginations and associated identity formulations between empire and nation are a key theme of late imperial and early republican Turkish literature, they have not yet been examined systematically.

4.2. The (Post-)Imperial Narrative

The concept of 'Empire' is "commonly understood as a particular form of governing expanding geographical regions with flexible borders through vertical mechanisms of power and through the subjugation of peoples" (Chovanec and Heilo 2021b, 11; see Münkler 2014, 16–21). Empires, however, can not only "be defined by means of legal, dynastic, historical or religious formations and foundations but should also be understood by means of the cultural 'texts' written in relation to and about them" (Chovanec and Heilo 2021b, 11). Empires are thus not only political, juridical and social entities but also complex narrations entailing sets of symbolic

[81] On Pamuk and the mediate post-imperial narrative, see the Epilogue of this dissertation.

[82] For an overview of the discourse and history of melancholy, see Klibansky et al. (1979), Radden (2002 and 2009, pt. 1), Földényi (2004) and Chovanec (2021, 335–337).

and cultural values and attributions. Consequently, empires can be *narrated*—both during their time of existence and after their demise—in a broad variety of different sources, including literary and non-literary texts: "Understanding the empires as 'narrated' allows us to expand on the intrinsic relation between empire, narratives and identities" (ibid.). Generally speaking, (post-)imperial narratives are those forms of narrations dealing with the socio-political and cultural factor of Empire. Or, as Christine Magerski (2018, 69) has put it, they are "Erzählungen, welche in nachweisbarer Beziehung zu existierenden und nicht mehr existierenden Imperien stehen." They are being formulated, disseminated or displayed through, for example, arts and literature, essays and articles, but also through political rhetoric.[83] While the *imperial narrative* is connected to still existent or gradually disintegrating empires, the *post-imperial narrative* relates to already dispersed empires. The downfall of the Empire as a political, social, legal, cultural and symbolic order marks the vague turning point between the imperial and the post-imperial condition.

The *imperial narrative* actively engages with a given imperial order. It can be used to strengthen existing—or introduce new—frameworks of belonging supposed to create solidarity among subjects with the Empire as an ordering principle. It can also be part of anticipatory efforts to prevent the looming demise of the empire. The late Ottoman Empire, for instance, was politically and intellectually narrated[84] as a multinational umbrella for its diverse religious, cultural and ethnic groups through the discourse of Ottomanism (*Osmanlıcılık*). Similarly, 'dynastic patriotism' (Unowsky 2005) in the Habsburg Monarchy entailed the active promotion of Kaiser Franz Joseph as a "living symbol of a common Austrian identity during a time when nationalist political movements threatened the unity of the Austrian state and thus the formation of an Austrian identity" (Deak 2006, n.p.). Magerski (2018, 12–22) has unpacked the complex interplay between the empire as a political *form*, its (expansive) imperial *mission*[85] as a legitimisation strategy in the cultural realm as well as the *myth* of the appropriation of Empire in the fields of arts and literature. When the empire as a political form collapsed and its mission remained without foundation, myths often continued to live on and reverberate in various fields of society. Overall, as modern narrations dealing with (the demise of) multi-national political

[83] Overlaps and contradictions between political narrations of empire and artistic approaches complicate the engagement with the multi-layered phenomenon of 'Narrated Empires.'

[84] To what extent Ottomanism was a state-led ideology (Çevik 2021) or a discourse among intellectuals across religious and ethnic affiliations (Elfenbein 2021; Guth 2021; Topal 2021b) is a question the contributors to the book *Narrated Empires* (Chovanec and Heilo 2021a) have tried to answer.

[85] As Herfried Münkler (2010, 26) claims, "[d]ie imperiale Mission ist der kulturellen Macht eines Imperiums zuzurechnen."

orders, imperial narratives co-emerged with nationalism as a new political narrative developing partially dissociated from the imperial order.

With the collapse of a number of empires after the First World War, *post-imperial narratives*, in turn, were often formulated as a melancholic or nostalgic response to the uncertainties of the now national(ist) present:

> The anticipation, experience or memory of the radical transformation of a society from an imperial to a national order—as in the case of Austria and Turkey—is conditioned by and reflected in cultural production. The disintegration of the Ottoman and Habsburg empires as well as the experience of far-reaching reforms pre-dating or following their demise have left behind a complex mesh of challenges surrounding the loss of one order and the formation of another (Chovanec and Heilo 2021b, 11f).

The post-imperial narrative sometimes builds on, transforms and/or transcends imperial narratives, or (re-)invents the fantasy of Empire according to particular contemporary needs—be it as an opportunistic political discourse, an oppositional response to established powers, a paradoxically nationalist identity formulation, a marketable commodity, a critique of contemporary local and global developments connected with the modern age or an aesthetic exploration of the past. These aspects can also coincide, opening up complex webs of communication between the (selective) remembrance or imagination of the past, the search for meaningfulness in the present and a vision of rootedness for the future. Overall, imperial and post-imperial narratives are characterised by their engagement with a, respectively, *contemporary* or *past* imperial order that is reassured, refused and/or subverted.

Literature presents a particularly suitable way to trace the transformation from empire to nation-state and extrapolate how these fundamental changes are perceived and reflected upon. In the context of (Western-dominated) modernity, (post-)imperial narratives are closely connected to processes of (anticipated or experienced) transformation, rupture and/or loss. In modern (post-)imperial narratives, questions of potentially shattered individual and collective belonging in times of rapid societal change take centre stage and often unfold around images of Self and Other in the context of shifting national and imperial affiliations. As outlined in Chapter 2, I understand the engagement with disruption, break and transition as the defining feature of modernism as the cultural expression of modernity. Dealing with the far-reaching transformations from a monarchical to a republican order, the literary (post-)imperial narrative here is an intrinsically modern form of narration. It captures, criticises or flows with the speed of the modern age—of an Occidentalist modernity that is often perceived as threatening for

established orders. It approximates the new, the moving, the fluid and the changing in an engagement with the old, the dead and the lost.

With regard to its manifestation in different genres, the literary (post-)imperial narrative is an umbrella term for a variety of texts—it can refer to (post-)imperial novels, autobiographies, travel reports, short stories or essays. What these texts have in common is that they react to or engage with the (possibility of the) disappearance of the empire, usually through the political experience of contingency that motivates literary engagement with order-related questions (see Magerski 2018, 30f). As the key genre of literary modernity (see Chapter 2.2.1.), the novel takes centre stage in formulations of belonging between empire and nation(s). In its prosaic openness, the novel as a literary form "might be a retreat or refuge from modernity – shelter from its destruction" (Matz 2004, 9). As Silvio Vietta (2007, 13) has argued, the novel as a modern genre has a strong focus on introspection, hence grasping individual perceptions of matters. And just like the novel "has always been modern" (Matz 2004, 1), so too has its sub-genre, the post-imperial novel, characterised by an engagement with radical societal transformation through the (looming) break with the established order and the fathoming of the new. Through a multiplicity of perspectives embodied by its protagonists, the (post-)imperial novel grasps how individuals perceive processes of heightened speed, movement, social transformation and (anticipated) changes in frameworks of belonging. In many cases, it is a *melancholic* narration: it gloomily approaches aspects of the past that have been, often violently, lost or transformed and points to the void in the present.

Against the backdrop of Occidentalism, major aspects of Eurocentric modernism such as the paradigms of novelty and originality become key reference points by means of which 'Other,' 'non-European' or 'non-Western' cultural artefacts are assessed. Modern (Ottoman-)Turkish literature—understood as the aesthetic engagement with modernity as a macro-social phenomenon and experience—and the (post-)imperial narrative as one of its forms of narration developed in the second half of the 19th century in the context of the expanding Occidentalist condition. In Occidentalism's binary framework of original (Western) versus imitative (non-Western) modernism, literary production in the (Ottoman-)Turkish context became entangled in a complicated mesh, attempting to combine local content with increasingly dominant Western forms.

4.2.1. The Ottoman Imperial Narrative

In the late Ottoman context, the literary imperial narrative engages with and reacts to the significant transformation, demise or anticipated loss of empire against the backdrop of macro-social developments connected to Occidentalism.[86] Anxieties relating to the modern, the anticipated loss of one's cultural authenticity and the presentiment of an imminent collapse of the imperial order can be regarded as the beginnings of a melancholic discourse in Turkish literature: increasing levels of Europeanisation merge with the imminent demise of the Ottoman Empire. It is this specific political and cultural climate in which the anticipation of imperial loss and progressing Westernisation give rise to a nascent notion of gloom (see Chovanec 2021). Imperial melancholy—expressed in the common literary motif of the disintegrating patriarchal family mansion (*konak*), for instance—was closely intertwined with a feared loss of identity relating to modernisation processes broadly linked to the Tanzimat reform period. Metaphors and figures of cultural decay, such as the over-Westernised Ottoman dandy (*züppe*), capture a society in transformation. Istanbul as the imperial capital city figures prominently as the key setting—and sometimes even main protagonist—in imperial and post-imperial literatures alike (Chovanec 2018; see Furlanetto and Tüfekçioğlu 2021).

The development of modern Ottoman-Turkish literary prose should be understood against the backdrop of the Tanzimat, which also included increased diplomatic exchanges among different political actors on the European continent. As I have argued in Chapter 3, it was towards the end of the 19th century that images of the Ottoman Self were increasingly distinguished from not only Europe but also from those groups within Ottoman society that were perceived as strongly Europeanised. From the beginning of the imperial novel in the 19th century, story lines dealing with topics such as moderate and appropriate or excessive and false Europeanisation (*Avrupalılaşma*) as well as the East-West issue (*doğu-batı meselesi*) formed an important sub-genre in fiction. The so-called Tanzimat literature (1860s–1890s) was also influenced by rapid socio-political changes. The novel itself was a literary form that had arrived in the Ottoman Empire through processes of cultural exchange with European contexts, most notably France. It was in the 1840s that the first translations of mainly French novels were published in the imperial realms. Ottoman writers started to adopt this new literary genre, and the first 'Ottoman novels' were published in the 1850s.[87]

[86] This section (Chapter 4.2.1.) builds on and was partially published in Chovanec (2021).

[87] In the 19th century, written literature increasingly turned away from the Divan tradition (see Kuru 2013, 567f). The novel *Taaşşuk-i Talat ve Fitnat* (1872) is considered as the first Turkish novel in Arabic script.

Many of these Ottoman novels dealt with an anticipated change in or the potential loss of cultural, religious and societal values and traditions as well as—metaphorically—the possible downfall of the empire. Two noteworthy authors in this context are Ahmet Mithat and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem, whose respective novels *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) and *Araba Sevdası* (1896), were canonised as paradigmatic examples of Tanzimat literature. As case studies, they illustrate key themes of the Ottoman Tanzimat novel whose relevance extended well into the early republican period. Among others, Mithat and Ekrem[88] critically examined the rapid societal changes of their time and the influence of Western European countries on Ottoman society. Both authors criticised the new consumerism emerging among Ottoman elites, which was seen as "the symbolic occasion pinpointing that the system has been subverted [by the West]" (Mardin 1974, 424). Instead, the desired goal was seen in combining a moderate orientation towards the material goods and prosperity in Europe with maintaining one's own—i.e., Ottoman—spiritual, moral and religious values.

As Mehmet Saraçoğlu (2006, 29) claims, "Midhat's voice was an influential one in the hegemonic process of defining what it meant to be 'Ottoman' as the empire tried to prove its compatibility with the modern West." As one of the first Ottoman novels, Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* deals with a European way of living, *alafranga*, in comparison to an Ottoman or Turkish mode, *alaturka*.[89] The heterodiegetic narrator of the novel frequently uses these terms in order to describe the different lifestyles of two young men, Felatun and Rakım.[90] Thanks to his wealthy father, Felatun does not have financial problems, which allows him to spend only a few hours per week in his office; other than that, he entertains himself with outings and other leisure activities considered as *alafranga,* such as picnicking (Mithat 2013 [1875], 8). With an inclination towards European languages, Felatun prefers speaking French instead of Turkish in his daily life, ordering "café au lait" (*kafe ole*) instead of "coffee with milk" (*sütlü kahve*) (ibid., 10).[91] With Felatun, Mithat introduced a new literary figure to late Ottoman

[88] For the sake of formal simplicity and clarity, the second or third name in Ottoman names is treated as the surname, although they were not considered as such in the late Ottoman period. 'Ahmet Mithat,' for example, is referred to as 'Mithat' and listed under 'Mithat' in the bibliography.

[89] As Findley (1998, 26) notes, "[t]he Turkish names for the two poles derive from the Italian *alla franca,* Frankish or European style, and *alla turca,* Turkish style. In *alaturka* time, the day began at the apparent setting of the sun, and the hours were counted in two cycles of twelve, ending with sunset at twelve o'clock the next day. Seasonal shifts in the length of the days meant that the start of the *alaturka* day had no fixed *alafranga* time. Guidebooks for Europeans traveling in the Ottoman Empire used to include tables showing how to convert *alaturka* to *alafranga* time the year around. As for calendars, the Ottomans commonly used both the lunar Islamic religious and a solar financial calendar."

[90] The remaining paragraphs of this of this section (Chapter 4.2.1) were taken from Chovanec (2021, 338–342) and, if at all, were only marginally altered.

[91] "küçük bey Felatun Efendi Fransızcadan başka söz söylemiyor ki! Sütlü kahve isteyeceği zaman 'kafe ole' diyor" (Turkish 'translation' of the original Ottoman text).

literature, the so-called *züppe*.[92] The *züppe* is a caricature of an overly Westernised Ottoman dandy, who has lost the connection to his own culture and instead superficially copies Western styles and languages (Cakmakçı 2014, 336). The frequent integration of this figure in Ottoman novels illustrates many intellectuals' critical and cynical views of the top-down reform processes and their negative effects on Ottoman society in the last decades of the empire. Stephan Guth (2019, 317) characterises Mithat's Felatun as the first 'Euromaniac' in Ottoman-Turkish literature:

> given its prominence in literature we are probably not over-interpreting the textual evidence if we assume that these fictional characters were not simply products of their authors' phantasies but reflected, to a certain degree at least, a type of person one had a good chance of meeting in the streets of the Middle Eastern metropoles of the second half of the nineteenth century.

By means of the *alafranga züppe* or Euromaniac, Mithat satirically criticises his contemporaries' uncritical adoption of Western styles, behaviours and manners and, at the same time, offers Rakım as a positive counterpart. In comparison to Felatun, Rakım is a hard-working young man, devoting all his time and energy to earn a living (Mithat 2013 [1875], 13).[93] He is fluent in both French and English and uses his language skills to do translations or help foreigners around Istanbul. As Şerif Mardin has noted, Rakım's values "are a successful blend of Western cultural baggage and the views of the Ottoman lower middle classes among whom he continues to live even after successes" (Mardin 1974, 406).

By contrasting Felatun and Rakım, Mithat's novel expresses a warning of losing one's cultural self-connectedness. As such, it relates to questions of belated modernity with regard to the Occidentalist condition, the far-reaching reform activities in the Ottoman Empire and the political as well as economic dependency on Western European powers. The Tanzimat "had introduced a rift in the Ottoman world by presenting Western culture as an ideal to be embraced" (Gürbilek 2003, 602). The notion of losing an original and authentic Self is connected to a state of in-betweenness that has left an imprint on Turkish literature up to this day. The fear of over-Westernisation and cultural self-abandonment is part of the origin of the East-West topic in (Ottoman-)Turkish literature, that—as we will see below—transforms into a melancholic narrative later on. Through the dual constellation of figures like Rakım and Felatun, what Gürbilek (ibid., 621) describes as the "bipolar modern Self" emerges: It involves "both the state of drifting toward the foreign ideal and the effort to go back to an original self,

[92] Additional examples of novels employing the *züppe* are Namık Kemal's *İntibah* (1876) or Nabizade Nazım's *Zehra* (1894) (see Moran 1991, 42).

[93] "Fakat bu parayı kazanbilmek için de gece gündüz çalıştı."

that desire to be another and the fear of losing oneself in the other." While Mithat's novel does not express explicit melancholy regarding the Ottoman Empire, the narrative does carry a political message regarding the idea of social cohesion. Felatun's "laziness, extravagance and life full of amusements" weaken the empire from within and thus strengthen Western European influence and possibilities of interference (Guth 2019, 325). Instead, a moderate combination of progress with tradition is presented as the desired goal, both politically and culturally. Mithat's literary text and most other Tanzimat novels envision an Ottoman-Turkish identity to be born at the interface between East and West, between *alaturka* and *alafranga*. As Petr Kučera (2008, Ch. 1.4.) has argued, despite the fact that they express anxiety regarding unpredictable outcomes of societal changes, narratives like *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* are still forward-looking, envisioning a synthesis of (Ottoman-Islamic) morality and family life with (Western) progress and technology. Humour or satire, as expressed through the exaggeratedly Westernised Felatun, are literary techniques that have the potential to subvert and critically examine processes of transformation.

Towards the turn of the century, however, "a new paradigm in the perception and interpretation of West and East in Ottoman-Turkish literature" emerges (Kučera 2017, 21). In Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's novel *Araba Sevdası*, the ontological dilemma of not belonging takes centre stage and thus transcends the synthesising and more optimistic premises of earlier Tanzimat novels. In the foreword, Ekrem notes that *Araba Sevdası* is supposed to be an entertaining read but, at the same time, saddening and sorrowful (Ekrem 2004 [1896], 2).[94] And indeed, the novel's main protagonist, Bihruz, is a tragic figure. In Ayşe Hemmat's (2019, 64) words, Ekrem's novel "is a comedy of errors where our romantic hero is constantly deceived, by chance and by people, into thinking of his beloved as what she is not – as a noble lady where she is in fact a divorced woman who befriends prostitutes and becomes one." Similar to Mithat's protagonist Felatun, Bihruz is a Westernised dandy *par excellence* and lives his life *alafranga*. While he is eager to include as many French words as possible in his everyday language, he fails to properly speak both Ottoman-Turkish and French, leading to a "barely understandable mélange of Turkish and French," as Orhan Pamuk (2010, 133) puts it. Instead of *bahçe* (garden) he uses the French term "jarden" (*jardin*); instead of using the term *mahalle* (neighbourhood) with its social and traditional connotations, he speaks of the "kartiye" (*quartier*) (Ekrem 2004 [1896], 14). Bihruz aspires to appear like a 'real European' but fails to understand French novels just as he does not succeed in writing or reading Ottoman-Turkish. In contrast to *Felâtun Bey*

[94] "Fakkat dikkat olunursa bu ondan elbette daha ziyâde hazîn, elbette daha çok müellimdir."

ile Râkım Efendi, in *Araba Sevdası*, "we do not find such contrasting cases of proper and improper westernization, but rather the story of a young Ottoman who fails to profit from either the European or the Ottoman literature and values" (Hemmat 2019, 71). While Mithat's novel shows a way out of the East-West dilemma by providing an instruction of sorts for what (not) to adopt, Ekrem's novel centres on the existential crisis of not belonging. Bihruz is neither 'Western' nor 'Eastern,' and from this state of in-betweenness, nothing positive emerges. As Jale Parla has noted, the main topic of the novel is nothingness (*hiçlik*) (2011, 129). Or, as Kučera (2017a, 23) puts it, *Araba Sevdası* deals with the fact that the "peculiar interspace between *alafranga* (Eastern way of life) and *alaturka* (Western way of life) where one can place the Tanzimat novel disappears, and nothing meaningful takes its place." What lies behind Bihruz's obvious ridiculousness is a loss of belonging that gives rise to melancholia. Ekrem's narrative thus anticipates the triste impasse of modernity: the increasingly fragmented collective is replaced by isolated individuals who become detached from their natural embeddedness in society, including its language(s), traditions and values. The experience of a rapidly transforming societal order shatters the idea of an organic continuity of past, present and future. The speed of modernity isolates the individual from the past and gives rise to an anxiety about a quickly changing present and uncertain future. Against this backdrop, Jale Parla (2011, 130) refers to *Araba Sevdası* as the first 'truly modern' novel in the Ottoman-Turkish context. According to Nergis Ertürk (2011, 14 and 60), this is also reflected at the narratological level: the "melancholic realist narrator" of the story is, in contrast to earlier narrators in Ottoman novels, an "individualized viewer, observing the world at a distance."

What has often been overlooked in secondary literature about the recurrent topos of the Ottoman *züppe* in novels like *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* and *Araba Sevdası* is the fact that the dilettante dandy is a cultural phenomenon[95] present in fin de siècle literature across Europe, pointing to cross-cultural linkages shaped, again, by the Occidentalist condition. Whereas 'dilettante' was initially a more positively connoted term for 'connoisseur,' it becomes a central and more ambivalent topos in German, French and English literature towards the turn of the century, now vaguely synonymous to *flâneur, décadent, beau, cosmopolis* or dandy (see Theodorsen 2006). In line with Guth (2019, quoted above), the dandy most probably was a type of person you could not only meet in novels but also in major Middle Eastern cities, just like, as I would add, in London, Paris or Vienna. As one "of the most prominent dandies in nineteenth

[95] It goes without saying that the dandy has different characteristics in and even among different languages and literatures and is not a homogenous concept at all. However, many parallels can be observed without negating the various particularities and differences.

century French culture" (Hadlock 2001, 58), the poet Charles Baudelaire defined "dandysm" as a "soleil couchant; comme l'astre qui décline, il est superbe, sans chaleur et plein de mélancolie" (Baudelaire 1868, 95). For Baudelaire, the dandy is thus per definition a melancholic figure. Like the Ottoman *züppe*, the dandy is always imperfect but strives for perfection,[96] notably regarding his appearance: "Le Dandy doit aspirer à être sublime sans interruption; il doit vivre et dormir devant un miroir" (Baudelaire cited in Hadlock 2001, 60). The mirror also plays an important role for Ottoman dandies: Servet Bey, for instance, the *züppe* in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's novel *Kiralık Konak* ("Mansion for Rent," 1922), poses in front of the mirror when he is distressed or bored, trying on different hats (Karaosmanoğlu 1995 [1922], 25).[97]

With his extravagant lifestyle, the figure of the dandy symbolises the emptiness of modernity and relates to a looming change in society and order. For Baudelaire, the dandy as cultural phenomenon tends to appear in transitory times when the formerly all-powerful aristocracy and the order it represents are only partially debased. In the confusion of epochs, as Baudelaire points out, dandyism arises when some disenchanted but rich individuals form a somewhat different kind of aristocracy as "le dernier éclat d'héroïsme dans les décadences" (Baudelaire 1868, 94). In a similar vein, the melancholy given voice to in Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* also arises against the backdrop of a disintegrating order (the possibility of the Ottoman Empire's decline and final collapse) that is reflected allegorically[98] in the figure of the dandy Bihruz. In contrast to French, English or Austrian dandies, however, accounts of the Ottoman *züppe* do not include any positive features. The imperial melancholy embodied by the *züppe* stems from the anticipated loss of order and the turning away from one's own historical and cultural heritage for the sake of Westernisation in the context of Occidentalism. In his discussion of Sigmund Freud's distinction between mourning and melancholia, Giorgio Agamben (1993, 20) stresses this anticipation: "melancholia offers the paradox of an intention to mourn that precedes and anticipates the loss of the object." While the Ottoman Empire's *Lebenswelten* had not yet been lost, social transformations and the Occidentalist condition made their gradual decline perceptible.

[96] Modern art and literature were increasingly occupied with the realisation that perfect and complete aesthetics can never be accomplished. The idea of necessary deficiency and imperfection elicits melancholia as its inevitable outcome (see Stein 2018, 227).

[97] "Bazı sıkıntılı saatlerinde bir aynanın karşısına geçip, bu kutudan çıkardığı şapkaları birer birer tecrübe ederdi ve başını bu serpuş ile örtülü görünce adeta kendinden geçerdi."

[98] For the Ottoman Empire as an allegory, see Hemmat (2019, 64); for the importance of allegories in late Ottoman and Turkish literature, see Gürel (2017, Ch. 2).

4.2.2. The Turkish Post-Imperial Narrative

The literary *post*-imperial narrative aestheticises the experience of contingency and the effective collapse of empire. Faced with an uncertain, fleeting present, it negotiates other 'possible worlds' coexisting or competing with the 'real world' (see Schedler 2007, 74). The notion of Empire, either explicitly articulated or implicitly put forth through certain aspects relating to 'the past,' is a central reference in the post-imperial narrative. Unfolding in the context of the Occidentalist condition, it is a modern form of narration that—in contrast to the imperial narrative—deals with the experienced break from or the loss of imperial order. As Magerski (2018, 69) has pointed out with respect to the Habsburg case, the downfall of the empire marks the in-between of the imperial and the post-imperial situation. In this process, she argues, both the "Ordnung des imperialen Raums" and its contingency are revealed to the attentive observer. Writers are often such careful observers. What I suggest referring to as the *immediate* literary post-imperial narrative is written by authors who were born and educated in imperial times and who witnessed the empire's dissolution and subsequent processes of political and cultural reorganisation. Their texts, often produced in the context of the formation of a national canon, capture the complexities of the new political, societal and cultural orders that were established. In contrast to the *mediate* literary post-imperial narrative, written by authors who have no personal memory of the empire, the immediate literary post-imperial narrative is fed by the direct experience of the transformation of order.

It is important to note that post-imperial literary texts are written *after* the end of an empire. They usually deal with the transformation of an imperial towards a national order as well as the ongoing after-effects of empire. Unfolding against the backdrop of the Occidentalist condition, in the case of Turkey, this transition is connected with vivid debates about civilisational belonging in the context of interventionist Western European imperialism and cultural dominance. Early republican literature emerges from the complicated intersection of post-colonial and post-imperial discourses. Outside the Western European core that has come to stand for the 'West' in Occidentalism, Turkey's political goal to become accepted as part of the 'advanced' Western world goes hand in hand with discussions about how this endeavour can be combined with the ethical ideal of keeping an 'original voice' in cultural expression. Against the background of the cultural reforms in early republican Turkey (see Chapter 3), it seems as though what many authors feared in Tanzimat times had come true—namely the abandonment of an 'authentic' way of life connected with the past.

The reform that had the greatest impact on the literary scene was the 1928 alphabet reform, which cut off younger generations from the written heritage of the empire. The Arabic alphabet was abandoned in favour of the Latin alphabet with the hope to improve literacy rates and align Turkey's cultural modernity with the West. As Laurent Mignon (2021, 11) has argued, however, the reform initially had a negative impact on the publishing world and the literacy rate in Turkey. Publishers had difficulties buying the new typesets and "had also lost their readers": "As the reform rendered illiterate the majority of the ten percent of the population who had reading skills, newspaper sales dropped drastically." Mignon (ibid., 12) also refers to the difficulties of those whose income was based on writing to make a living. This might also explain why authors were sometimes criticised by reviewers for quickly producing a wide range of texts at the expense of formal coherence such as correct spelling and style (see Osman 1931). At the same time, however, the years following the reform were characterised by a significant rise in printed books and newspapers, with the latter trying to increase their sales numbers by the inclusion of cartoons[99] and serial novels, which had been popular since late Ottoman times. As Börte Sagaster (2017) has noted, young and aspiring authors of the young republic usually published their novels as serials (*tefrika*) in newspapers with the aim to reach a wider audience.

Overall, in post-imperial Turkish literature published after the alphabet reform in 1928, the negotiation of new frameworks of belonging in the context of nation-building processes take centre stage. I suggest that the narrative foundations of post-imperial texts in Turkey are based on the aftereffects and cultural, social and political consequences of the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire as a political order in the context of the Occidentalist condition. Formulated at a specific historic turning point, the immediate literary post-imperial narrative is hence a particularly suitable form of narration to explore images of Self and Other. Given the early republic's complex positioning facing both Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions, the image of Europe and the image of Empire take centre stage (see Chapter 3). We can find the first traces of retrospective melancholia in literary texts in which the initial enthusiasm regarding the new nation-building is dampened by doubts about Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's (1881–1938) understanding of progress, which implied a radical break from the imperial past. Partially building on imperial narratives and fuelled by radical Westernising reforms in the 1920s and 1930s, the image of the Empire as both a lost object and the memory of a lost past becomes a frame of reference for retrospection and longing. In its quest for and exploration of

[99] As Efrat E. Aviv (2013, 226) has pointed out, cartoons became increasingly important in these years, and because of their visual nature, "played a crucial role in saving the Turkish press during this time."

references in the context of a Westernising national present and engaging with the Ottoman past, the immediate post-imperial narrative is a treasure chest of auto- and hetero-images along the lines of the Occidentalist East-West binary and hence a particularly insightful source for an imagological exploration of expressions of belonging.

Considering the importance of new cultural, symbolic and political affiliations in early republican Turkey, and in contrast to the scholarly interest in post-1918 literature in post-Habsburg geographies, it is surprising that very little research has been carried out on the role of Empire in literary constructions of belonging in the immediate post-imperial period in early republican Turkey (1923–1950). While Zarakol (2011), for instance, sheds light on discourses of political identity formation, a comprehensive study of *literary* narratives of belonging in the early republican period has been missing. And although the general importance of the East-West trope for Turkish literature is commonly referenced in secondary literature (see, for instance, Esen 2016; Kučera 2017a and 2017b; Camoğlu 2018), a more systematic analysis of images of Self and Other is lacking. As many seem to have assumed that early republican literature dropped the empire as quickly as the ruling elites in order to contribute to building a new (national) identity, established scholarly approaches to early republican times (see Chapter 3) seem to have forestalled the engagement with early Turkish literature from the perspective of post-imperiality.

4.3. Authors and Sources: Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar

By focusing on images of Self and Other, this dissertation studies immediate post-imperial narratives written by three widely read writers and public figures of the early republican period: Peyami Safa (1899–1961), Halide Edib (1884–1964) and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962).[100] In their fathoming of new frameworks of belonging, these authors explored hopes and anxieties in the context of a post-imperial setting shaped by attempts at Westernisation. Similar to writers like Stefan Zweig, Joseph Roth or Robert Musil in Habsburg Austria, Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar witnessed the downfall of the empire and the emergence of a new national order in Turkey. While censorship largely prevented an explicit and critical engagement with these fundamental shifts (see Yılmaz and Doğaner 2007; Yoldaş

[100] With her second marriage, Halide Edib added the last name 'Adıvar' (1917). In this dissertation, I refer to her as 'Halide Edib,' the bibliography lists her under Edib, Halide. Since Edib is the only female author discussed, her chapter is slightly longer.

and Yoldaş 2016), their novels and other writings such as travel reports, autobiographies or essays still managed to deal with this political transformation in more subtle ways. As Safa, Edib and Tanpınar have made significant contributions to literary modernism, an in-depth analysis of their literary and non-literary texts allows for deeper insights into early republican Turkish society. I suggest that an imagological close reading of their post-imperial writings through the Occidentalist Lens is a promising endeavour to learn more about images of Self and Other and thus notions of belonging in early republican Turkey.

4.3.1. Selecting Authors

Safa, Edib and Tanpınar can be regarded as key figures of Turkey's literary modernism. Following Friedman (2015), I understand modernism, i.e., the expression of modernity, as locatable at any particular geo-historical conjuncture marked by rapid change and societal transformation (see Chapter 2). Immediate post-imperial Turkey is such a time and space. As Kučera (2017b, 93) has put it, "[t]he Turkish post-imperial condition was shaped by a strange blend of 'imperial nostalgia' and the rejection of the very notion of Ottoman glory, extreme Kemalist Westernism and the anxiety of belatedness vis-à-vis the ideal of the West, combined with a deep and suppressed trauma caused by the severe post-WW1 conditions." I understand literary modernism in Turkey in the republican period (1923–1950) as the aesthetic response to the ruptures, breaks and transformations during this time. In her article on Turkish modernism, Nergis Ertürk (2012) has emphasised the strong link between modernism and conservatism (*muhafazakarlık*) in early republican literature. In a similar vein, Nazım İrem (2002, 107f) notes how conservatives were "active in shaping the intellectual agenda of the Republic as the cultured elites of the young Republic."

As modernist authors, Safa, Edib and Tanpinar can be regarded as representatives of this "modern Turkish conservativism" and were all well-known public figures (İrem 2004). As İrem (2002, 107) has argued with regard to their political and ideological positioning, "[t]he conservative intelligentsia was squeezed between the future-oriented utopian mentality of radical positivist-Westernists and the anti-Westernist Islamic reaction, which aimed to revive the Great Golden Age of the Prophet." As conservative voices, Safa, Edib and Tanpinar were largely supportive of the idea of progress but aimed at imagining "an alternative cultural modernity" (Ertürk 2012, 531) adapted to what they perceived as local needs and values. Through their writings, they put forth their vision of how a modern Turkey could or should look like, especially against the backdrop of the Occidentalist condition. As Ertürk (ibid., 533) posits, "Turkish conservative modernism thus counters the dominance of a positivistic 'Europe' and

its repudiation of the Ottoman Islamic cultural forms." In light of the Kemalist orientation towards a Western future, the conservatives "searched for those things worth preserving in the present state of affairs" (İrem 2002, 107): "Revealing both 'Turkey' and 'Europe' as sites of cultural crisis, these writers made of modernism less a positive aesthetic-historic current than a space, or even an abyss, of socio-historic uncertainty" (Ertürk 2012, 531).[101]

As one of the early republic's most prolific public intellectuals of the time, Peyami Safa (1899–1961) was well-known to the (literate) public as a journalist and novelist, publishing a broad variety of texts on various topics in major newspapers like *Cumhuriyet*. Halide Edib (1884–1964), in turn, was a famous public figure within and partially also beyond Turkey, given her active participation in the Turkish War of Independence, her leading role in the Turkish feminist movement and her popular novels. As a professor of literary studies, novelist and member of parliament from the ruling Kemalist Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP), Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1901–1962) was also well known among the Turkish public. With their literary and non-literary texts, all three authors contributed to the key debates of their time and together shaped public discourse about Turkey's positionality with reference to the East-West divide. Their literalised perceptions of the early republican era are informed by their experiences of contingency and eventual collapse of the empire. All three authors lived through their childhood and received their formal education in the Ottoman Empire and directly witnessed the disintegration of the order that had shaped the first decades of their lives. As careful observers of the empire's dissolution and subsequent process of societal restructuring, the literary production of these authors is intrinsically modern: Their works deal with processes of transformation, rupture and loss in the context of nation-building and Western-oriented modernisation.

4.3.2. Selecting Sources

Addressing the above-mentioned lacuna in analyses of early republican literature, this dissertation centres on auto- and hetero-images in selected immediate literary post-imperial narratives by Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. I focus on how Turkey's post-imperial condition is interwoven with (a conservative engagement with) key concepts connected to the Occidentalist condition. Three paradigmatic post-imperial novels that have

[101] The engagement with the immediate post-imperial narrative could also be extended to other authors from the same period, such as Suat Derviş (1903–1972), Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974) or Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (1887–1963). Future research could examine the extent to which the latter's work resonates with the findings on Safa, Edib and Tanpınar.

been integrated into the Turkish national canon stand at the heart of my analysis: Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* (1931), Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936) and Tanpınar's *Huzur* (1948).

In *Fatih Harbiye,* set in early republican times, Safa metaphorically contrasts Istanbul's conservative district Fatih with the Westernised quarter of Beyoğlu, both of which are located on Istanbul's European side. The main protagonist, Neriman, a young woman from Fatih, is torn between the traditional lifestyle and values represented by her soon-to-be husband, Şinasi, and the fancy, Westernised lifeworld of Macit, who catches her romantic interest. Life in late Ottoman Fatih, in contrast, is evoked in Edib's novel *The Clown and His Daughter,* which she herself re-wrote in Turkish as *Sinekli Bakkal*. Edib tells the story of the heroine Rabia, an artistically talented girl who grows up in a conservative neighbourhood in late-19th century Istanbul. This lost past, in turn, plays a central role in Tanpınar's novel *Huzur,* which was translated into English as *A Mind at Peace*. Its main protagonist, Mümtaz, melancholically reflects upon the dwindling connection between the city's imperial past and the national present when strolling through Istanbul's streets. All three novels were first published as serials in daily newspapers and later also issued in book form; all three authors have been characterised as key representatives of modern Turkish literature. As early as 1942, for instance, Safa's and Edib's texts were part of a new national canon based on "18 Years of Turkish Literature" (see Akbal 1942); works by all three authors have been listed in the "List of 100 Fundamental Works" ("100 Temel Eser Listesi") recommended to be taught in Turkey's secondary schools. The imagological close reading of the three novels builds on an overview of their contemporary reception in press reviews in early republican Turkey, which I have translated in this dissertation.

As the objects of imagological studies can be both fictional and nonfictional sources (Leerssen 2016, 18), the analysis of these three novels is supplemented by an engagement with other literary and non-literary texts written by the same authors. For Safa (Chapter 5), the focus on *Fatih Harbiye* is mainly complemented by an analysis of articles published as part of Safa's *Cumhuriyet* columns in the 1930s, his 1938 travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* ("The Grand Survey of Europe," 1938) as well as his book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* ("Views on the Turkish Revolution," 1938). All translations in that chapter are my own. For Edib (Chapter 6), in turn, the analysis of *Sinekli Bakkal* is contextualised through *The Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926), which were written and published during her time in England (1924–1928) as well as two of Edib's books about Turkey's ambivalent relations with the West, *Turkey Faces West* (1930) and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935), which build on her lecture series in the United

States and India, respectively. All these texts were originally written in English. Finally, for Tanpınar (Chapter 7), the focus on *Huzur* is embedded in an analysis of selected articles from the essay collection *Yaşadığım Gibi* ("As I Lived," 1970) and the essay collection *Beş Şehir* (*Five Cities*, 1946). Translations from *Yaşadığım Gibi* and other essays are my own.

Through these texts, I set out to examine how the immediate literary post-imperial narrative in Turkey engages with the intersection of imaginations of Empire and imaginations of Europe. Against the backdrop of debates about Europeanisation and East-West relations, Chapters 5 (Safa), 6 (Edib) and 7 (Tanpınar) explore how major intellectual figures of the early republican era deal with questions of belonging. More specifically, I examine through an imagological close reading how images of Self and Other unfold with regard to spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender as the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens.

4.4. In a Nutshell: The Post-Imperial Narrative in this Dissertation

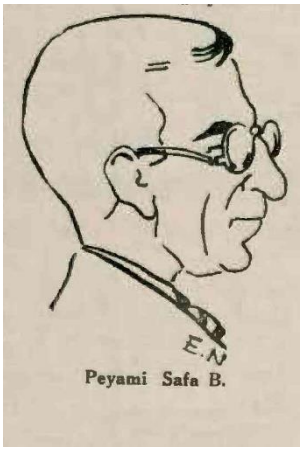
This chapter has introduced the post-imperial narrative as the central form of narration with which this dissertation engages. I have argued that empires and their legacies have recently enjoyed increasing attention among literary scholars, and that post-imperial studies emphasise the continuous after-effects of imperial demise at the intersection of cultural production and political order. In stark contrast to the surge in publications about neo-Ottomanism in Turkish politics, Turkish literature—notably early republican literature—has only to a limited extent been approached from the perspective of post-imperiality. Against this backdrop, I have introduced the (post-)imperial narrative as a form of narration capturing the far-reaching transition from an imperial to a republican order. While the imperial narrative approaches social, cultural and political aspects of an existing—or disintegrating—empire, the post-imperial narrative deals with the (reverberations of) empire after its downfall. In line with post-colonial studies, the prefix 'post' points to the various aftereffects of empire rather than its end.

With reference to Ahmet Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (1896) as examples of the imperial novel, I have outlined key themes during the Tanzimat era—from the dichotomy of *alaturka* and *alafranga* and the over-Westernised *züppe* to the nascent notion of melancholy towards the submerging values of a tired empire—that are set to also play a role in the post-imperial narrative. With reference to the immediate post-imperial narrative as a form of narration crafted by writers that have personally experienced the demise of the empire, I have introduced Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar as authors representing a conservative modernism shaped by a

secular commitment to local cultural values. As central public figures, their work was canonised early on and is thus set to provide insights into key images of belonging in early republican Turkey. The dissertation focuses on three post-imperial novels—Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal* and Tanpınar's *Huzur*—as well as concomitant texts, including travel reports and essays, that provide additional insights into how their authors present and engage with images of Self and Other.

Seen in light of the overall structure of this dissertation, this chapter complements the conceptual, methodological and context-related foundations for productive engagement with the ways in which Self and Other are imagined in the post-imperial narrative in early republican Turkey. As outlined above, I set out to answer this research question with reference to the Occidentalist Lens (Chapter 2) as a post-colonial heuristic designed to capture the global implications of Western-dominated modernity. Through an imagological close reading (Chapter 3), my analysis of the early republican post-imperial narrative pays particular attention to images unfolding with regard to spectra defined by dichotomous constructs of mobility and immobility (spatiality), form and content (civilisation), past and future (temporality) and male and female (gender). By examining images of Self (auto-images) and Other (hetero-images) in the canonised immediate literary post-imperial narrative, this dissertation explores some of the ways in which literature engages with the imperial legacy against the backdrop of the Occidentalist condition.

5. Peyami Safa: Frameworks of Belonging in Early Republican Literature



Portrait of Peyami Safa by an unknown artist (Nafiz 1932, 410)

Peyami Safa (1899–1961) was one of the most prolific writers and journalists in the early republican era. His fields of intellectual engagement were manifold: As a *homme de lettres* (*edip*), he was not only an active journalist, novelist, essayist, biographer, journal editor, travel writer and language textbook author but also what we today would refer to as a public intellectual. A central theme throughout his career was the East-West topic, which he approached from various angles and through different kinds of writings. As one of the republic's formative intellectuals, Safa actively took part in public debates about the various implications of the societal transformation resulting from the replacement of an imperial with a national order. Having witnessed the downfall of the Ottoman Empire as a young adult, Safa's intellectual considerations delved early on into the broad theme of Turkey's new national identity, its dwindling connection to the imperial past, its orientation towards dominant societies in Western Europe and European modernity. Another central aspect touched upon in his works is male anxiety related to changing relations between the sexes in times of radical societal transformation. Regarding his political and ideological affiliation, Nazım İrem (2002, 88) lists Safa among other academics, journalists and writers[102] as a key representative of the "philosophical-political orientation" she describes as "republican conservatism." A central aspect of this "radical, modernist, and most significant, secular" (ibid.) conservatism was the intellectual endeavour to localise or root modernity within the context of Turkish society and its traditional and historical embeddedness. Turkish conservatives' specific approach, a combination of conservative and modernist thought, distinguished them from religious groups opposed to the Kemalist regime and from other clearly Western-oriented Kemalist elites (ibid.).[103]

Born in late imperial times, Safa grew up with his mother Server Bedia Hanım in Istanbul and endured economic hardship upon the early death of his father İsmail Safa in exile, who was a novelist and poet critical of Sultan Abdülhamid II (Yüce 2021, 85). As Beşir Ayvazoğlu (2000,

[102] Besides Peyami Safa, İrem (2002) mentions İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Hilmi Ziya Ülken and Mustafa Şekip Tunç as the key members of this intellectual group.

[103] Images printed in this dissertation were taken from the open newspaper archive https://www.gastearsivi.com/.

13) notes in his intellectual biography of Safa, the writer had been an autodidact from childhood, learning, for example, French by himself. During his youth, Safa suffered from severe inflammation of his right arm, contributing to phases of depression that would interrupt his formal education (Ayvazoğlu 2000, 13). Safa entered the civil service during the First World War, and "immediately after the war, he began his journalistic career" (Mitler 1988, 220).

Caricature of Peyami Safa by Cemal Nadir (Güler) (*Akşam* 1937, 1)

By the 1930s, Safa was known as an influential and widely read journalist for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, where he articulated his opinions about key topics across all fields, contributing to and shaping the public debates of the time. His novels and articles were also published in other reputable daily papers such as *Son Posta*, *Milliyet* and the literary journal *Servetifünun*. That Safa was a figure of public interest can be illustrated by the fact that interviews with him as well as caricatures or other portrayals were printed in several newspapers. Already perceived as one of Turkey's "distinguished novelists"[104] (*Milliyet* [n.n.] 1931, 4) at the time, he was asked about his opinion on literary and political topics such as "who was the best poet, novelist and journalist"[105] (Feridun 1929, 1–2)[106] or on why there was no war literature in Turkey (Nafiz 1932).[107] Safa's impressively broad intellectual engagement and his somewhat non-conformist as well as disputatious character aroused interest not only in his works but also in his personality: a caricature published by the newspaper *Akşam* in 1937 depicts Safa with a disproportionally big head and glasses, both underlining his intellectuality. Published with the title "Fotoğraf Tahlilleri" ("Photograph Analyses"), the caricature was accompanied by a humorous analysis of Safa's personality "composed of three characters," namely "Peyami Safa," his pseudonym "Server Bedi" and the hero of his crime stories "Cingöz Recai." Referring to Safa's high productivity, the text praises him as an excellent "administrator" of these three personae and envisions his future as a writer, literary critique or even politician. Safa's allegedly rather pessimistic personality is 'excused' by the fact that no one has yet appeared to intellectually compete with him on truly equal terms

[104] "güzide romancılarından Peyami Safa."

[105] "Peyami Safa beye göre en iyi şair, romancı ve muharrir kimdir?"

[106] Interview by Hikmet Feridun with Peyami Safa.

[107] Interview by Sehap Nafiz with Peyami Safa.

(*Akşam* [n.n.] 1937, 1).[108] A survey conducted by *Son Posta* in 1931 asked its readers about how they perceived the newspaper's journalists ("Kariler Muharrirleri Nasıl Görüyorlar?"). The results of this written survey were printed in the newspaper. In one of the answers, Safa was characterised as "young, not old, beautiful, not ugly, not a *züppe* [dandy], earnest,"[109] indicating that he was rather critical of early republican Westernisation efforts (*Son Posta* [n.n.] 1931c, 6). Another reply (*Son Posta* [n.n.] 1931b, 6) also emphasised that the "saintly journalist"[110] Safa was not a "dandy" (*züppe*) but rather characterised by his "sincere attitude."[111] The way he lived his life was perceived as independent or "liberal" (*hür*) (*Son Posta* [n.n.] 1931c, 6).[112]

Cumhuriyet readers were familiar with Safa as the daily paper regularly published different types of his writings in the early republican period. In addition to serialised 'dime novels' written under his pseudonym Server Bedi,[113] the newspaper also published novels with serious literary ambitions like "Bir Tereddüdün Romanı"[114] ("A Novel of Hesitation") and "Biz İnsanlar"[115] ("We Humans") in instalments. These novels were usually euphorically announced and promoted by the newspaper a few days before the first episode was published.[116] *Cumhuriyet* also published Safa's journalistic or essayistic articles, often about literature-related topics but also about other societal debates such as the East-West issue or beauty contests.

In what follows, I explore how Safa perceived and construed images of Self and Other in selected post-imperial narratives in the 1930s.[117] From an intertwined post-colonial and post-imperial standpoint, my analysis critically examines Safa's novel *Fatih Harbiye* (1931), which deals with the theme of Westernisation in the context of the social transformation from an imperial to a national republican order. The first section of this chapter, hence, provides an

[108] "Ruhu bedbinliğe meyyaldır. Fakat bu bedbini, henüz kendisile karşı karşıya oturup konuşabilecek bir kültür adamı daha zuhur etmediği için olsa gerektir."

[109] "1 - Genç mi, evet. İhtiyar mı, hayır. Güzel mi, evet. Çirkin mi, hayır. Züppe mi, hayır. Ağırbaşlı mı, evet."

[110] "aziz muharrir."

[111] "züpbe [*sic*] olmıyan" and "samimî tavırlı."

[112] "3 – Nasıl yaşadıklarını zannedersiniz, hür."

[113] Sources indicate that contemporaries knew that Server Bedi was Peyami Safa's pseudonym (see e.g., Feridun 1929, 2). Literary critics sometimes analyse the differences between Server Bedi and Peyami Safa regarding their writing styles through a psychoanalytical lens. Mehmet Barlas and Selim İleri (2020), for instance, discuss in a talk show that as Server Bedi, Peyami Safa's style was more "free" (*özgür*), whereas those novels written under his own name are coined by a "stricter manner" (*katı bir tutum*).

[114] First instalment on 15 July 1932.

[115] First instalment on 26 February 1927.

[116] See, for instance, the first announcement of "Bir Tereddüdün Romanı" on the frontpage of *Cumhuriyet* on 13 July 1932 and the second announcement on 14 July 1932 (*Cumhuriyet* [n.n.] 1932a; *Cumhuriyet* [n.n.] 1932b).

[117] All translations in this chapter are by the author of this dissertation.

overview of *Fatih Harbiye*'s reception and its content (5.1.). Building on the Occidentalist Lens as a four-dimensional heuristic to engage with Occidentalism as the global condition of Western-dominated modernity (see Chapter 2), the literary analysis (5.2.) focuses on spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender as four key dimensions that operationalise the thought structures Occidentalism has furthered. I examine how Safa engages with, reproduces or transcends the binaries related to the evolving dominance of Western modernity that forms the basis of the Occidentalist condition. In the next section (5.3.), the imagological close reading of the post-imperial narrative *Fatih Harbiye* is complemented by and contextualised through an analysis of articles published as part of Safa's *Cumhuriyet* columns in the 1930s, his 1938 travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* ("The Grand Survey of Europe," 1938) as well as his book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* ("Views on the Turkish Revolution," 1938). Finally, the last part of this chapter (5.4.) will synthesise the key findings of the chapter with regard to the dissertation's main research question of how Self and Other are imagined in early republican Turkey's post-imperial narrative.

5.1. Approaching *Fatih Harbiye*

5.1.1. Formal Aspects and Reception

"Written in a clean language and with a strong pen"

Safa's novel *Fatih Harbiye* was initially published in the daily newspaper *Son Posta* in 53 instalments (*tefrika*) between 21 October 1930 and 14 December 1930. It was promoted by the newspaper as follows: "Peyami Safa has been preparing a literary [*edebî*] novel under the name *Fatih Harbiye* for a long time. And this work is going to appear in our newspaper. For now, we can report that the novel's subject will be of immediate interest for every Turk, and it concerns the lives of all of us" (*Son Posta* [n.n.] 1930a, 3).[118] The episodes usually appeared on page five, which was the feuilleton section of the paper. The novel was printed daily on the same page with two other regular columns, namely "Kadın ve Kalp İşleri" ("Matters of Women and Heart") and "Kari Gözile Gördüklerimiz" ("What We See through the Eyes of a Reader"). The main article on the page generally covered women's issues, which is not surprising as, given the increasing literacy rates after the implementation of education, language and literacy reforms in early republican Turkey (see Günlü 2008), women gained importance as readers of

[118] "Fatih-Harbiye: Peyami Safa, bu isimle uzun zamandanberi edebî bir roman hazırlamaktadır. Bu eser de gazetemizde neşredilecektir. Şimdilik şunu haber verelim ki bu eserin mevzuu, bugün yaşıyan her Türkü doğrudan doğruya alâkadar eder ve hepimizin hayatımıza aittir."

novels and newspapers. For example, a text titled “Kariler!.. Size Soruyoruz..” (see the above picture; “Readers!.. We Are Asking You..”) surveyed the newspaper’s readers about whether a woman’s duty was to be a housewife or to engage in paid work (*Son Posta* [n.n.] 1930b, 5). Considering the fact that the topic of women’s rights was popularly debated at the time,[119] page five and hence also Safa’s novel seem to primarily address the newspaper’s female readers. In the same period, *Son Posta* also printed another novel, a “historical serial” (*tarihî tefrikası*) with the title “Harem Dehlizlerinde” (“In the Corridors of the Harem”) written by an unknown author. “Harem Dehlizlerinde” tells readers about the intrigues of the Topkapı Palace under the reign of Sultan Osman III. Therefore, it is one of the early literary examples of the rather quick return of the Ottoman Empire to the artistic—if not also political—field. The episodes of this easy-to-read novel were usually printed on page seven. By presenting these two different serials in the same issue, *Son Posta* offered its readers both Peyami Safa’s ‘high literature’ and one of the then popular, catchy stories about the Ottoman past.

12 Kânunuevvel SON POSTA Sayfa 5

Kariler!.. Size Soruyoruz..

Kadının Yeri Ev Midir, Yani Aile Yuvası Mıdır, Yoksa Dışarda Çalışmak Mıdır?.

Kadın Ve Kalp İşleri

Kocanızı Seçmeden evel Sorunuz

Kocalarını Seçmek İstiyenlere Nasihatim

Kocamı Nasıl Seçeyim?

Mütemmim Teshin

Sabah ve akşam

Elektrik radyatörünü kullanınız

SATIE de

Vereaiye Alabilirsiniz.

İşpirto

Alınmıyacak, Çünkü Fabrikalar Bunu Yapar

FATİH-HARBİYE

SON POSTA'nın Edebî Romanı

PEYAMİ SAFA

TAKVİM

İKİMİZ

Son Posta [n.n.] 1930b, 5.

The *Fatih Harbiye* serial was eventually published as a novel by Semih Lütfü Sühulet Kütüphanesi in 1931. A review published by *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1931a, 3) endorses the novel because it covered “the biggest social issue of new Turkey,”[120] namely the “hesitation” (*tereddüt*) that came along with a feeling of being caught up between East and West. According to the review, readers would find no less than “life” (*hayat*) and many intriguing thoughts about it in the novel. *Son Posta* particularly recommended the novel to “our readers who have not read the novel so far.”[121] *Milliyet* ([n.n.] 1931, 4) also recommended the book to literature and novel enthusiasts as Safa’s best novel so far, written in “clean language and with a strong

[119] Women gained the right to vote in communal elections in 1930.

[120] “yeni Türkiyenin en büyük içtimai meselesi.”

[121] “karilerimize bu kitabı okumuş bulunmalarını tavsiye ile iktifa ederiz.”

pen."[122] The review praises the novel to be both exciting and analytical and discovers this fruitful combination as a key characteristic of the author's style. The most elaborate review was written by *Cumhuriyet* journalist Yusuf Osman (1931, 4). At the beginning of his article, he reveals himself to be an admirer of Safa's work: "Peyami Safa B., 1- a real novelist; 2- a critical thinker; 3- a masterful journalist (un maître écrivain)."[123] He defines *Fatih Harbiye*, like Safa's second 1930 novel *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* ("Ninth External Ward"), as a "psychological novel" (*ruhî bir roman*) that centres on the deep and long-lasting inner "struggle" (*mücadele*) of a young woman. While the reviewer seems to be euphoric about the topic of the novel and especially its ending (see Chapter 5.2.4), he puts forth some points of critique regarding its style: he criticises word repetitions and exaggerated descriptions that, in his opinion, result from the fact that Safa kept himself busy with writing a wide range of texts and hence did not have the time to revise his work. In his article "Dünün ve Bugünün İlhamı" ("The Inspiration of Yesterday and Today"), Peyami Safa reveals that he himself regards his novels as psychological portraits of Turkey's post-imperial condition; a novel, he argues, "is usually nothing more than a faithful photograph of the distant regions of the soul that sends these signs" (Safa 1932c, 3).[124]

As the above-mentioned advertisement for the *Fatih Harbiye* serial of *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1930a, 3) foreshadowed, *Fatih Harbiye* became a canonical novel, especially because of its timely theme. As early as 1942, the journalist and author Oktay Akbal (1923–2015) listed *Fatih Harbiye* and *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* among the "strongest" (*kuvvetli*) prose texts in "18 years of Turkish Literature" (Akbal 1942, 94).[125] In this very early canon of Turkish literature, he contextualises the significance of these and other works[126] in reference to the language changes implemented by the Kemalist government and notes that the literature was strongly affected by them. He implies that despite the top-down language transformation processes, a vivid literary scene had emerged and hence contributed to the establishment of a national canon. That *Fatih Harbiye* struck a chord not only in early republican times but also more recently is shown by the fact that the novel was turned into a series twice (1990 and 2013). Both adaptations dealt with the original plot differently. Whereas Hilmi Akyalçın's 1990 adaptation remained close to the text, Hayriye Ersöz changed and expanded the story significantly (see Samsakçı and Karaçam 2019). *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* was also turned into both a film

[122] "temiz lisanı ve kuvvetli kalemile."

[123] "Peyami Safa B., 1 – Hakiki bir romancıdır; 2 – Ciddi bir mütefekkirdir; 3 – Üstat bir muharrirdir (un maître écrivain)."

[124] "romana gelince, o, ekseriya, bu işaretleri gönderen uzak ruh diyarlarının sadık bir fotoğrafisinden başka bir şey değildir."

[125] "Onsekiz Yılın Türk Edebiyatı."

[126] Other celebrated novelists and writers include, among others, Halide Edib, Sabahattin Ali and Yakup Kadri. Halide Edib is the only female writer listed.

(1967) and a short series (1986) consisting of four episodes. The series remained close to the initial text but slightly changed the ending of the novel, as will be discussed further below.

After providing an overview of *Fatih Harbiye*'s plot, the following section (5.2.) combines a close reading of the novel's text with an in-depth analysis of auto- and hetero-images. The analysis also examines the 2013 series adaptation of the book and references to *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu*, including the serial adaptation of the latter in 1986, as well to Safa's first novel *Sözde Kızlar* ("So-called Girls," 1922/1923).[127] The subsequent sections then focus on how spectra unfolding around dichotomies of im_mobility (spatiality), form_content (civilisation), past_future (temporality) and fe_male (gender) are reflected in Safa's engagement with modernity through his literary and non-literary writings.

5.1.2. Content

"The young girl secretly lived through an inner struggle"

A review published by *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1931a, 3) concisely summarised the contents of *Fatih Harbiye* as follows: "The title of the novel, and especially the tram picture on the cover, seem to announce the very simple topic of the book: A young girl experiences a big hesitation between the two districts of Fatih and Harbiye, which respectively represent East and West."[128] While Harbiye is the final tram stop in Istanbul's Western-oriented quarters,[129] the novel centres on the differences between Istanbul's two districts of Fatih and Beyoğlu as representations of two antithetical lifeworlds. The rather conservative district of Fatih is contrasted with the modern, Westernised quarter of Beyoğlu by means of the inner-conflict of a young woman named Neriman. Up until today, the contrast between these two areas, located on opposite shores of the Golden Horn, "is suggestive of an Islamist versus Westernist divide" in the eyes of many (Fisher-Onar 2018, 4). Beyoğlu, or Pera as it was historically referred to, encompasses neighbourhoods located north of the Golden Horn. The district is symbolic of a European and Western-oriented lifestyle. Being home to many European embassies and merchants, Beyoğlu and especially its main street İstiklal Caddesi (before 1923: Grande Rue de Péra) represent Istanbul's European and cosmopolitan face. Named after the Ottoman emperor Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the "neighborhood of Fatih, in the heart of the historic peninsula, was and remains to

[127] The narration was serialised in 1922 and published as a book in 1923.

[128] "Romanın ismi, hele kitabın kapağına konan tramvay resmi, eserin pek sade mevzuunu ilan ediyor gibidir: şarkla garbi temsil eden Fatih ve Harbiye semtleri arasında genç bir kız büyük bir tereddüt geçirir."

[129] Though Harbiye is technically a neighbourhood in the Şişli district of Istanbul, this neighbourhood borders the Beyoğlu district and, for all intents and purposes, is considered a part of Beyoğlu in terms of its cultural and social construction.

this day a symbol of the religious and social heritage of the Ottoman East" (Bertram 2008, 150). Including main historical sites such as the Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace or Süleymaniye Mosque, Fatih's architecture and cultural heritage synthesise both Byzantine and Ottoman legacies. The title of Safa's novel symbolically refers to the so-called *Fatih-Harbiye tramvayı*, a tramway that connected Fatih and Beyoğlu. The novel is set in the 1920s, reflecting the social atmosphere in Turkey soon after the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The heterodiegetic narrator of the novel focalises on the two main characters Neriman and Şinasi, providing the readers with deep insights into their respective feelings and ideas as well as larger societal challenges. Although the narrator is present in conveying its personal opinions or interpretations, it also tries to balance the often-diverging views of the main protagonists. However, I do not agree with *Son Posta*'s ([n.n.] 1931a, 3) review of the novel, which emphasises the objective and impartial character of the narrator. Instead, I suggest that the narrator in some places appears to be biased and tends to share the attitude of the novel's male characters. The narration, written by a male author primarily for a female readership (see my comments above about the serial's placement in the newspaper), might have been partly intended as a warning for young women to not fall into the trap of Western consumerism and superficial modernisation. However, as we will see below, even the narrator's (and probably also the author's) rather obvious stance towards the topic cannot dissolve Neriman's complex and legitimate objections to patriarchal social norms.

* * *

Romanın başlıca şahısları:

1 — Neriman: Romanın kahramanıdır; genç tahsil görmüş, Fatih'li bir Türk kızı.

2 - Şinasi: Neriman'ın adeta nişanlısı, kocası; tahsil görmüş, münevver, Fatih'li bir Türk genci.

3 - Faiz Bey: Neriman'ın babası, müteka it, ağırbaşlı, fedakâr tam Türk terbiyesi görmüş bir baba.

4 - Macit Bey: Neriman'ın tanıştığı, tırnakları manikörlü, tertemiz, genç, zengin, Beyoğlu sakini, Hercai, meslek sız bir Türk genci..

* * *

Description of characters by Osman (1931, 4)

Neriman, a 22-year-old woman from Fatih, is torn between what is described as the Eastern lifestyle and values represented by her soon-to-be husband Şinasi, and the fancy, Westernised lifeworld of Macit, who catches her romantic interest. Together with her father Faiz Bey and the housekeeper Gülter, she lives in an old wooden house, a *konak*,[130] in Fatih. Neriman and Şinasi have known each other for seven years and share a similar sociocultural background; "Şinasi lives in the same district and on the same street like Neriman" (Safa 1931, 10).[131] The main male characters, Şinasi and Faiz Bey, represent the traditional social order of the *mahalle*. They relate

[130] For a discussion of the *konak* in Turkey's collective memory, see Bertram 2008.

[131] "Nerimanla aynı mahallede, aynı sokakta oturuyordu."

to each other through their interest in Middle Eastern music as well as 'Eastern' literature and engage in intellectual conversations about these topics: "Both loved many things belonging to the East, Şinasi *alaturka* music and Faiz Bey Sufi literature" (ibid., 60).[132] Faiz Bey plays the *ney*, an end-blown flute, and enjoys reading the poet Rumi's *Mesnevi*. Şinasi, like Neriman, is a student at the Eastern Music department at Darülelhan, the Music Conservatory. To Faiz Bey's delight, Şinasi also plays an 'Eastern instrument,' the *kemençe*, a bottle-shaped bowed lute. Both men also seem to share character traits such as melancholy related to the past, inwardness, and a calm mind: "Şinasi's naturalness and quietness did not conform to the ugly face of the period and let him win the affection of the whole district" (ibid., 61).[133] Şinasi's ease of mind stands in contrast to the lively hustle of Beyoğlu and the capitalist as well as modernist endeavours this district symbolises. Faiz Bey is very fond of Şinasi and thus highly supportive of Şinasi's relationship with his daughter.

Neriman studies the *oud*, a short-neck pear-shaped stringed instrument, at the Darülelhan. She is described as a generally decent girl with somewhat weak nerves, who sometimes faints when she is upset. Her parents brought her up with "Eastern customs" (*şarklı itiyatları*, ibid., 62), but "like many Turkish girls, Neriman also received mixed suggestions from her family and her environment," especially after the family moved from Anatolia to Istanbul. In Istanbul, Neriman is influenced by her European-educated great uncle and his daughters' Western lifestyle (ibid., 62f). These hidden desires and aspirations regarding a Western way of life "most of the time secretly lived in Neriman's soul without her knowing about it" (ibid., 63).[134] Against the backdrop of the modernisation measures in the newly founded Republic of Turkey, Neriman's wishes gained 'formal legitimacy' and were further enhanced by her new acquaintance Macit. When Neriman meets Macit at the Darülelhan, where he wants to learn how to play the violin, a 'Western' instrument, Neriman starts changing, a fact not only observed by Şinasi but also by herself and the whole *mahalle*: "As days pass, this change, affecting from her clothing to her manners also her way of living, took on very obvious forms" (ibid., 61).[135]

Macit could hardly be described as a multi-layered character in the novel as he remains nothing more than an interchangeable 'type.' He is a rich, well-dressed and well-mannered Westernised young man who hangs around in Beyoğlu and apparently does not (have to) work. In order to

[132] "İkisi de şarka ait birçok şeyleri, Şinasi alaturka musikiyi, Faiz Bey tasavvufî edebiyatı çok seviyorlardı."

[133] "Zamanın çirkin şekillerine intibak etmiyen Şinasinin sessizliği ve tabiîliği, ona semtin muhabbetini kazandırmıştı."

[134] "Bu iştiyak, ekseriya Nerimanın da haberi olmadan, ruhunda gizli gizli yaşamış."

[135] "Kıyafetten tavurlara ve yaşayış tarzına kadar tesir eden bu değişiklik, gün geçdikçe [*sic*] bariz şekiller alıyordu."

participate in social events such as balls with Macit, Neriman is eager to find creative ways to get her father's permission and his financial support so that she can afford the necessary wardrobe. Throughout the narration, Neriman is busy managing her father's and Şinasi's suspicions while trying to succeed in her own plans, including regular trips to Beyoğlu. Neriman's friend Fahriye lives in the same *mahalle* and functions as a 'partner in crime' during their trips to Beyoğlu and in creating convincing explanations regarding their whereabouts. For Şinasi, it is his friend Ferit who supports him in his emotional crisis. Neriman is torn between her Eastern upbringing and her desires for a Western lifestyle, between the 'two civilisations': "The young girl […] secretly lived through an inner struggle" (ibid., 63).[136] The communitarian life in the Fatih *mahalle* and the restrictive rules of male-female interactions are challenged by Neriman, who tries to escape the well-known limitations of the neighbourhood, made possible through new mobility infrastructure. She partially bridges the gaps between old and new, as well as East and West, and partakes in more 'modern' social events with her acquaintance Macit. In the end, however, Neriman's guilty conscience, fuelled by the social pressure of her family, fiancé and broader social environment, makes her finally return to the fold of Fatih.

5.2. *Fatih Harbiye* through the Occidentalist Lens

5.2.1. Spatiality: Crossing the Bridge

"Easterners resemble cats and Westerners are similar to dogs!"

As I have argued in Chapters 2 and 4, the notion of rupture or change is a central feature of modernity, further accelerated by the experience of imperial demise and the emergence of national movements. The eventual downfall of Empire as a regulating principle and the emergence of new forms of order can be regarded as a core aspect of large-scale transformations inherent to the modern experience. Hence, questions of im_mobility are closely related to the post-imperial condition, focusing on how spatial positioning and movement connect to novel meaning-making processes. In the context of the loss of an order and the formation of new communal and political life, social relations are reorganised: some aspects come to a standstill, whereas others accelerate. While neither mobility nor immobility are inherently 'good' or 'bad,' meanings ascribed to these poles are respectively connected with modern ideals such as progress and development (and not, say, restlessness) or perceived challenges such as stagnation and backwardness (and not, say, tranquillity). Within the Occidentalist condition of

[136] "Genç kız, […], gizli bir derunî mücadele geçiriyordu."

global modernity, mobility is generally regarded in positive terms: the mobile West is often contrasted with the immobile non-West, urging those who find themselves outside the Western European and North American urban cores to 'increase the speed.' Against this backdrop, post-imperial narratives like Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* offer a rich source to explore what im_mobilities tell us about questions of Self and Other in the context of Western-dominated modernity.

Set in early republican Turkey, *Fatih Harbiye* puts forward mobility and standstill as key vectors for auto- and hetero-images, with both spatial categories being clearly gendered and related to East-West dynamics. As Jenny White (2003, 145) describes it, when "the Empire dissolved after World War I, replaced by a self-consciously modern and Westernized Turkish Republic in 1923, new doors opened to women as well." This new, post-imperial societal atmosphere enabled women to move more freely on their own and, in the case of Neriman, to explore areas in Istanbul that in many ways differ from their own neighbourhoods. The foundation of the Republic also engendered legal changes such as the admission of women to universities (Güller-Kaya 2008, 131), and the Kemalist government "encouraged women to unveil, to enter the universities and professions, become airplane pilots, and run for parliament" (White 2003, 145). While women are often able to benefit from societal and legal transformations, some more so than others, men are confronted with challenges to their traditionally central and unquestioned positions in patriarchal structures. Fundamental shifts in family structures and society at large often lead to anxiety and perceived stagnation among men, notably those who identify themselves with what are evoked as Eastern traditions.

In *Fatih Harbiye*, the male protagonist Şinasi stays within the confines of the *mahalle*, whereas the female character Neriman profits from the possibilities of new mobility symbolised by the tram as well as the new, more visible public role of women in Kemalist Turkey. The question of male stagnancy vs. female mobility is raised right in the beginning of the novel, when Neriman and Şinasi go for a walk in the streets of Fatih. The novel's narrator emphasises the differences between the two characters: whereas Neriman is walking "two steps ahead" of Şinasi in her tidy, ironed clothes, her fiancé feels clumsy, tired and flawed (Safa 1931, 1). Pretending to visit a female friend in her own district, she parts from Şinasi, who then feels disoriented and unable to decide what to do on his own; "after walking a few steps he would turn around again" (ibid., 4).[137] Şinasi, however, soon finds out that Neriman has secretly snuck away from her quarter to take the Fatih-Harbiye tram. The young man observes her entering

[137] "birkaç adım attıktan sonra geriye döndü."

the tram, feels the urge to run after her but stops soon after three or four steps (ibid., 5). His lethargic mental and physical inability to move is sharply contrasted with Neriman's impatience and excitement to follow her own plan, to walk her own ways.

As the reader learns later, Neriman goes to Beyoğlu to meet Macit, with whom she visits the Maxim, a (historic) dance and dinner club. Neriman's mobility contrasts with Şinasi's stagnation, who jealously witnesses a change in the behaviour of the woman he thought he knew. His general fatigue mixes with worries that focus on Neriman's (in his eyes negative) transformation and the fear that he will finally lose her or his control over her (ibid., 6–7).[138] Şinasi ruminates about Neriman's recent changes such as her different clothing style, her increasing lack of interest in playing her instrument, her sparse attendance at the Darülelhan and her rejection of him (ibid., 13). He melancholically thinks about her formerly plain, black clothing and headscarf (ibid., 9)[139] that are now replaced by new colourful clothes and modern shoes (ibid., 7)[140] that make her walk around in Istanbul more self-confidently. Şinasi, on the contrary, spends "awful days"[141] in a "tired and worn-out condition" (ibid., 36).[142] It is almost as if Neriman's newly gained mobility puts a sudden end to Şinasi's well-being. Neriman's former shyness, decency and hesitant fearfulness are contrasted with her new appearance and demeanour, both pointing to the fact that she is increasingly emancipated from Şinasi:

> She used to step out of the lyceum and would look around the corner at Süleymaniye, her bag under her arm, her head bent forward, anxiety in her eyes and a smile on her lips. Whenever she saw Şinasi approaching her, the fear in her eyes would give way to happiness, and she would look at the ground blushing slightly (ibid., 9).[143]

When Şinasi drops by Neriman's house in the evening and learns that she has not come home yet, he seems to be petrified, again. The housekeeper Gülter kindly asks him to enter the house, but "Şinasi stood still. He began shivering" (ibid., 11).[144] Again, female activity is contrasted with male inactivity; Gülter immediately grasps Şinasi's state of mind and repeatedly motivates Şinasi to come in: "As soon as Gülter understood the meaning of this posture, she walked a few steps towards Şinasi to get him moving" (ibid.).[145] As Şinasi finally enters the house, he meets

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[138] "Son zamanlarda bütün bu farklara dikkat eden Şinasi, aramak yorgunluğuna karışan gizli bir korku ile her hadiseyi ayrı ayrı eşelemekten çekinmişti."

[139] "siyah saten gömlekli, siyah başörtülü kız."

[140] "gene ayağında yeni yaptırdığı bu dekolte rügan iskarpinler ve üstünde bu filizi manto."

[141] "fena geçmiş günler."

[142] "yorgun, bitik bir halde."

[143] "Liseden çıkar ve Süleymaniyenin köşesinde görünürdü. Kolunda çantası, başı önüne eğilmiş, gözlerinde korku ve dudaklarında tebessüm, Şinasi'nin yaklaştığını görünce korkusu giden ve sevinci artan gözlerile yere bakar, hafiçe kızarırdı."

[144] "Şinasi kımıldamıyordu. Titremiye başladı."

[145] "Gülter, bu duruşun manasını anlayınca, Şinasi'yi harekete getirmek için birkaç adım yürüdü."

Neriman's father Faiz Bey, who is concerned about the fact that his daughter is not with Şinasi as he assumed. Faiz Bey, whose similarity with Şinasi is repeatedly emphasised in the novel,[146] moves slowly and then remains stationary:

> Neriman's father stopped in the middle of the room and thought for a while. He then ponderously continued his way, sat down on the cushion at his usual spot in the corner of the room and put his glasses as well as his book [Rumi's *Mesnevi*] with slightly shivering hands on the small table next to him (ibid., 12).[147]

Şinasi sits down next to him, but "Faiz Bey's head still does not move" (ibid.).[148] Both men seem to be paralysed, unable to openly talk about the situation or their feelings. They first try to do what they usually do, talking about "Eastern literature" (*şark edebiyatı*) and playing their instruments, but soon give up in light of the seriousness of the situation: "They understood that they could not talk" (ibid., 13).[149] After Şinasi's departure later in the evening, Faiz Bey hears engine noises and observes Neriman turning around the corner, walking towards their house. Faiz Bey does not see the car, but it can be concluded that it was Macit who brought Neriman back home. Neither Neriman's family nor Şinasi have a car. It is the presumably modern, Westernised Macit who embodies (motorised) mobility. In the 2013 TV series "Fatih-Harbiye," set in contemporary times, the automobile gains even more importance than in the novel (and in the 1990 series adaption). Leaving the tram aside, it is the car that becomes the major symbol for wealth, social advancement and attractiveness. In the series, Macit repeatedly picks up Neriman and brings her home, his fancy brand-new car contrasting with the simplicity of the *mahalle*. In Safa's novel *Sözde Kızlar*, the automobile (see Safa 2016 [1923], 141–146) is connected with the dandy Behiç (see Chapter 5.2.2.) in similar ways. As discussed in Safa's essays, cars symbolise a specific form of progress that favours the superficial speed of technological modernity over intellectual progress in line with local—i.e., Eastern—values (see Chapter 5.3.1.). In the course of a conversation taking place in his fast car, however, even the *züppe* Behiç indicates the shallowness and, sooner or later, dullness of this modern lifestyle in which the known and familiar must always be left behind for the new: "Yes, leaving Istanbul, far away… going to places far away. Wandering a little bit in lands I haven't seen […]. I know Europe, there is nothing new to amuse me. […] Europe is petrifying, and so is Istanbul, which

[146] See, for instance, p. 63: "Şinasi was almost a young Faiz Bey" ("Bu, adeta genç bir Faiz Beydi").

[147] "Nerimanın babası odanın ortasında durdu, biraz düşündü. Sonra ağır ağır yürüyerek, odanın köşesindeki minderde her zamanki yerine oturdu, hafifçe titreyen elile kitabını ve gözlüğünü yanı başındaki masanın üstüne bıraktı."

[148] "Faiz Beyin başı hâlâ kımıldamıyor."

[149] "Konuşamıyacaklarını anladılar."

imitates it...” (Safa 2016 [1923], 142).[150] It is indicated that even Europe—as the contemporary embodiment of progress, movement and novelty—might “turn into stone” and hence transform into a completely immobile civilisation one day. Europe, for Behiç, has lost its appeal. Pondering about different spaces to explore, he says, “I would like to travel to South Africa sometime” (ibid.).[151]

For *Fatih Harbiye*’s Neriman, however, everything relating to Europe is (still) new and alluring. After having left Macit’s car, she secretly comes home and sneaks into her room, her father finding some colourful bits of paper that have fallen off his daughter’s coat: “After thinking for a long time, Faiz Bey remembered that they call those things ‘confetti and streamers’” (Safa 1931, 16).[152] This highlights that Neriman has discovered social contexts and places of entertainment that are unknown to people in the *mahalle*. Whereas Faiz Bey and Şinasi have a clear (negative) opinion about the ‘modern’ events taking place in Beyoğlu, neither of them goes there to get their own impression of what is going on. However, material traces such as confetti and the more subtle immaterial marks such as Neriman’s changed behaviour enter their own homes. Neriman ‘carries’ an unknown, strange world to theirs, thus increasing the men’s anxiety and trepidation. Neriman, on the contrary, actively explores the evolving nightlife of interwar Istanbul. As Charles King (2014, n.p.) notes by quoting the Italian memoirist Willy Sperco, “[i]n the middle of the 1920s, the *grande salle* of Maxim was ‘the most frequented locale not only for the Istanbul public but also for foreigners who happened to be passing through.’” After visiting the famous and popular nightclub, Neriman recalls her memories of the *maksim salonu*: “Colourful lampshades in cosy corners. A blond woman’s head. The sound of castanets, shouting and jumping around, applause, the bitter taste of foam on the palate, a shiny yellow skirt” (Safa 1931, 17).[153] It is a glamourous world full of foreign sounds, tastes and people that fascinates her: “Cocktail. She had heard that word for the first time last night. Cocktail. With the phonetic strangeness one remembers foreign words, Neriman repeated also this word to herself: Cocktail, cocktail. […] ‘If you want, have another cocktail,’ said Macit” (ibid., 18).[154]

[150] “Evet, İstanbul’dan ayrılmak, uzak.. uzak yerlere gitmek. Biraz görmediğim diyarlarda dolaşmak […]. Avrupa’yı tanırım, orada beni eğlendirecek yeni hiçbir şey yok. […]. Avrupa taşlaşıyor ve onu taklit eden İstanbul da öyle…”

[151] “Vaktiyle Cenubî Afrika’ya seyahat etmek isterdim.”

[152] “Epey düşündükten sonra Faiz Bey bunlara ‘konfeti ve serpantin’ dendiğini hatırladı.”

[153] “Kuytu köşelerde renkli abajurlar. Sarışın bir kadın başı. Bir zil sesi, cığıklar ve sıçrayışlar, alkış, damakta acı bir köpük lezzeti. Parlak sarı bir etek.”

[154] “Kokteyl. Bu kelimeyi ilk defa dün gece işitti. Çok yabancı kelimelerin zihne takılan lâfzî garabetlerile, Neriman bunu da kendi kendine tekrar diyordu: Kokteyk, kokteyl. […] ‘Isterseniz bir kokteyl daha için’ diyor Macit.”

Neriman's inner conflict to decide between either Fatih or Beyoğlu refers to the broader question of compatibility between the (allegedly passive and immobile) Eastern and (the allegedly active and mobile) Western civilisation. Faiz Bey and Şinasi are convinced of their commitment to the 'Eastern civilisation,' whereas Neriman pays more and more attention to the differences between her upbringing and what she imagines as Western. In a conversation with her father, she suggests a metaphor summarising her distinction between a stagnant East and a forward moving West: "Easterners resemble cats and Westerners are similar to dogs!" (ibid., 49).[155] To her, these animals embody "two contrary, irreconcilable worlds" (*iki zıt âlem*, ibid.):

> The cat eats, drinks, lies down, sleeps, gives birth; it spends its life on a cushion and in its dreams; sometimes its eyes even seem to see dreams when they are awake; a languid, lazy and dreamy creature that doesn't like to exert itself. The dog is energetic, nimble and adventuresome. It is useful in many respects. Even when asleep it is awake. It hears even the slightest noise, jumps and bellows (ibid.).[156]

This image allows her to sharply contrast Eastern laziness and Western activism, prompting the narrator to almost apologetically refer to Neriman's low level of education, excusing her simple-minded trains of thought. The narrator of the story and Faiz Bey seem to share the same (most likely also Peyami Safa's) opinion: when Neriman begins to share her ideas with her father, he first laughs at his daughter and then evaluates the supposedly invisible work of those (men) thinking the whole day as positive. Aware of his daughter's increasing interest in material values and against the backdrop of his own financially difficult situation, he prefers to understand richness or wealth in a non-material way: "There are some men who sit and think from morning to night. They have a treasure of thoughts and accordingly they are rich in the world of ideas" (ibid., 52).[157] With her negative assessment of the Eastern lifestyle, Neriman implicitly attacks the realities of her father and Şinasi, who are not financially successful. Neriman questions her father's argument: "We sit and think the whole day, but what did we actually do? […]. We do nothing. Everything is sleep… lethargy…" (ibid., 53).[158] Both father and daughter do not make an effort to really understand each other—Neriman criticises her father for always reading the same book, which she herself has not read, and Faiz Bey condemns

[155] "Şarklılar kediye, garplılar köpeğe benziyorlar!"

[156] "Kedi yer, içer, yatar, uyur, doğurur; hayatı hep minder üstünde ve rüya içinde geçer; gözleri bazı uyanıkken bile rüya görüyormuş gibidir; lâpacı, tenbel [*sic*] ve hayalperest mahlûk, çalışmayı hiç sevmez. Köpek diri, çevik, atılgandır. İşe yarar, birçok işlere yarar. Uyurken bile uyanıktır. En küçük sesleri bile duyar, sıçrar, bağırır."

[157] "Kimi adam vardır sabahtan akşame kadar oturur ve düsünür [*sic*]. Onun bir hazinei efkârı vardır, yani fikir cihetinden zengindir."

[158] "Fakat biz oturduk ta ne yaptık sanki? [...]. Hiç bir şey yapmadık. Hep uyku…lâpacılık…"

Neriman's interest in the lively neighbourhood of Beyoğlu, where he himself does not go. The narrator of the story, however, seems to take Faiz Bey's side by claiming that Neriman cannot keep up with Faiz Bey's logical and knowledgeable argumentation. Neriman is described as emotional and incapable of partaking in an intellectual conversation. Faiz Bey understands the talk with Neriman as a "lesson" (*ders*) (ibid., 54) for her, and then, after his 'victory' in the conversation, employs a humorous approach. When they meet next, he greets her with the words "*Bonjur, Matmazel!*", distorting the use of French phrases and words (see also Chapter 5.2.2.) to make fun of Neriman's interest in "transient innovations and ridiculous modernism" (ibid., 56).[159] Neriman gets increasingly angry about the fact that her father's jokes testify to his domination rather than his affection for her and touches upon a sore point: "Well… Talk like that until the evening. I'm dying of boredom in this house anyway. Your and my age are very different—if you were in my place, what would you do? You would go crazy in this shabby house. […]. You don't know how girls at my age live" (ibid., 57).[160]

The theme of male stagnancy in comparison to female mobility also plays an important role in Safa's autobiographical novel *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* set in Istanbul in 1915 (see Safa 2000 [1930], 45). Contextualised in the times of the First World War, *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* is not only a paradigmatic psychological portrait of a sick person, as Otto Spies (1947) has argued, but also an allegory of the demise of a social order. The homodiegetic narrating voice is a 15-year-old boy whose reduced mobility is epitomised by severe knee problems and always looming knee operations. His increasingly limited ability to walk due to heavy inflammation of the joints restricts his opportunities, especially regarding his romantic interest in 19-year-old Nüzhet, the daughter of a pasha who is a distant relative (Safa 2000 [1930], 20). The protagonist's bodily decay is parallelised with the decline of Istanbul's architecture, especially the previously wealthy but now abandoned *konaks* (mansions) and their state of disrepair: "and all of them are sick, I love them; because I recognise myself in them. None of them can stay alive when they are not operated on every two to three years, I love them a lot (ibid., 13).[161] Just like the *konaks*, the first-person narrator remains static while falling into decline. In contrast, Nüzhet is described as a very active person: "This is one of her habits: In whatever situation she may find herself, she does not stay longer than two minutes and then

[159] "fani yeniliklere, gülünç asriliğe."

[160] "E… Akşama kadar söyleyin. Zaten bu evde sıkıntıdan patlıyorum. Sizin yaşınız başka benimki başka. Benim yerimde olsanız ne yapardınız? Bu salaş evde çıldırırdınız. […]. Benim yaşımdaki kızların nasıl yaşadıklaını bilmiyorsunuz."

[161] "ve hepsi hastadır, onları seviyorum; çünkü onlarda kendimi buluyorum; ve hepsi iki üç senede bir ameliyat olmadıkça yaşayamazlar, onları çok seviyorum."

escapes" (ibid., 19).[162] What concerns the narrator is the fact that Nüzhet is about to get married with a physician, Dr Ragip. Nevertheless, Nüzhet also shows affection for the narrator, her childhood friend, sneaking in his bedroom at night and exchanging kisses with him (ibid., 31). While the narrator's condition worsens, Nüzhet eventually consents to the marriage with the doctor with whom she is set to soon leave the Ottoman Empire for Berlin. Unlike Neriman's ambitions, Nüzhet's decision to be with the Westernised physician is respected or even favoured. As a young woman belonging to Istanbul's upper class, Nüzhet's decision-making scope is much broader than Neriman's. For the male first-person narrator, however, this means that he is to be left behind among the ruins of a diminishing social and political order. Although young women like Peyami Safa's protagonists Neriman and Nüzhet potentially profit from structural societal changes, these developments seem to be at the expense of his male figures as representatives of a certain, more traditional social stratum.

The serial adaptation of *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* (1986) envisages a more positive outlook for its male hero: the uncertain and rather depressing ending of the novel is replaced by Safa's[163] regained mobility. He joyfully leaves the hospital after a successful knee operation and moves on without any physical complaints. When seeing a rather unhappy Nüzhet with the doctor upon their return from Berlin, he darts a last melancholic glance at her and then drives away with the horse wagon, a calm and confident smile on his lips. The different societal context of the 1980s, especially the increasingly visible return of the Ottoman Empire to the political stage in the era of Turgut Özal, might have prompted the producers of the series to portray a brighter future for Peyami Safa's melancholiac. His transformation from a limping and gloomy boy to a cautiously self-confident young man indicate the beginning of a new era where the past, and with it a certain image of masculinity, would return powerfully to the public discourse. It would reverse the Kemalist narrative away from an Eastern past towards a Western future, which was the leading prospect of the future in the 1930s.

[162] "Bu, onun huylarından birisisir. Herhangi bir vasiyette ekseriya iki dakikadan fazla durmaz ve kaçar."

[163] The series' directors decided on an autobiographical reading of the novel and named its main protagonist Safa.

5.2.2. Civilisation: In Search of a New Life

"The fixation on form turns some of our girls into züppes"

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the concept of civilisation is inherently linked to the Occidentalist condition in which Europe as the West becomes the embodiment of cultural and technological development. The standards of Western modernity, as Couze Venn (2000, 49) has put it, are part of "an invisible Occidentalism in the guise of a modernized lifeworld and the values and ideologies routinely inscribed in it." The visions connected with "Western civilisation" present the "promise of 'development' and 'modernization'" as "ultimate goods" (ibid., 82).

In *Fatih Harbiye*, it is Neriman who pins her hopes for a better future on her plans to participate in Western-style activities and hence in approximating Western civilisation as such. According to the narrator of the novel, Neriman's most important question in life concerns the matter of "civilisation" (*medeniyet*) (Safa 1931, 92). In a conversation with her father, she admits: "How shall I say it? I want to live more civilised" (ibid., 93).[164] A civilised life, for Neriman, entails aspects such as material wealth, participation in European-style activities and events as well as a productive and active mind. Life in the *mahalle* and a possible future with Şinasi seem to be diametrically opposed to the young woman's roughly outlined vision of "a new life" (*yeni bir hayat*, ibid., 30). Despite her anger, Neriman excuses her father for his outdated ideas and for not understanding her because of his age. However, despite his age, Neriman concludes that "Şinasi will not save me from all of this" (ibid., 92).[165] She confronts Şinasi with her wish to live more 'civilised' and expresses her incomprehension at the fact that he is happy with life in Fatih: "I excuse my father, he is old, but it is not possible for me to excuse you… Are you old? How can you reconcile yourself with living like that?" (ibid., 98).[166] It is Neriman who explicitly talks about her needs with regard to a financially more convenient and personally freer future outlook. She repeatedly accuses him of being stuck in the past, a young man living an old life: "Why are you not like a young man?" (ibid.).[167] Şinasi, however, escapes his fiancée's questions and does not engage in this topic with her. Instead, he melancholically remarks with resignation: "In the past you did not talk like that" (ibid.).[168] For Neriman, the

[164] "Nasıl söyleyim? Daha medenî yaşamak istiyorum."

[165] "Şinasi de beni bundan kurtarmıyacak."

[166] "[...] hem babamı mazur görürüm, ihtiyardır, fakat sen mazur görmek benim için kabil değil… Sen ihtiyar mısın? Sen böyle yaşamıya nasıl razı oluyorsun?"

[167] "Niçin genç bir adam gibi değilsin?"

[168] "Eskiden böyle söylemezdin."

possibility of civilisation is framed as a personal right: "Am I not a girl of this country? Don't I as well have a right to live a civilised life? Say something… Answer… Look, you remain silent. What makes me angry is that it is not possible to understand what you are thinking" (ibid., 98f).[169] For Şinasi, in turn, what Neriman understands as a civilised life remains vague. Şinasi discusses this with his friend Ferit:

> "What does Neriman actually understand by a civilised life?" Ferit asks. "I don't know…," Şinasi answers, "she doesn't seem to be pleased with this life anymore. Apparently, she doesn't want to live in Fatih and the Fatih house anymore." Ferit replies, "so far she is right: One prefers the stone house over the wooden house, electricity over petroleum, the machine over the animal and lavender over rose oil" (ibid., 107f).[170]

The narrator approaches questions about civilisational belonging with a close link to gender differences. In the eyes of the male protagonists Faiz Bey, Şinasi and his friend Ferit, men have a more rational approach and focus on *content* whereas women address civilisational *form* (see Moran 1998 [1983], 132). Ferit interprets Neriman's understanding of 'civilisation' only in a material way and does not recognise other aspects, such as gender equality. As a woman, Ferit is convinced that Neriman was "obliged to understand civilisation [only] with her eyes" (ibid., 108),[171] thus ignoring the dimension of civilisation as a matter of culture (*kültür meselesi*). Similar to Faiz Bey's critique of Neriman's shallow differentiation between 'Western dogs' and 'Eastern cats,' Ferit also criticises her superficial focus on the 'form' of civilisation rather than its content.

The conflict between Eastern content and Western form is most explicitly crystallised by means of music in the narration. As discussed by Pierre Hecker (2012, 28), music was one of the cultural spheres that was actively included in the processes of modernisation and nationalisation in early republican Turkey. However, the field of music was affected by Europeanising reforms as early as 1828, when Western notation was adopted under the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) (Ayangil 2008, 401).[172] After the end of the empire, and in an attempt to cut all

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[169] "Ben de bu memleketin kızı değil miyim? Benim de medenî yaşamıya hakkım yok mu? Söyle… Cevap ver… Bak susuyorsun…Ne düşündüğünü anlamak kabil değil ki işte, beni bu sinirlendiriyor…"

[170] "-Medenî olmaktan ne anlıyor? diye sordu. – Bilmem… Bu hayattan hoşlanmıyormuş. Galiba Fatihte, Fatihteki evde oturmak istemiyor. -Oraya kadar haklı. Taş ev tahta evden, elektrik petroldan, otomobil arabadan, makine hayvandan ve lâvanta hacıyağından daha iyidir."

[171] "Kadındır, medeniyeti gözlerile anlamıya mahkumdur."

[172] With the replacement of the Janissary force, its musical unit was also abolished. Ayangil (2008, 401) describes the foundation of a new modern, Western-oriented military band, as "European in its music system, instruments, repertoire and first and foremost its methods of education." This foundation of this new military band in 1827 was "the most far-reaching change in Turkish musical history" as it was "an outstanding manifestation of westernisation which necessarily made a deep impact on both the Turkish *makam* (modal) music system and the existence and the behaviour of the musicians who produced and performed it."

cultural ties with the past, European classical music was favoured even more emphatically in comparison to the Ottoman musical legacy:

> European classical music, with its elaborate polyphonic harmonies and its rational approach as regards music theory, symbolized the pinnacle of modern civilization. Ottoman classical music, however, with its roots in Byzantine, Arab, and Persian monophonic music represented a relic of the past, the epitome of tradition and ignorance (Hecker 2012, 28).

Istanbul's conservatory, Darülelhan,[173] was affected by the policies implemented by the Kemalists. Originally focusing on the study and teaching of traditional *makam* (modal) music and tonal music in departments for both Western and Turkish music, the conservatory's department of Eastern music was abolished in 1926 (Ayangil 2008, 419; Hecker 2012, 28). Peyami Safa thus takes up a vivid debate of his time by integrating this topic into his novel. Neriman's attitude illustrates that the study of 'Western' musical instruments such as the piano or violin was increasingly favoured over traditional 'Eastern' instruments. Not wanting to play the *oud* anymore, Neriman refers to the contemporaneous question of whether the department of *alaturka* music would be closed or not:

> This *oud* in my hands is getting on my nerves; I'm about to break it. […] As if the tootling at home wasn't enough, there is furthermore a Darülelhan! Will they abolish this *alaturka* music, or what will they do? If they did so, I could get rid of it as well. Everything is the family's influence. My father enjoyed Eastern education. He plays the *ney*, and so do my relatives… (Safa 1931, 26).[174]

For Neriman, the *oud*, the *kemence* and the *ney* stand for old-fashioned Eastern tradition and culture, a diminishing world represented most clearly by her father. What bothers her about the *oud* is its bulky form and its corresponding transport packaging: "have a look at the form of this calamity. Above all its sack..." (ibid.).[175] Against this backdrop, Neriman considers changing from the *alaturka* to the *alafranga* department at the Darülelhan: "I'll quit the Darülelhan or change to the *alafranga* department. They will abolish our department anyway. May Allah bless them" (ibid.).[176] It is not only the form of the instrument but also how it affects one's own physical constitution that bothers the young woman. Neriman thinks of Şinasi's broken fingernails and contrasts them with Macit's "extremely clean" (*tertemiz*) hands that are "like

[173] As Hecker (2012, 28f) points out, the Darülelhan (founded in 1914) was "later renamed Istanbul State Conservatory (Istanbul Belediyesi Konservatuvarı), and exists today under the name Istanbul University State Conservatory (Istanbul Üniversite Devlet Konservatuvarı)."

[174] "Öf…. Bu elimdeki utta sinirime dokunuyor, kıracağım geliyor. […]- Evdekî hey hey yetişmiryormuş gibi üstelik bir de Darülelhan! Şu alaturka musikiyi kaldıracaklar mı ne yapacaklar? Yapsalarda ben de kurtulsam. Hep ailenin tesiri. Babam şark terbiyesi almış. Ney çalar, akrabam öyle…"

[175] "bir kere şu musibetin biçime bak. Hele bu torbası?..."

[176] "Darülelhandan da çıkacağım, yahut alafıranga kısmına gireceğim. Zaten bizim kısmı lağvedeceklermiş. Allah razı olsun."

women's hands" (*kadın eli gibi*): "What happened? He [Şinasi] played the *kemence*. An instrument that breaks one's hands like that must be broken itself" (ibid., 27).[177] At first sight, the 'content' of Eastern music itself (such as melody and tonality) thus seems to play a minor role for Neriman, who focuses on the aesthetics of the instruments as well as what they stand for. At second glance, however, her turning away from the most visible and most symbolic forms of belonging in her immediate, male-dominated social and familial environment can also be interpreted as a move towards autonomy and emancipation. As alluded to above, the legal implications of Kemalist reforms and their ideological premises were also a promising new framework for women to explore new ways of living and increased independence.

Neriman's guilty conscience fuelled by the pressure of Faiz Bey, Şinasi and the social context of the *mahalle*, however, eventually make her give up on her plans for a different life. The climax of the narration is reached through two parallel narrative threads: in a conversation with Ferit, Şinasi decides to change his behaviour from inward lethargy to outward activity. The two men decide to invite Neriman to a gathering at Ferit's place, where they want to convince her to 'return' to the *mahalle* and thus to Şinasi (ibid., 112). At the same time, Şinasi plans to regain control over the situation by forbidding Neriman to ever even greet Macit again (ibid., 113). It is in this moment of male self-affirmation that the male protagonists—for the first and only time in the narration—take the tram: "While talking heatedly, they jumped on the tram" (ibid.).[178]

While Şinasi successfully casts off his lethargy and recovers his mobility, Neriman increasingly loses her strength and energy. The turning point is a visit at her uncle's place in Şişli, where her female cousins tell a story that has a lasting impact on Neriman (ibid., 114f). The story is about the fate of a young, beautiful Russian woman who had lived a poor but happy life in Beyoğlu with the love of her life, a fellow country man. The young Russian is described as a smart and loving woman who supports her partner, a passionate but penniless musician. However, when a rich, good-looking Greek man enters the woman's life, she leaves the Russian for him and begins to live in luxury and "was seen at every ball" (ibid., 115).[179] Yet, the young woman discovers soon that her new life turns out to be "fake" (*sahte*) and that she is surrounded by "meaningless" (*manasız*) people. For the Russian woman, however, this insight comes too late—when she realises that her Russian ex-partner will not take her back, she commits suicide.

[177] "Ne imiş? Kemençe çalarmış. Böyle insanın elini parçalayan sazı parçalamalı."

[178] "Hararetle konuşarak bir tramvaya atladılar."

[179] "Kız artık her baloda görünüyor."

The narrator of the novel distinguishes between the poor, honourable Russian man and the rich, trivial Greek man and clearly draws a parallel with Neriman's situation. It is the decision against the "authentic" (*hakiki*) values of one's own civilisation, and the embrace of "fake" (*sahte*) values, that destroys happiness and even leads to death (ibid., 117). Her cousins gossiping about the Russian woman who made the wrong decision has a lasting impact on Neriman, and she immediately drops her plans to participate in Western-style events such as balls with Macit. From this moment onwards, Neriman's focus switches: instead of embracing Western standards, Neriman redefines her civilisational belonging in Eastern terms, highlighting the connection to what she now appreciates as her roots.

After that visit at her uncle's house, Neriman takes—for the last time in the narration—the Fatih-Harbiye tramway (see Chapter 5.2.1). Fearing that she might experience the same fate as the Russian woman, she gives up on her regular trips to Beyoğlu, her desire to meet Macit and her eagerness to participate in Western events. She returns to the fold of Fatih with the ambition to make her father and Şinasi happy (ibid., 126f). All of a sudden, she thinks of Macit as a fake, untrustworthy person and instead appreciates again the worth of the people living in Fatih (ibid., 127). At the gathering at Ferit's place, the men are involved in conversations about Westernisation. Whereas Ferit again accuses women like Neriman of the superficial adoption of Western culture, a professor who has also joined them finds this argument to be exaggerated. Instead of the dichotomy between the (Western) form and (Eastern) content of modernisation, he emphasises how central the question of the *extent* of Turkish Westernisation is. According to him, the aim to Westernise is not limited to technical progress but also targets the cultural sphere. What becomes apparent here is that the educated professor tries to strike a balance and does not judge Neriman, whereas the other men from Fatih are quick to simplify their analyses. Şinasi criticises Neriman's "formalism" (*şekilcilik*) and accuses her of becoming a female *züppe*: "this... formalism…The fixation on form turns some of our girls into *züppes*," bringing them down eventually (ibid., 136).[180] For Neriman, however, the debate is too difficult to follow: "The one who understood the least from the debate involving her name was Neriman" (ibid., 134).[181] What becomes apparent here is that men shape public debates; they are part of meaning making processes, and it is them who are ultimately responsible for deciding on what is right or wrong (for women). What Neriman understands, however, is that the gathering was organised in order to teach her a lesson: "It seems as if all the men got together only to judge

[180] "bu… şekilcilik… şekil düşkünlüğü bazı kızlarımızı züppeleştiriyor."

[181] "İsmi etrafında cereyan eden bu münakaşadan en az anlıyan Nerimandı."

her" (ibid., 140).[182] Against the backdrop of the pressure that is put on her, Neriman gives in. As a 'formal' sign of her renunciation, she takes an *oud* and begins to play it at the gathering. Later, she agrees with her father to marry Şinasi as soon as possible.

In Safa's novel *Sözde Kızlar*, the difference between a blind adoption of Western values and a more nuanced approach to Western civilisation that remains connected to Eastern roots is portrayed in a similarly dichotomous and moralising way. As Ulaş Bingöl (2017, 903) has argued, in *Sözde Kızlar*, "the conflict of values takes shape between those who are Westernised in the wrong way and the heroes who, despite having received modern education, remain attached to their religion and culture."[183] In order to find her father, Safa's heroine Mebrure moves to Istanbul, where she begins to live with distant relatives in a *konak*. Soon it becomes clear that the Westernised and fatherless household, consisting of a widowed mother and her Europeanised children Behiç and Nevin, is very different from what Mebrure has known so far. Just like the *züppe* Felatun in Ahmet Mithat's imperial novel *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* who prefers speaking French over Turkish (see Chapter 4), the "*dandizette*" (Çubuk 2014) Nevin says "*Bonjour*" in the morning and repeatedly sings French songs (Safa 2016 [1923], 15 and 102). Similar to Mithat's humorous approach to Felatun's use of French, Safa satirically implements French passages in order to make fun of the superficial adaption to Europe. Nevin's dog, for example, which she has "brought from Vienna" (*Viyana'dan getirdim*), is named Napoleon; and when it disobeys, Nevin shouts: "*Napolyon! Napolyon! Reste-lâ tranquille!*" (ibid., 19). The womaniser Behiç, too, is portrayed as detached from the local context: "I know every street in Vienna, I can recite their names off the top of my head, but I have never seen or visited Istanbul's districts."[184] Similar to Neriman, Mebrure finds herself in a difficult situation in which she must decide between two men, the Westernised Behiç and the Eastern Fahri. At first, Mebrure is fascinated by the charming and alluring dandy. Confronted with the terrible fate of Hatice, who has changed her name to Belma and has fallen victim to the temptations of a Western lifestyle, however, Mebrure consents to the marriage with the authentic but 'less manly' Fahri (see below) and moves with him to Anatolia.

[182] "Sanki bütün bu adamlar, onu muhakeme etmek için toplanmışlardı."

[183] "Sözde Kızlar'da, değerler çatışması yanlış Batılılaşanlar ile modern eğitim aldığı halde dinine ve kültürüne bağlı kahramanlar arasında şekillenir."

[184] "Viyana'nın her sokağını tanırım, isimlerini ezbere sayabilirim, fakat İstanbul'un semtlerini hiç görmedim, gezmedim."

5.2.3. Temporality: Escaping the Past

"We live between graves"

The Fatih-Harbiye tram has become a great promise for Neriman as it not only symbolises her mobility but also—in very concrete terms—enables her temporary escapes from the Fatih *mahalle*, "a purely Turkish neighbourhood"[185] (Safa 1931, 30), to Beyoğlu, "a new civilisation" (ibid.)[186] that represents the modern age. As the narrator of the story remarks, "[f]or Neriman, this tramway has become a stimulus awakening of all her desires with great intensity. At the sight of the tramway, she was carried away by the wish [to leave Fatih]: 'Come on, if you want, let's go to Beyoğlu,' Fahriye agreed" (ibid., 29).[187] For the young woman the tramway stands for the departure into a new societal space and the beginning of a new era, both on a personal and on a societal level. Taking the one-hour tramway from Fatih to Beyoğlu appears like a "grand journey" to her (ibid., 30),[188] framed as a travel from an Eastern past to a Western future; the differences between the two districts seem to be as big as the contrast between Kabul and New York.

With the tramway ride, Neriman bridges the dichotomous constellation the narration is built upon. For the protagonists in the novel, Beyoğlu *pars pro toto* functions as a synecdoche for the 'West' or 'Western lifestyle,' while Fatih typifies the 'East' or 'Eastern lifestyle.' Beyoğlu symbolises individualism, consumerism, activity, freedom for women and the departure into the future, whereas Fatih stands for communitarianism, modesty, stagnancy, patriarchal structures and connection with the past. While Faiz Bey and Şinasi identify with what they perceive as 'Eastern' characteristics and legacies, Neriman struggles with her familial and cultural rooting in 'Eastern traditions': "I'm disgusted with myself. The neighbourhood where I live, the house where I live and most of the people I talk to get on my nerves" (ibid., 26).[189] The desolate, mouldy house where she lives prompts Neriman to wonder whether "young girls over there (on the other side of the [Galata] bridge) live like that" (ibid., 46).[190] Nevertheless, Neriman is torn between the total rejection of her living environment and the complete acknowledgement of it as something beautiful and warm. In some moments, the poor and

[185] "halis Türk mahalle."

[186] "yeni bir medeniyet."

[187] "Bu tramvay, Nerimanda bütün arzuları şiddetle uyandıran bir münebbih haline gelmişti. Onu görür görmez anî bir arzuya kapıldı: - Haydi, dedi, istersen Beyoğluna kadar çıkalım. Fahriye razı oldu."

[188] "kendini büyük bi seyahat yapmış sanıdır."

[189] "Kendimden nefret ediyorum. Oturduğum mahalle, oturduğum ev, konuştuğum adamların çoğu sinirime dokunuyor."

[190] "Orada (köprünün öbür tarafında) genç kızlar böyle mi yaşıyor."

desolate condition of the house, the restricted financial opportunities of her father and Şinasi are disregarded in favour of (past) positive collective moments spent in the *konak*. However, the ideas, hopes, and wishes connected with a more prosperous, materially more satisfying and socially more flexible future cause her to reject the life she used to live time and again:

> Neriman saw that it was possible to be happy in this neighbourhood, in this house, with this petroleum lamp, next to this old man, […] and she remembered the cheerful days she had spent in this house. Şinasi, too, could come to this house as her husband, and in this collective happiness everyone would have a share in, Neriman would be able to become happy without painful regret. However, it was this strong desire that at times would stir up Neriman's hate and revolt against all of that (ibid., 47f).[191]

It is not only Neriman's family and their house, but also the Fatih *mahalle* at large that gives rise to Neriman's criticism. The behaviour of men in Fatih, for instance, annoys the young woman. She describes the men hanging around in the ordinary cafés as unemployed and weak, sarcastically remarking that the only job of the men is "to sit in front of the mosque or the café the entire day and watch the street" (ibid., 27).[192] As discussed above, Fatih as a whole is described as stagnant. There is not much is 'going on' in Fatih, and as the narrator of the story remarks, "the darkness falls early in these neighbourhoods" (ibid., 42).[193] Except for the street vendors, all people are inside their homes in the evening: "It is the time when the *helva* sellers pass by. Everything is quiet but only their voices can be heard" (ibid.).[194] For Neriman, these typical sounds are negatively connoted and arouse fear of sickness, death and other strokes of fate. The *helvacı*'s calls are "inauspicious and sinister" (ibid., 43).[195] Neriman associates Fatih with complete standstill and even death and draws parallels with a graveyard (ibid., 29): "'For god's sake, have a look,' she said [to Fahriye]. 'Is this possible—a graveyard in the middle of the way? A main street… and in the midst of it a cemetery… We live between graves" (ibid.).[196] As Neriman, who wants to escape the rules and limitations of the *mahalle* says in Episode 7 of the series "Fatih-Harbiye": "Everyone [there] lives in the past."[197]

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[191] "Neriman bu mahallede, bu evin içinde, bu gaz lâmbası, bu ihtiyar adam, […], arasında insanın mesut olabileceğini görüyordu va [*sic*] bu evde geçen neşeli günlerini hatırladı. Şinasi de, koca olarak bu eve gelebilir ve herkesin paylaştığı müşterek bir saadet içinde, Neriman, vicdan azabı duymadan mesut olabilirlerdi. Fakat ne idi, arasıra Nerimanı yakalayan o kuvvetli arzu ki bunların hepsine karşı nefret, isyan uyandırıyordu."

[192] "Erkeklerin işi gücü kahvede caminin önünde oturup sokağı seyretmek."

[193] "Karanlık bu mahallelere erken basar."

[194] "Helvacıların geçtiği saat. Her şey susar ve yalnız onların sesleri duyulur."

[195] "menhus, meşum sesler."

[196] "-Allah aşkına bak! dedi, yol üstüne mezarlık olur mu? Koskoca cadde… Ortasında mezarlık… Mezarlar arasında yaşıyoruz."

[197] "Herkes [mahallede] geçmişte yaşıyor."

Fatih thus not only stands for outdated ideas of morality and lethargy but also symbolises the dead imperial past. The Ottoman Empire is visibly buried in Fatih, and its residents, particularly men, live between the societal and architectural ruins, caught up in stagnancy and a continuously perpetuated status of retrospection. For all protagonists, the East is connected with the past and its legacies, but their evaluations differ. Whereas the male protagonists of Fatih hold on to the synthesis of the present with the Eastern past, Neriman envisions a clearer orientation towards the future and the West. She wants to emancipate herself from the Eastern heritage that is embodied by her father and her fiancé as well as materialised through the Fatih *mahalle*. It is Şinasi who "drew Neriman to the past and tradition," and it is because of him that Neriman's aspirations for "the new" were toned down for many years (ibid., 63).[198] However, now Neriman does not want to be a "Fatih girl"[199] anymore. She "hates to live like that," "hates the old" and strives for the "new and beautiful" (ibid., 77).[200] She wants to free herself from this tense intermediate position between past and present by embracing the future as envisioned by the Kemalists: a clear cut with the Ottoman past and the adoption of a European lifestyle is the desired goal.

Against this backdrop, Beyoğlu appears to her like a "garden" (*bahçe*, ibid., 27). On the one hand, what strikes her is the exhibited material culture, "every shop window is like a flower bed" (ibid.).[201] When Neriman passes by a perfumery, she looks at the different vials and concludes that they are "things happy and easeful people are accustomed to use" (ibid., 30).[202] Material wealth seems to relate to "felicity" (*saadet*) ibid., 31) and peace of mind. However, Neriman is not only impressed by the value of the fancy, unknown products on display but also by the beautiful design of various shop windows: "They exhibit the most ordinary goods in a way that they look like jewellery" (ibid., 27).[203] It is the omnipresent attitude of 'live and let live' that makes her feel freer in Beyoğlu than in Fatih: "Also the people are completely different. They don't turn around and don't stare. They know how to walk and how to dress. They know everything, dear…" (ibid.).[204]

Despite the fact that Neriman enjoys her time in Beyoğlu, away from the restrictions of Fatih, she feels torn between her own desires and the pressure of her loved ones. Neriman is racked

[198] "Şinasi Nerimanı daha ziyade maziye ve ananeye çekti. […]. Nerimanın ruhundaki yeniye iştiyakı senelerce uyuttu."

[199] "Artık ben bir Fatih kızı olmak istemiyorum, anlıyor musun?"

[200] "Böyle yaşamaktan nefret ediyorum, eskilikten nefret ediyorum, yeniyi ve güzeli istiyorum, anlıyor musun?"

[201] "Her camekân çiçek gibi."

[202] "burada herşey, rahat ve mes'ut insanların kullanmayı adet ettikleri eşyadı."

[203] "En âdi eşyayi öyle biçime getiriyorlar ki mücevher gibi görünüyor."

[204] "Sonra halkı da bambaşka. Dönüp bakmazlar. Yürümesini, giyinmesini bilirler. Herşeyi bilirler canım…"

by remorse, as she continuously lies to Şinasi and her father when it comes to her leisure activities. Şinasi sees through her lies and (successfully) punishes her with his stern silence: "All the time she remembers Şinasi's reserved and troubled face" (ibid., 20).[205] Similarly, Gülter and Faiz Bey put pressure on Neriman. Gülter makes Neriman feel ashamed after her meetings with Macit by referring to her father as a "poor man" in a "sad condition" (ibid., 21)[206] who loves Neriman so much because she is the only one left after her mother's death. When Neriman realises how the increased expenses for her clothes have affected her father's financial situation and well-being, she ashamedly considers skipping all her plans and pleasing her father, who is all alone: "She thought of giving up on all her aims: not seeing Macit's face again, not crossing the [Galata] bridge to the other side anymore, not going to a ball and not even going to the cinema anymore" (ibid., 45).[207] The decision between Beyoğlu and Fatih, between past and future, unfolds into an 'either-or' situation in which she has to pick one or the other—it seems socially impossible to combine the allegedly 'Eastern' with the 'Western' lifestyle, to synthesise the past with the present. Seeing that the male protagonists in Fatih do not 'move' in their attitudes and do not try to understand Neriman's ambitions, ideas and wishes, a middle way is not an option. And it is Neriman who is finally forced to move back.

Şinasi is drawn to the past, both in terms of his personal life and in terms of the cultural and historical heritage of Turkey. He is a melancholiac, regularly mourning what has changed or even disappeared. He regularly experiences moments of melancholy; sometimes he "all of a sudden […] fell into a deep state of gloom [*yeis*]" (ibid., 103) or "went through moments of despair [*yeis*]" (ibid., 102).[208] Although the reasons for this "sadness" (*keder*) remain unclear, they appear to Şinasi as "dark" (*müphem*) and "endless" (*namütenahi*), leading to the "autointoxication of his soul" (ibid., 103).[209] Similar to Tanpınar's melancholiac Mümtaz (see Chapter 7), Şinasi finds peace in "Turkish music" (*Türk musikisi*) and his "own music" (*kendi musikisi*) (ibid., 104). Music reflects and sets free his emotionality, including his urge to weep and cry (ibid.).[210] In the TV series "Fatih-Harbiye," Şinasi is also depicted as an artistic character. Although he can be considered an introvert, music is the medium through which he

[205] "Hep Şinasinin vakur ve muztarip yüzünü hatırladı."

[206] "zavallı adam" and "mahzun bir hali."

[207] "Bütün emellerinden vazgeçmeyi düşündü: Bir daha Macidin yüzünü görmemek, Köprünün öbür tarafına geçmemek, baloya değil sinemaya bile gitmemek."

[208] "Birdenbire derin bir ye[i]se düştü." and "Arada bir ye[i]s anları geçiriyordu."

[209] "kendi kendine ruhen zehirlemeni."

[210] "Bu dolgunlukla beraber ayni şiddete bis boşaltma ihitiyacı duyuyordu: Ağlamak, katıla katıla ağlamak, ağladıkça sarhoş olarak ve kendini kaybederek ve hıçkırarak ve hıçkırıklarının sesini duyarak ve katılarak ve katıldıkça kendini toplıyarak ve kendini topladıkça yeniden katılarak ağlamak."

can express his feelings like love, pain and melancholy. However, in contrast to Şinasi in the novel, who remains true to himself, the character in the series eventually enters the music industry so that he can earn money. He succumbs to the capitalist premises of this business in order to, like Macit, be able to buy a car and provide Neriman with more material wealth. In the series, Şinasi does not understand that it is not money that attracts young Neriman to Macit but the latter's open-mindedness and his more general affiliation with a different lifestyle closely associated with Western 'civilisation.'

In Peyami Safa's *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu*, the physician Dr Ragıp is also representative of this 'new civilisation,' although a rather different one. The homodiegetic narrator of the novel emphasises Ragıp's rational, mathematical, almost emotionless demeanour that is further emphasised by his tall body, blond hair and piercing eyes (Safa 2000 [1930], 60). This appearance and behaviour stand in sharp contrast to the narrator, whose physical features are shaped by his severe health problems. In contrast to the cold analytical character of the doctor, the narrator appears to be intelligent and rooted in tradition, in addition to being an emotional and passionate lover. As a representative of the new and Western-oriented societal elite, Ragıp offers his fiancée good (financial) perspectives and a potentially exciting, mobile life abroad, while the narrator's rather unpleasant future will undoubtedly include complicated knee operations and extensive hospital stays. Nüzhet, though she may be more emotionally attached to her childhood friend, eventually makes a rational choice in favour of the doctor. While Ragıp and Nüzhet set out for a future that is also set to physically unfold in Europe, the narrator is doomed to stagnate in a decaying city. The intellectual differences between the narrator and Ragıp, Nüzhet and her father are made explicit in the chapter "Kozmopolitlerin Hücumu" ("The Attack of the Cosmopolites," ibid., 69–71). During a dinner, Ragıp complains about people who paint over French expressions in the streets of Istanbul with black colour to not upset Germans.[211] The narrator, in turn, argues that he is against any kind of French signs and expressions in the streets of Istanbul as "beautiful Turkish" would do the job perfectly well (ibid., 70). Although he knows French himself, he speaks out against "cosmopolitanism," which, he argues, goes hand in hand with a neglect of one's own tradition and values. The narrator envisions a future that does not distance itself from its cultural heritage, a future that is on good terms with its past.

[211] As the novel is set in 1915, this is likely to be a reference to the coalition of the German and Austrian Empires against the Allied Powers, Great Britain, France and the Russian Empire, during World War I.

5.2.4. Gender: Stay or Leave

"Can't I choose whoever I want?"

Even though the narrator, and probably Peyami Safa himself, favours Şinasi and Faiz Bey's attitudes regarding the necessity of continuity between past and present, he draws a complex and nuanced picture of Neriman. It would be too simple to understand the character of Neriman as a shallow female *züppe*, enchanted by the promises of materialism. Despite the fact that Neriman finally finds her way back to the male-dominated circles and hierarchies of Fatih, the novel at second glance ends on a bitter note. Throughout the narration, Neriman raises several critical questions that remain unresolved, especially regarding the position of women in society. For example, Neriman criticises the interfering behaviour of men, who use their—in relation to women—elevated social status to define the parameters as well as limits of social togetherness and thus female (un)freedom. Most importantly, she is aware of the strong alliance between her father and Şinasi; both men work together in order to keep Neriman in the place in which they want her to be. In a conversation with Şinasi, she addresses this issue: "You [Şinasi and Faiz Bey] are angry with me, it is as if one of you was the imam, and the other one the muezzin… Neither of you gives me any rights…" (Safa 1931, 99).[212]

Throughout the novel, Neriman also touches upon broader questions of the relations between the sexes and the role or status of women in society, most notably in conservative quarters like her own *mahalle*. As an example, she criticises men who maliciously stare at women when they are dressed up in a different way than what meets their religious expectations—i.e., less covered. Those men who accuse women like Neriman of being bewitched by expensive products and aesthetics—the 'forms' of capitalism—themselves pay a lot of attention to the forms of clothing, walking, looking and talking. For Neriman, Fatih is thus connoted with (Eastern) male inflexibility, lack of openness and mistrust towards women when they behave or dress up in a way men are not used to or do not agree with.

Neriman's positionality as a young and increasingly self-confident woman also comes to the fore in a conversation with the housemaid Gülter, highlighting different conceptions of womanhood and female professional development. Despite the fact the Gülter is an overall more flexible character than Faiz Bey,[213] she is attached to the old times and one of the very

[212] "Bana kızıyorsunuz, sanki biriniz imamsınız, ötekiniz de meyzin [*sic*]… Bana hiç biriniz hak vermiyorsunuz."

[213] Gülter, for instance, is creative in helping Neriman with covering up her trips to Beyoğlu but also stands up for Faiz Bey. She often creatively finds a middle way: Without interfering in Neriman's life, she discloses her own opinions, which often diverge from Neriman's.

few female melancholiacs in Turkish literary history. When Gülter praises the professionality and accuracy of Neriman's grandmother in the area of household work, Neriman announces, "[y]es, they were good housewives, but not more than that!", referring to the limited options for women regarding professional advancement (ibid., 86).[214] Gülter, however, mourns the old times when hard physical work was appreciated and valued. She melancholically evokes the Ottoman times spent in the *konak* of Neriman's deceased grandmother and her meticulous way of leading the household. Although 'Frankish' furniture like chairs entered 19th-century Ottoman *konaks*, Gülter admiringly mentions that the grandmother did not find them of any use and used cushions instead (ibid.):

> But where is the prosperity of the old time? […]. [Gülter] all of a sudden kept quiet and stared into the space. All those houses and people were gone and would not come back again. 'What are those living today doing?' Gülter thought, and she did not like them, in fact, she still does not like them (ibid., 87).[215]

The narration reveals a generational gap regarding images as well as expectations of femininity, masculinity and success in Neriman's and Gülter's respective areas of work. What was valued in Ottoman times is now often rejected by the younger generation, depriving the elderly from respect and appreciation. The young woman does not want to follow in her ancestors' footsteps as she realises that there may be more—and more exciting—doors opening for her, both professionally and privately.

Neriman's inner struggle to decide between Macit and Şinasi is portrayed as a decision between East and West, between community and individualism, between rootedness and uprootedness, between continuity and change as well as between past and future. However, against the backdrop of the strong, often controlling and jealous interferences of her father and her fiancé, this decision is not only Neriman's. Pondering about whom she would want to spend her life with, Neriman realises the limited scope of her decision-making:

> Again, she asked herself, 'Is it not up to me? Can't I choose whoever I want?' She could not give an affirmative answer to the question, as she felt herself under the pressure of many external impacts that she was not able to analyse. Above all, it often was her father appearing as the focal point of all influences in front of her inner eye (ibid., 64).[216]

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[214] "'Evet, iyi ev kadını imişler o kadar'"

[215] "Fakat o zamanki bolluk nerede? […]. Sonra birdenbire sustu ve gözleri daldı. Bütün o evler ve insanlar, bir daha gelmemek üzere gitmişlerdi. 'Şimdikiler ne yapıyorlar?' diye düşündü Gülter ve onları beyenmedi, beyenmiyordu."

[216] "Fakat gene kendi kendine sordu: 'Bu benim elimde değil mi? Hangisine istersem gidemez miyim?' Bu suale kolay kolay müsbet cevap vermiyor, kendisini tahlil edemediği birçok haricî tesirlerin baskısı altında hissediyordu. Bilhassa gözünün önüne sık sık babası geliyor be tesirlerin mihrakını teşkil ediyordu."

While Faiz Bey and Şinasi portray Neriman as a girl temporarily seduced by the shallow promises of Western capitalism and modernism, it is also a different understanding of morality that has an impact on Neriman. What attracts the young woman are not only rather superficial topics like shop windows in Beyoğlu. Criticising the paternalistic approach of men in her own neighbourhood, she supports the increasingly visible individualism, equality of genders and freedom observable in Beyoğlu's streets. When she coincidentally meets Macit at the patisserie Löbon where "everything is clean, everything is beautiful,"[217] she is first confused about the fact that she sees him there with another woman but soon realises that it is normal for men and women to talk casually (ibid., 32). Moreover, Macit is not presented as morally inferior but as a decent young man with good manners. Neriman emphasises that despite his expenses for her and although they were all alone with each other, he did not make a "desirous move" (ibid., 18): "Neriman thinks, 'A fine man!' and can't find anything to criticise about Macit" (ibid.).[218] Also, when Neriman and Fahriye coincidentally meet Macit in the patisserie Löbon, Macit shows empathy as he tries to include Fahriye in the conversation and in planning joint activities (ibid., 33).

At the end of the novel, the patriarchal order—symbolised by the solidarity between Şinasi and Neriman's father—wins over the potential mobility of the young woman. Yusuf Osman's *Cumhuriyet* review (1931, 4) celebrates the end of the novel as the "victory of the national Turkish virtues."[219] According to Osman, these "Turkish virtues" are "inherited and natural" (*ırsi* and *fitrî*). In the eyes of the reviewer, Neriman distanced herself from an innate Turkish essence by being interested in an artificial lifestyle and in a "fake" (*sahte*) man. She is about to give up authenticity in favour of superficiality. In this male reading of the novel, Şinasi embodies a morally superior natural Turkishness that is to be protected and defended. The traditional male protagonists are representatives of a diminishing formerly Ottoman, patriarchal order that runs into the danger of being replaced by a new Europeanised, material culture and lifestyle that was envisioned and advocated by Kemalists.

Regarding the importance of patriarchy in Safa's novels, Petr Kučera (2005) has argued that *Sözde Kızlar*, similar to *Fatih Harbiye*, deals with the restoration of the male-dominated order by telling a story about how the authority of society, family and traditional morality regains control over women and their bodies. In *Sözde Kızlar*, Safa is even blunter in his presentation

[217] "her şey temiz, her şey güzel."

[218] "'İnce bir adam!' diye düşünüyor ve Macitte tenkit edilecek hiçbir şey bulamıyor."

[219] "millî Türk meziyetlerinin galebesinden."

of right and wrong female behaviour. Mebrure represents true female Turkish virtues, whereas other young women—"so-called girls" or "fake girls" (*sözde kızlar*)—are portrayed as overly Westernised, sexually loose and morally inferior to her. As Elif Gözdaşoğlu Küçükalioğlu (2007, 13) has pointed out, Mebrure "symbolizes feminine virtues such as self-sacrifice, virtue, chastity and purity, but at the same time, she is interested in the political problems of the country, and especially in the War of Independence." Exaggeratedly Europeanised girls, in turn, "are mainly occupied with their beauty and their physical appearances and […] indifferent to the national war and to other social and political problems that their country faces." Contrary to Neriman—who finds her way back to the right path 'before it is too late'—*Sözde Kızlar*'s character Hatice/Belma remains tragically entangled in the challenges surrounding her promiscuous lifestyle and engagement with a Westernised *züppe* dandy, finally leading to suicide. Infected by what Kučera (2005, 70) refers to as "Occidentosis,"[220] Belma falls ill with syphilis as a disease associated with Europe (*frengi*). As Küçükalioğlu (2015, 13) has noted, Safa suggests that the 'wrong' behaviour and moral degeneration of women, including the neglect of Eastern or Turkish values, can be made partly responsible for the general degeneration of society.

Masculinities, however, are also entangled in complicated webs of social expectations and failures, all of which are intertwined with the East-West issue. On the one hand, there is the polyamorous, immoral, yet masculine, dominant and confident *züppe* Behiç who tries to seduce the honourable Mebrure by all possible means. On the other hand, there is his antipode, Fahri, "loyal to the social and cultural values" (Bingöl 2017, 904)[221] but less attractive. Surrounded by Eastern books and poetry, Fahri's home—standing in contrast to the Westernised *konak*—'authentically' represents the Eastern civilisation and provides Mebrure with a sense of peacefulness or "*huzur*" (Safa 2016 [1923], 76).[222] As will be discussed in Chapter 7 with regard to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's work, the term *huzur* stands for "a mind at peace" that is not torn between East and West. Although *Sözde Kızlar* doubtlessly presents Fahri as the better choice, his masculinity is somewhat problematised. With his girlish appearance and demeanour as well as his characterisation as an "effeminate dreamer," as Kučera (2005, 67) has put it, the reader somehow sympathises with Mebrure's attraction to the more alluring Behiç. In this dichotomous constellation of figures, Safa reproduces the gender dimension of the Occidentalist condition (see Chapter 2): As Ashis Nandy (1989, 4) has argued in his book *The*

[220] "okcidentóza."

[221] "sosyal ve kültürel değerlere sadık."

[222] "Çırçıplak, fakat pek temiz, yokluktaki huzura imrenen bir ruhu dinlendirebilecek bir oda idi."

Intimate Enemy, Western colonialism "was congruent with the existing Western sexual stereotypes," producing "a cultural consensus in which political and socio-economic dominance symbolized the dominance of men and masculinity of women and femininity." In *Sözde Kızlar*, the association of the West as male and the East as female in the context of Western-dominated modernity is reflected in the portrayal of the soft, girlish Fahri and the dominant, masculine Behiç. Yet, Fahri—representing the 'spiritual' character of the East—is by and large the better, i.e., more moral choice than the materialist Behiç, who leaves behind a trail of destruction. The same goes for Şinasi: Despite his moral compass and emphasised intellect, the *Fatih Harbiye* hero is a character with weaknesses. The narrator does not portray his lethargic, gloomy mental state in a positive light. Weighed down by the post-imperial modern condition, Şinasi struggles with the new and evolving social circumstances. Representative of Turkey's conservative post-imperial intellectual, Şinasi embodies a melancholia stemming from the imminent loss of power, influence and control over women connected with the downfall of the old order.

Safa's novels (and their contemporary advocates) warn their readers to pay attention to young women who might be influenced by the temptations of a modern lifestyle, while 'local' music, tradition and values are melancholically evoked as a positive but vanishing counter model. Ottoman culture and the beauty of its music stand for harmony, *huzur* and social cohesion in the *mahalle*. It is the emptiness and shallowness of Western consumerism that is contrasted with Eastern superiority in questions of intellectualism, spirituality and morality, embodied by 'Eastern' male characters. And while the 'Eastern man' (*doğulu erkek*) is not portrayed as perfect either, he is nevertheless presented as the right, moral and, from Safa's conservative political standpoint, maybe even necessary choice. In Safa's eyes, the spiritually superior Eastern Self should be preferred over the otherised 'Western man' (*batılı erkek*). The 'old masculinity,' embodied by Şinasi, Faiz Bey, Fahri or the first-person narrator in *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* runs into the danger of getting replaced by new, potentially more interesting masculinities symbolised by Western-oriented men like Macit and Behiç. The latter jump on the bandwagon of Western modernity while losing their attachment to what is evoked as an authentic local culture and eventually, like the female "*dandizettes*" (Çubuk 2014), damaging society as a whole. Hence, Safa's insistence that women should choose Easterners might also be interpreted as a political and ideological call to resist the globality of Western modernity that affects local structures and is also increasingly inscribed in gender relations. The anxiously feared 'demise' of the traditional and authentic Eastern man encapsulates a critique of Occidentalist power relations. Endangered conservative Eastern masculinity is celebrated in

comparison to imitative Westernised masculinity that, while at first sight appealing, turns out to be shallow and empty.[223]

Interestingly, the ending of the TV series "Fatih Harbiye" (2013–2014) differs from its literary model, in which patriarchy wins: despite all difficulties, the TV version of Neriman eventually marries Macit, and together they symbolically overcome the restrictions of their social and family backgrounds. The TV series reveals the limitations that accompany both the 'Westernised' and the 'Eastern' context. Neriman openly criticises social practices taking place in the *mahalle* such as forced marriage upon rape,[224] and Macit opposes his father's immoral behaviour in business as well as towards his wife. Not only Neriman but also Macit are caught up in patriarchal family structures, albeit in different socio-economic environments. The protagonists' respective families both show prejudices towards living worlds unknown to them, and both fathers try to prevent their relationship. On a long journey covering 50 two-hour episodes full of intrigues typical in television series, Neriman and Macit emancipate themselves from their families and engage with the other's environment to build a life together. While Neriman partakes in a painting course instructed by Macit's mother, Macit moves out from his parents' luxurious estate in order to live in Neriman's *mahalle*. In the series adaptation of Safa's novel, the couple thus symbolises a synthesis of East and West emerging from the liberation and combination of once separated social spheres.

5.3. In the Western Mirror: Self and Other in Safa's Essays and Articles

Questions of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender are also key lenses for examining how Peyami Safa approaches Self and Other in his essays and articles. The following sections shed light on how auto- and hetero-images unfold in Safa's non-literary texts. The analysis includes articles from *Cumhuriyet* columns such as "San'at ve Edebiyat" ("Art and Literature") or "Meseleler" ("Issues") as well as Safa's 1936/1938[225] travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* ("The Grand Survey of Europe") and his 1938 book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* ("Views on the Turkish Revolution").

[223] Ürün Şen Sönmez (2015, 1924) goes as far to argue that Macit's masculinity is even subtly undermined, representing the "fake and effeminate male code" (*sahte ve efemine erkek kodu*) in the tradition of the late Ottoman *züppe* figure (see Chapter 4), in which male snobs are often described in effeminate terms (Kutlu 2018, 146).

[224] This concerns Şinasi's sister, Aslı, in the series.

[225] The travelogue was serialised in 1936 and published as a book in 1938.

5.3.1. Spatiality: The Speed of Thought and a Journey to Europe

"Is there any place with such an unclear address like Europe?"

The idea of modernity is intrinsically connected to the concept of progress, a desirable goal of societal development. Movement, mobility and advancement as key features of progress are not only discussed in *Fatih Harbiye* but are also reflected upon in Peyami Safa's essays. On a metaphorical level, Safa was a very mobile and flexible thinker who meticulously kept himself informed about European and Turkish literature. He was an active participant in contemporary discussions about literary theory as well as an attentive observer of scientific innovation. As we will examine below, his extensive journey to European countries in 1936 shows how Safa himself made use of modern transportation and symbolises his attempts to transcend geographical and imaginary boundaries between Europe and Turkey.

In his book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* ("Views on the Turkish Revolution"), Safa (1970 [1938]) ascribes dynamism to Europe as the epitome of the Western world. Safa argues in a post-colonial vein that since the 15th century, "the Europeans have begun to dominate the earth,"[226] successively expanding their sphere of influence (ibid., 103). Safa highlights that although in the first 300 years of the early modern period (see Chapter 2) the "movement of conquest" (*fetih hareketi*) was slow, in the 19th century, however, the "machine civilisation [*makine medeniyeti*] of the West spread to all the other continents" (ibid., 104).[227] This conquest, Safa (ibid., 105) argues, went not only hand in hand with the subordination of foreign countries but also their "treasures" (*hazineler*). In this time, the Mediterranean, a previously interconnected, dynamic and rich space, was divided into two "groups" (*grup*): the active, dynamic, progressive space of Europe and the North African-Asiatic space that "remained motionless" (*hareketsiz kaldı*) (ibid., 105). Resonating with post-colonial theorists like Venn (2000), Safa emphasises that Europe was born out of the exchange and exploitation of "material and intellectual or spiritual values" (*maddî ve manevî kıymetleri*) across the globe. The "wake European mind" (*uyanık Avrupa kafası*), Safa (1970 [1938]), 106) argues, was nourished by the raw materials sent from the "new territories" (*yeni topraklar*) in Africa, America and the Far East, just as it was fed by the knowledge of the "Old Asia" (*ihtiyar Asya*).

Safa's reflections on Europe assert that no place in the world has been left unaffected by European 'dynamism,' interpreted as economic, territorial and intellectual conquest and

[226] "On beşinci asırda Avrupalılar toprağa hakim olmağa başladılar."

[227] "garbın makine medeniyeti bütün kıtaları sarınca."

appropriation. Not only his literary texts but also his essays problematise the effects of this 'penetration' in the Turkish context. Safa warns against the negative impacts of uncritically implementing the Western "machine civilisation," leading to superficiality, shallowness and emptiness. In his article "San'at ve Sür'at" ("Art and Speed," Safa 1932d), part of the *Cumhuriyet* column "San'at ve Edebiyat" ("Art and Literature"),[228] Safa expresses his support for technological development when it facilitates intellectual progress. For Safa, technical advancement is always a means and never only an end. Based on the idea that "there is a thorough connection and relationship between scientific discoveries and works of art,"[229] Safa (1932d, 3) suggests that, ideally, the speed of modernity and artistic production should be intertwined in ways that allow technical progress to ease the burdens of daily life and reduce the time used for transportation and travel. Travellers of modernity, in turn, should use the 'saved time' for thinking and reading. Progress should thus always go hand in hand with an engagement with the intellectual history of the past as discussed below, and education, intellectual growth as well as the enhancement of arts. Safa anticipates the critique of modernity as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar articulated in his 1961 novel *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*): the strict regulation and fragmentation of time point to the modern idea of efficiency and the dictum of not *losing* time (see Chapter 7). Tanpınar shows ironically that there are in fact no reasonable activities that can be performed in the 'saved' time. What is irretrievably *lost*, however, is the connection to traditional—i.e., Ottoman—lifeworlds, which fall prey to the Kemalist project's goal to cut with the allegedly backward past that is to be replaced by invented traditions. Similarly, Tanpınar's character Mümtaz (*Huzur*) or Safa's protagonist Şinasi seek to demonstrate instead that the "saved time" should be used for an engagement with Turkey's literary or musical heritage.

Safa (1932d, 3) promotes the further development of literature and opposes the idea that literature should now become "easy to digest." Along with the increase of scientific speed, the rhythm of art should slow down: "They say we were in a century of speed, we didn't have time to lose; we needed open, simple, concise and coherent works of art: novels and poetry squeezed into tomelets. Texts written in the manner of a quickly driving car, a flying plane, or flowing electricity" (ibid.).[230] Works written by the "famous of the West" (*Garp meşhurları*), Safa

[228] In 1932, *Cumhuriyet* published Peyami Safa's column "San'at ve Edebiyat" ("Art and Literature") twice a week.

[229] "fennî keşiflerle san'at eserleri arasında esaslı bir alâka ve münasebet vardır."

[230] "Diyorlar ki sürat asrındayız, kaybedilecek vaktimiz yoktur; bize açık, sade, veciz, kolay anlaşılır san'at eserleri lâzımdır: Ufak ciltlere sığdırılmış romanlar ve şiir mecmuaları. Otomobil gibi hızlı giden, tayyare gibi uçan, elektrik gibi seyyal bir üslupla yazılmış yazılar."

concludes, are far away from simplicity. On the contrary, he mentions darkness, heaviness and intensity as key characteristics of 20th-century literature by authors like Marcel Proust, André Gide, Paul Valery, Thomas Mann or Virginia Woolf. Safa observes how globalisation and increasing interrelations through modern technology have led to the formation of "world literature" (*dünya edebiyatı*). A major aspect of what Safa (ibid.) defines as *dünya edebiyatı* is its embeddedness in the "global flows of ideas."[231] This international exchange valorises the position of readers who must keep themselves informed about the developments in literary and philosophical spheres in order to understand the intertextuality central to modern literature. Safa perfectly exemplifies that Turkey has become part of this global flow of ideas. Although his examples for world literature stem from the French, German or Anglophone contexts, Safa's conception of globality subtly inscribes the idea of horizontality and articulates a vision of international interconnectedness and mutuality.

Peyami Safa himself embodied the internationally connected but locally rooted form of modern intellectuality he advocated in his writings. Although the tram in *Fatih Harbiye* symbolises female mobility in contrast to male lethargy, Safa himself made use of the possibilities of modern means of transportation. His engagement with the idea of Europe culminates in an extensive journey to six European countries (Greece, Italy, Switzerland, France, Germany and Austria) in 1936. *Cumhuriyet* published his travelogue "Büyük Avrupa Anketi" ("The Grand Survey of Europe") in 31 instalments between 20 August and the 2 December 1936. The travel column was later compiled and issued as a book (Safa 1938). As *Cumhuriyet*'s front page ([n.n.] 1936b, 1) announced on 19 August, Safa's essays were not intended to be a "simple travel impression"[232] but instead aimed at conveying the European "people's worldview and opinion regarding Turkey."[233] Moreover, the travelogue was set to provide insights into European lifeworlds and hence had the goal to take the readers "together with Peyami Safa on a journey and take a walk in a completely new world" (ibid.).[234]

Cumhuriyetin
Büyük Avrupa Anketi
Muharriri: Peyami Safa

Announcement in *Cumhuriyet* (1936a)

[231] "dünyanın bütün fikir cereyanları."

[232] "sade bir seyahat intibaı."

[233] "insanın dünya vaziyeti ve Türkiye hakkındaki görüşlerini."

[234] "Peyami Safa, bu yazılarında, adeta sizi de kendisile beraber seyahate çıkaracak ve yepyeni bir âlemde dolaştıracaktır."

Referring to the different interpretations regarding the definition of Europe as an imagined rather than a topographic space, Safa (1938, 4) himself declares the question "Where does Europe begin?" (*Avrupa nereden başlar?*) as a central motive for his travel and his survey. His key interest is to find out where "Europeanness" (*kafa olarak Avrupa*) begins instead of defining Europe in geographical terms: "For those who do not believe in the answers given by the maps, this is an issue."[235] Safa's underlying assumption that 'Europe' must somehow differ from Turkey is the starting point for his journey. However, as we will see below, the features and boundaries of this vague space become increasingly blurred in the course of his journey. Another reason for his route might have been his participation in the 1936 Montreux Conference, where the Convention Regarding the Regime of the Straits was signed.[236] More generally, Safa reports about conversations he has with politicians, artists, scholars or travellers about societal developments and conveys his impressions of the (increasingly fascist) political atmosphere[237] in Europe to his readers. That Safa's journey to Europe was of outstanding public interest is proven by the fact that the beginnings of his essays were usually printed on the front page of the newspaper, along with the most important news of the day.

With his first essay "Avrupayı Arıyorum" ("I Am Looking for Europe"), a discovery voyage of what imagology refers to as auto- and hetero-images (see Chapter 3) begins. Safa's journey starts at the Galata pier in Istanbul from where he takes an Italian ferry. On the way to Venice, the ship stops in Piraeus, near Athens, as well as in Brindisi, southern Italy. From Venice, Safa continues his way to Milan, from where he takes the train to Montreux. The highlight of his journey is Paris, where he spends most of his time and to which he devotes by far the most articles: "For me, every place outside of Turkey is France, and France meant Paris" (Safa 1938, 38).[238] On his way back to Istanbul, his journey brings him briefly to Munich and then to Salzburg as well as Vienna in "Central Europe" (*Orta Avrupa*). Throughout his journey, he asks different people, women and men alike, about their opinions of Turkey. Most of the time, he disguises his country of origin in the beginning of the conversation in order to learn about the 'real' opinion of his interlocutors. The (European) images of the Turkish Other, Safa reports, are exclusively positive: on the ferry, for example, he asks a Danish woman, an enthusiastic

[235] "Haritanın verdiği cevaba kanmıyanlar bu bir meseledir."

[236] This agreement gave Turkey control over the Turkish Straits and regulates the transit of naval warships.

[237] For example, he talks about the increasing censorship in Hitler's Germany and wonders whether not only his suitcase but also his thoughts may be examined at the border crossing (see Safa 1938, 174–179 and 183f); standing in front of huge posters with portraits of Mussolini in Italy, he sarcastically asks whether he should salute him: "At every wall the heads of Musolini [*sic*]. Salute al Duce. Alright, alright, salute" (Safa 1938, 8).

[238] "Benim için Türkiyenin dışarısında her yer Fransa ve Fransa da Paris demekti."

traveller, about where she thought that Europe began. Safa is delighted about the fact that a non-Turkish woman praises a Turkish city because of its European outlook: “In Ankara! Europe begins in Ankara, I come from Ankara. It seems that Ankara has become a beautiful European city in a short time. I liked it very much there” (ibid., 6).[239] On a train from Italy to Switzerland, he meets with an Englishman who tells him that he had just returned from his travels to Turkey, “without doubt, a different civilisation when it comes to people and monuments” (ibid., 18).[240] Feeling at home in Anatolian villages thanks to the locals’ hospitality and generosity, the Englishman looks forward to going back to Turkey in order to “escape from [Western] civilisation” again (ibid., 17).[241] As positive characteristics of “Eastern civilisation,” the Englishman mentions the unimportance of material wealth and the tangential role money plays there. At the same time, he also underlines the modern character of Ankara. Safa’s reports of encounters with famous personalities reinforce the impression that the image of Turkey abroad is a predominantly positive one: in a hotel on Lido Island (Venice), he meets the well-known Austro-Hungarian actress and singer Marta Eggerth, who flatters him by saying that she always drinks Turkish coffee in Vienna and Pest (ibid., 11): “Enveloped in its [Turkish coffee’s] fragrance, I always imagine a lovely country. If I want to come, will you invite me?”[242]

“An die Leser der Cumhuriyet beste Grüße Marta Eggerth, 1936” (Safa 1936, 1)

What at first sight appears to be a hetero-image, the direct (and maybe partial) reproduction of what others (Europeans) think of the Self (Turkey) actually can be regarded as a meta-image. Leerssen (2016, 24; see also Millas 2009) defines meta-images as the “way of imputing to Others the way how we think that they look at Us.” Similar to the rhetoric employed in his article on the music congress (see below and Safa 1932a), Safa conveys to his readers a predominantly positive meta-image of how Europeans by and large are supposed to see Turkey

[239] “Ankaradan! Dedi, [Avrupa] Ankaradan başlar, ben Ankaradan geliyorum. Kısa bir zamanda güzel bir Avrupa şehri olmuş. Çok sevdim orasını.”

[240] “Şüphesiz, dedi, insan ve abide olarak memleketinizde bir başka medeniyet var.”

[241] “Medeniyetten kaçmak için...dedi.”

[242] “Onun güzel kokusu içinde hep sevimli bir memleket tahayyül ediyorum. Gelmek istesem beni davet eder misiniz?”

and the Turks. A defining feature of Safa's European meta-image is the positioning of Turkey within the European and/or modern context. Some of his accounts locate Turkey culturally and politically in Europe, others stress the modern character of the country while at the same time emphasising positively connoted 'civilisational' differences such as hospitality.

Safa's travelogue presents Europeanness as a scale, with some contexts being considered more and others less European. Europeanness itself, it seems, is a geographically flexible and temporally mobile concept. For Safa (1938, 7), Turkey is located where Europeanness begins: "The Europe that is born in Istanbul crawls here [in Athens]. Let's see where it will grow tall!"[243] Turkey and Greece are countries that are somewhat European but not completely. Upon his arrival in Piraeus (ibid., 6–7), Safa expresses doubts about Greece's Europeanness ("*tam bir Avrupa değil*," ibid., 6). The only thing he regards as totally European about the port city is the soil condition (namely asphalt): "The old Greece is the mother of European civilisation; new Greece is its child."[244] Safa's statement indicates that Europeanness is not a geographical definition but a temporally fluid condition that can be lost, developed or re-established. In the case of Greece, the period of Ottoman reign seems to have led to a 'decrease' in Europeanness. Athens is described as a mixture between Eastern and Western elements, as a combination of Istanbul's district Kurtuluş ("Little Athens") and Paris. Similar to Greece, Italy does not seem to be the kind of Europe Safa is looking for either: upon his arrival in the Italian port city of Brindisi, he feels uncertain about its Europeanness: "Is Europe here? It is not clear yet. So far there is no sign that it is different from our world. Is there any place with such an unclear address like Europe? Where is Europe?"[245] His time in Italy also makes him feel homesick (ibid., 26), especially because he lacks knowledge of Italian. Safa compares being in a foreign country with the feeling an illiterate person must have when looking at pictures in a book without being able to understand their explanations (ibid., 27): "When you don't know the sense of the banners, announcements, signboards and while your eyes are blended by the lights and colours, your inside stays blind and in the dark" (ibid.).[246]

While Safa expresses his hesitation regarding the Europeanness of Greece and Italy, Switzerland and especially France seem to be the centre of what and where Europe is. He

[243] "Istanbul'da doğan Avrupa burada emekliyor. Bakalım nerede boy atacak!"

[244] "Eski Yunanistan Avrupa medeniyetin anasıydı, yeni Yunanistan, onun cocuğu."

[245] "Avrupa burası mi? Daha belli değil. Henüz bizim dünyadan farklı bir işaret yok. Şu Avrupa kadar adresi belirsiz yer var mıdır? Hani Avrupa?"

[246] "Manasını bilmediğiniz afişler, ilânlar, tabelâlar, işaretler karşısında gözleriniz renkten ve aydınlıktan kamaşırken içiniz kördür ve karanlıkta kalır."

considers Switzerland as "one of Europe's most typical countries"[247] and mentions cleanliness and widespread access to electricity as defining features of European urbanity in cities like Montreux and Lausanne, features that seem to be lacking in his hometown, Istanbul. The roads and paved boulevards in Montreux, for example, were "clean like a billiard table" (ibid., 26).[248] He is furthermore impressed by the geometrical, ordered urban landscapes of Swiss cities. In contrast to Italy, Safa feels more at home in (the francophone parts of) Switzerland because he hears and reads French everywhere and thus "understands the walls and the people" (ibid., 27).[249] What strikes him about Paris, in turn, is not only the city's brightness and vastness but most importantly "Paris' two famous characteristics, noise and crowdedness" (ibid., 60).[250] Due to these intense sensory impressions, Safa is repeatedly afraid of being run over by a car[251] or of getting lost in the city (ibid., 42).[252]

The French language stands out as one of the key markers of Safa's definition of Europeanness. Due to the fact that French can be learned, Europeanness, again, does not seem to be something you have or do not have but something that can be acquired individually and collectively. Safa connects the feelings of belonging and home with the French language and, more generally, with France: he associates the word "France" (*Fransa*) with terms like "homeland" and "mother" (ibid., 32). He probably speaks for many Europe-oriented Turkey-based intellectuals of the time when he writes, "France! After Turkish, I understood French; after Turkish books, I read French books. It is as if France represented the whole Western culture, as if regarding Europe I thought of France as the centre of all values!" (ibid., 33).[253] Safa describes his images of France in euphoric words, creating heavenly imaginations of the country for his *Cumhuriyet* readers. After this build-up of tension, he sharply contrasts these dreamlike explanations with the reality he sees from the train windows on his way to Paris. Expecting a highly cultivated country, he is surprised about the wild fields and meadows and even asks whether someone was ridiculing him—was that the "difference of France" he was looking for (ibid., 33f)? What he tries to convey to his Europe-oriented readers is that although France functions like a projection surface for many Turks (like him), the reality sharply diverges from idealised accounts. Safa

[247] "bir Avrupanın en tipik memleketidir."

[248] "yollar bir bilârdo masası kadar temiz."

[249] "Duvarları ve insanları anlıyorum."

[250] "Parisin iki meşhur spesyalitesi […]: Gürültü ve kalabalık."

[251] See, for instance, pp. 48, 50, 55.

[252] See, for instance, p. 42: "I took Nadir Nadi's arm" ("Ben de Nadir Nadinin koluna girdim").

[253] "Fransa! Türkçeden sonra dilini anladığım, türkçeden sonra kitabını okuduğum, bütün garp kültürünü temsil ediyormuş gibi Avrupa ait her kıymetin merkezi sandığım Fransa!"

repeatedly criticises the romantic image many Turks, including himself, have of France while emphasising the importance of Paris for his own life and personal development: "Since I was fifteen years old, an important part of my inner life took place in Paris" (ibid., 39).[254] Similar to the first person-narrator in the novel *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* (see above), Safa implicitly criticises the important role France, the French language and French culture play in the cultural orientation of many Turks. He detects a dreamlike fantasy that should undergo a reality check; on this basis he then deconstructs some of the common positive stereotypes of France such as rationalism, politeness and, more generally, 'civilised behaviour.'

As an illustration, Safa meticulously and in detail reports about his interaction with a train restaurant garçon and the many impolite incidents he experienced with him (ibid., 35–36). Instead of cold beer, for instance, Safa and his journalist friend Nadir Nadi are served with warm beer, which the waiter only reluctantly replaces with a cold one. Safa contrasts the waiter with the Swiss and Italian waiters whom he perceived as "quiet, polite and attentive" (ibid., 36).[255] When Safa asks his companion Nadi about his opinion, the latter explains, "[t]his is just the prelude, you will see it in Paris. The French are nervous and angry people like this. See how many fights you will observe. When they don't have fights, the French tease. They are a very impulsive, temperamental nation. I love them because of this temper" (ibid.).[256] For Safa, the character traits his friend describes do not really fit with the stereotypical famous French "national characteristics" (*millet vasfı*) like logical and reasonable thinking, which is why he later asks, "[w]here is French rationalism?" (ibid.).[257] Typically generalised stereotypes of the 'Orient,' like mindless emotionality and compulsivity, are reversed and attributed to the French Other. The auto-images of the critical, rational Turkish intellectuals contrast with the hetero-image of the erratic and impulsive behaviour of the Frenchmen. This hetero-image is further reinforced through Safa's perception of unbridled French sexuality, in inversion of the Orientalist image of non-European promiscuity. In a crowded jazz bar in Paris, he is surprised about waitresses wearing men's clothing (smoking) and the sexual atmosphere they create. He sees himself in the role of an unimpressed "cold observer" (*soğuk bir râsıt*) (ibid., 50) who does

[254] "On beş yaşımdanberi benim derunı ömrümün mühim bir kısmı Pariste geçti."

[255] "sessiz, nazik ve dikkatli."

[256] "Bu daha mukaddeme, dedi, Pariste göreceksin. Fransız böyle sinirli ve öfkeli adamdır. Bak daha ne kavgalar seyredeceksin. Kavga etmediği zaman, Fransız, alay eder. Çok impulsif, taşkın bir millettir. Ben onu bu huyu için seviyorum."

[257] "Fransız rasyonalizmi nerede?"

not actually partake in the party but secretly pursues his sociological studies. In order not to attract (negative) attention, he tries to blend in and smiles at people in his surroundings (ibid.).

What Peyami Safa "symbolically, not medically," as he emphasises, frames as "the neurosis of Europe" is what he observes to be people's general rage (ibid., 58).[258] Through the image of a psychologically ill Europe, the metaphor of the "sick man of Europe" used for late 19th-century Ottoman Empire is completely reversed. Europe is not healthy, and France, "the country of rage" (*galeyan memleketi*), Safa concludes, is the centre of this general restlessness. The reason for this psychological imbalance can be found in the forced advancement of a civilisation based on the parameters of progress and development. Safa's impression of the French's heightened emotionality is—according to his own account—confirmed by a psychologist from Sorbonne University, with whom he talks about the consequences of societal transformation. Safa asks him whether or not the increase of neuroses and psychoses results from the difficulty to adapt to the "new and artificial civilisation" (ibid., 57).[259] The psychologist confirms Safa's assessment that there is a strong link between socio-political developments and the psychological constitution of individuals (ibid., 58). Again, Safa tries to strengthen his argument by confirming it through a European expert's opinion. Apart from this criticism, Safa more generally also observes pre-war Europe as shaped by a volatile atmosphere where confrontations between left- and right-wing groups are on the rise.

While Safa thought of France as his second home at the beginning of his journey, he increasingly longs for returning to Turkey and speaking Turkish again. Against this backdrop, he reports an incident at his hotel in Paris where he meets a Turkish woman unknown to him. It turns out that the woman also attended the Montreux Convention as a civil servant from the foreign ministry. Safa is delighted to meet another Turkish person and, more specifically, to hear her speak in orderly and straight Turkish (ibid., 88): "I'm dying to hear and speak Turkish. In my room, I read to myself Turkish poems with a loud voice."[260] He is even more delighted when the young woman prepares Turkish coffee for him with her own *cezve*—a cure for his melancholy. He describes the smell of the Turkish coffee, "the essence of his homeland" (*vatan hulâsası*) as a miracle that makes him forget all the "travel fatigue" (*yol yorgunluğu*) and *Weltschmerz* (*dünya endişeleri*) (ibid., 89).

[258] "Tıbbî manasile değil, sembolik manasile Avrupa *nevrozu.*"

[259] "yeni ve sun'i medeniyet."

[260] "Türkçe duymak ve söylemek için ölüyorum. Odamda kendikendime yüksek sesle türkçe şiirler okuyorum."

5.3.2. Civilisation: Freshwater Franks and Eastern Belonging

"Eastern music is superior to Western music"

Overall, Safa uses the terms East and West as a dichotomy. Yet, as the mobility section (see Chapter 5.3.1.) has revealed, for Safa, the term Europe is in many ways a mobile concept. The chapters "Avrupa Nedir?" ("What is Europe?") and "Şark Nedir?" ("What is the East?") in his book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* reveal the uncertainty of these concepts. Referring to the Greek philosopher Herodotus (see Chapter 3.2.1.), Safa (1970 [1938], 121) argues that East and West not only stand for certain geographies but also for cardinal points, alluding to the ambiguity of the terms. Geographically speaking, he notes that "it is not wrong to relate the term West with the European map, and the term East with the Asian map" (ibid.).[261] He also links certain characteristics with the two civilisations. Just as he portrays his male literary heroes in a passive way, his overall image of the East is one of stagnation and backwardness. "Deep, mysterious and pensive Asia"[262] does "not know where it comes from and where it heads to";[263] it has passively fallen out of time, with no vision for the future, ignoring material aspects and captured in the spiritual world (ibid., 122). This Asia, he argues, "regards Europe's ambitions for domination as a childish appetite"[264] instead of taking the threat seriously, thus contributing to its own demise (ibid.). Safa describes the East as in many ways 'behind' the West: "When the East is forced to talk about freedom, laws, science or ethics, he imitates the West" (ibid., 123).[265] Despite Safa's strong criticism of European expansionism and economic exploitations (see above), he also holds the mindset of the East accountable for the lack of progress in almost all spheres of society. Just as *Fatih Harbiye* holds Şinasi's inactivity and melancholy partially responsible for Neriman's turning to the more active Western man, Safa also calls on the East to 'wake up' from its lethargy, hence reproducing Orientalist stereotypes that form the ideational backdrop of the Occidentalist condition (see Chapter 2).

In some of his newspaper articles, it seems as if Safa tries to ignite civilisationist and nationalist sentiments among his readership in order to foster a confident sense of belonging to the Eastern hemisphere and, embedded in it, the Turkish nation. In his article on the "Beynelmilel Şark Musikisi Kongresi" ("International Cairo Congress of Arab Music"), which takes place

[261] "garb denince, Avrupanın, şark denince Asyanın hatıra gelmesinde bir yanlışlık yoktur."

[262] "Derin, esrarlı ve düşünceli Asya."

[263] "Şark nereden gelip nereye gittiğinin farkında değildir."

[264] "Avrupanın hâkimiyet hırsını çocukça bir iştah telâkki eder."

[265] "Şark hürriyetten, hukuktan, ilimden, ahlâktan bahsetmeğe mecbur olduğu zaman garbı taklid eder."

between 14 March and 3 April 1932 in Egypt, Safa (1932a) evokes music as a milestone of Eastern civilisation. Safa is concerned about the fact that while European and American newspapers report about the event with a lot of excitement and interest, Turkish media do not cover the congress at all, although Turkey has sent two well-known delegates (Rauf Yekta and Mesut Cemil). Like in *Fatih Harbiye*, Peyami Safa connects music and musical tradition to the belonging to the East: "The readers of *Cumhuriyet* know quite well that I have been all along an unlimited and unconditional defender and admirer of Eastern and Turkish music" (Safa 1932a, 3).[266] He categorises Turkish music under Eastern music, which is hence differentiated from Western music. Safa speaks up against the devaluation of traditional music in Kemalist Turkey by citing European newspapers: "Regarding the congress, there are many articles from European newspapers in front of me. In all of them, it is confessed that Eastern music is superior to Western music" (ibid.).[267] In order to prove his point, he extensively quotes from some of the articles, for instance, from the French weekly newspaper *Candide*: according to Safa's translation of the article, the "Western masters" (*Garp üstatları*) could definitely learn something from the Eastern experts although "our [the Westerners'] barbaric ears cannot immediately comprehend this excitement" (ibid.).[268] The devaluation of the Western Other goes hand in hand with an exaltation of the Turkish and Eastern Self. The quality of Turkish music is validated through the Western evaluation, the self-image increases in value only through the Western view. Peyami Safa's rhetoric indicates that he can only convince his presumably Europeanised readership of the worth of Ottoman/Turkish music by listing 'evidence' from Europe. As in the case of the below discussed beauty contests, his argumentation reveals the centrality of the (real or imagined) European critique in self-evaluation.

What is perceived as special about Turkish music is its sentiment and not, for instance, its form: "We have high music that lasts until infinity because of its emotion and excitement" (ibid.).[269] Resonating with *Fatih Harbiye*, Safa's article about the Congress explicitly links matters of civilisation to the question of form and content in music. The specific character of Eastern music, namely its emotionality, is clearly favoured over Western form or allegedly always imperfect approximations to it. Safa employs the Orientalist stereotype of Eastern passion and reassesses it as something positive or even superior to Western "formalism." However, as he

[266] "Cumhuriyet'i okuyanlar pek iyi bilirler ki, ötedenberi şark ve Türk musikisinin kayıtsız şartsız bir meftunu, ve müdafiiyim."

[267] "Bu kongre münasebetile Avrupa gazetelerinde yazılmış bir çok makeleler önümde duruyor. Hepsi, şark musîkisinin garp musikisine faik olduğunu itiraf ve isbat için yazılmıştır."

[268] "Bizim barbar kulaklarımız bu heyecanı doğrudan doğruya kavrıyamaz."

[269] "Bizim his ve heyecan itibarile namütenahiye kadar giden yüksek bir musikimiz vardır."

ironically remarks, "it would be unnecessary to explain this truth to Turkish *züppes* who grew up under the influence of *tatlı su frengi* music teachers, governesses and mademoiselles of Beyoğlu caddesi."[270] As Murat Belge (2002) exemplifies, "Freshwater Franks" was a humorous description for "people living in various (especially port) cities of the Mediterranean, who are a hybrid of Western European and local peoples" in the 19th century.[271] Metropoles like Istanbul, Izmir, Beirut or Alexandria are examples of cities where "Freshwater Franks" could be found. With the expression is the assumption that individuals or families affiliated with this group were neither completely local nor completely European. In an age of nationalisation, where fixed identities and ethnic belonging gained increasing importance (see Chovanec and Heilo 2021b), such forms of cross-cultural affiliation became the target of both admiration and neglect: "Both non-Muslim minorities and Muslim-Turks, who preferred to become like Westerners, studied them almost like a 'manners' book and learned their behaviour from clothing to furniture or to using cutlery" (Belge 2002).[272] While the Freshwater Franks represent a certain elite characterised by language knowledge, the latest fashion, European furniture and eating habits, they were also perceived as a (false) abbreviation of 'real' Europeans, the "Saltwater Franks." Belge traces the sentiment of "admiration for Europe" (*Avrupa hayranlığı*), which he still observes in today's Turkey, back to this dichotomy. Inscribed in the opposition between freshwater and saltwater Franks is the ambivalent admiration for the latter, who are perceived as 'true' Europeans. The goal to behave, talk, eat and dress up like Europeans can, however, only be part of an endless process of approximation—a rapprochement that often unwillingly conveys humorous aspects. Unsuccessful attempts at Westernisation were criticised and satirised through the below discussed z*üppe* (see Chapter 5.4.4.), a (literary) figure of an overly Westernised dandy who appeared first in early Ottoman novels of the 1870s (see also Chapter 4).

Peyami Safa (1932a, 3) implies that those z*üppe*s who grew up in a *tatlı su frengi* context in Turkey can understand the intrinsic value of Eastern traditions only, if at all, via the European view. By conveying positive images of Turkey through French eyes, he tries to establish the basis for a confident auto-image: "Because we can only like ourselves when we see us in mirrors made in Europe."[273] He takes the "International Cairo Congress of Arab Music" as an occasion

[270] "Beyoğlu caddesinin tatlı su frengi musiki hocalarının, mürebbiyelerinin ve matmazellerinin tesiri altında büyüyen Türk züppelerine bu hakikati anlatmak lüzumsuz bir şey olurdu."

[271] "Akdeniz'in çeşitli (özellikle liman) kentlerinde yaşayan, Batı Avrupalıyla yerli halkların melezi olan insanları anlatıyor."

[272] "Gerek gayri müslim azınlıklar, gerekse Batılı gibi olmayı tercih etmiş Müslüman-Türkler, onları neredeyse bir 'adab-ı muaşeret kitabı' gibi inceleyip giyim kuşamdan mobilyaya veya çatal bıçak kullanmaya, davranış biçimlerini öğreniyorlardı."

[273] "çünkü biz kendimizi ancak Avrupa'da yapılan aynalarda görürsek beğenebiliriz."

to promote the emancipation from the European civilisational ideal and to build national identity on what he perceives as Turkey's authentic Eastern heritage and past (see below). Although Safa operates within the modern system of thought, embracing the idea of (civilisational) progress, he at the same time aims at liberating Turkey from Western demands and finding a new 'civilisational' balance between East and West, between old and new.

5.3.3. Temporality: A Timely Formula for the Original Artist

"Classical + 1 = new"

In Safa's literary texts, questions about artistic originality as well as collective (national) authenticity are closely intertwined with the notion of temporality. Artistic originality, for Safa, closely relates to a genius' belonging to a certain social community at a specific point in *time*. His essays prove that Safa was well-aware of and built on European debates surrounding the conceptualisation of artistic brilliance, which he understands, as we will see below, as a necessarily temporal and context-specific phenomenon.

Authenticity and originality are concepts intrinsically connected to the romantic understanding of aesthetics and artistic creation. The (usually male) genius (*das Genie*)[274] as a key concept in early romantic (*Frühromantik*) German literary theory and philosophy was thought to embody these extraordinary features. In contrast and partially in resistance to the idea of the enlightened, educated and rational scholar, the romantic artist's or writer's (irrational) geniality is based on his creative intuition. Immanuel Kant (2009 [1790], 193f), for example, defines genius in his *Kritik der Urteilskraft* besides other characteristics as the talent of originality, i.e., exemplary work that is not based on imitation. The genius hence creates novel, unprecedented works, embodies autonomy and, as Niemann (2019, 22–34) points out, neglects the ordinariness of the bourgeoisie or the Philistines. Admired and envied but also viewed with suspicion, the genius artist occupies a somewhat liminal position within society. As a critical and distanced observer of societal developments, the autonomous genius also plays an important role in discourses of melancholy. The genius melancholiac and his artistic creation differ significantly from the Aristotelian ideal of *Mimesis* (see Hubig 1988, 189). While copying and imitating are central and positive features of the antique conception of an accurate depiction of reality, modernity and subjectivity emphasise originality and authenticity.

[274] For an overview of the intellectual history of the term, see Hubig 1988.

Similar to the amateurish dilettante, who becomes the antithesis to the genius around 1800 (Plumpe 2011, 156f), the 19th-century Ottoman *züppe* (See Chapter 4) can be regarded as the conceptual opposite of the genius. Instead of originality, imitation and the uncritical adoption of styles, manners, behaviours, cultures and languages are his central features. Usually operating within *tatlı su frengi* contexts discussed above, the *züppe* exemplifies most visibly that the exaggerated overemphasis on Western form, such as clothing, accompanies a neglect or maybe even loss of original content. 'Content' here means that the shallow dandy is neither 'authentic' in the Eastern nor in the Western context. He lacks intrinsic creativity and superficially copies the trends he observes in Europe. In contrast to the genius, he misses autonomy and is dependent on the confirmation of others to re-affirm his status as a modern (European) individual. Because of his ridiculousness, he experiences rejection and laughter. At the same time, the *züppe* is an uprooted temporal figure; *züppe*s have lost their attachment to their cultural roots in the Ottoman past and are also unable to comply with European standards in an authentic way. The result is a tragicomic figure (see Belge 2001) that exposes the threats of hasty Westernisation and European modernity.

Well-aware of these debates as many of his essays and literary examples reveal, Peyami Safa, takes up the question of aesthetic originality in his essays "Sanat Ne İçindir?" ("What Is Art For?"; Safa 1932e) and "Içtimaî Edebiyat" ("Social Literature"; Safa 1932b), both part of the *Cumhuriyet* "San'at ve Edebiyat" column, relating it to (social) space and time. According to Safa, the artist—just like humans as such—is a social animal and hence always embedded in a specific social context at a specific point in time.[275] Based on this conception, he regards the term and genre of "social literature" as an oxymoron: for Safa, literature is intrinsically social as it is created by humans who are by definition social beings (Safa 1932b, 3). Safa criticises the artificial dichotomy between individual and collective and emphasises the natural interconnectedness between the two, an interspace where artistic creation takes place: "Art is the individual added to the community" (Safa 1932e, 3).[276] Against this backdrop, he situates the artist's creative production in social space and underlines the interrelation between the individual artist and the collective: "Isn't what we call the originality of the artist nothing more than the revolt against the aesthetic traditions in the social environment to which he belongs, and his endeavour to establish a new system of values within the artistic order?" (ibid).[277] While

[275] "insan içtimaî bir hayvandır."

[276] "Sanat, cemiyete ilave edilmiş ferttir."

[277] "Sanatkarın orijinalitesi dediğimiz şey, mensup olduğu içtimaî muhitteki estetik ananelere isyanından ve sanat nizamında yeni bir kıymetler sistemi tesisine çalışmasından başka nedir?"

he perceives originality as individual, it can only come to light through the artist's embeddedness in a certain social context and its aesthetic traditions or practices. The continuation of this thought leads to the realisation that the context-specific engagement of Ottoman/Turkish authors with questions of imitation, authenticity and aesthetic value, for instance, is exactly what contributes to their originality. Unlike the early romantic idea of genius, however, originality in the way Safa defines it has an expiration date. Originality is only possible in a specific time and place. When 'original' aesthetic practices are being imitated, generalised and reproduced, they first become part of the establishment and eventually can be regarded as timeworn. This is when, according to Safa, a new 'original artist' is needed to refresh the traditional aesthetics and, again, create novelty. Yet, newness in the present, for Safa, necessarily builds on the past. He grasps this idea in the following concise formula: "new = classical + 1" (*yeni = klasik +1*, ibid.). Aesthetic 'progress,' hence, builds upon heritage; the engagement with the Ottoman past, its culture, literature and artistic practices is a precondition for novelty and originality in the present and future. Originality, for Safa, is intrinsically temporal; it is inscribed in the modern dictum of progress, which includes the partial obsolescence of the old as a prerequisite for recreation and renewal.

Temporality, for Safa, entails not only aesthetic but also collective aspects relating to the question of (authentic) national identity. Although it remains unclear since when and to what extent Safa engaged with Martin Heidegger's (1889–1976) philosophy (see Sezer 2010, ft. 40 and Direk 2019), his approach to time arguably resonates with early 20th-century discourses on temporality and authenticity closely connected to Heidegger's oeuvre.[278] Heidegger's seminal book *Sein und Zeit* (1927) as well as widespread nationalist attempts to root the national present in a nationalised—often previously imperial—past contributed to the importance of collectivised visions of 'authentic temporality.' As Tyson Lewis (2016, 236) puts forth, Heidegger "argues that there are two experiences of temporality: inauthentic and authentic." Authentic temporality, Raji Steineck (2019, 300) explains, relates to *Dasein* in the present that is called upon to recover "its authentic mode of being in its intrinsic relation to time." In this being in time, it is the "active and conscious embracing of one's past, which he [Heidegger] identified with the descent from the ethnic and cultural collective of a national community"

[278] As Zeynep Direk (2019, 33) has argued in a recent volume on *Heidegger in the Islamicate World*, most notably German philosophy "has played an important role in the modernization of Turkish society." Especially in the 1930s and in the context of the republican university reforms, philosophy was secularised and comprehensively influenced by the German tradition, which affected Turkish philosophers of the immediate post-imperial time. Informed by "Jewish and German professors [who] taught in Istanbul University before and after the Second World War" the "German philosophical tradition formed the first generation of Turkish philosophers."

(ibid.).[279] Inauthentic temporality, in turn, is based on the notion of future "expectation." As Lewis (2016, 236) summarises, "the future is an inauthentic future dictated by the things of the world rather than by Dasein's own unique past." Emily Hughes (2020, 224) puts forth how emotions—specifically anxiety and melancholy—relate to an unbalanced being in time: anxiety reveals a strong focus on the 'what-will-be' "by denying the present and past, and attuning Dasein toward the ecstasies of the future, which becomes intensified," while melancholy discloses a leaning towards the 'what-once-was' "by denying or withholding the future and the present, and attuning Dasein toward the ecstasies of the past (having-been), which becomes intensified."

For Safa, the desired goal is a synthesis between past and present so that a stable future can be built. Yet, the circumstances of Turkey's post-imperial present seem to be far away from this ideal. In Safa's travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi*, the modernity of 'new Turkey' in relation to the Ottoman 'old Turkey' is repeatedly mentioned, revealing ambivalence regarding the temporalised dichotomy of lost Self and novel Self. On the one hand, the reported Western gaze affirms the national Self in how the past has been discarded to build a modern nation-state based on the European model. On the other hand, "the authentic mode of being in its intrinsic relation to time" (Steineck 2019, 300) has been shattered, making an authentic temporal experience impossible, notably because of the exaggerated focus on an ever more modern and temporally detached future. In his travelogue, Safa's meta-image of Europe valorises Turkey through parameters resonating with the European dictum of progress and modernisation, underlining that the outmoded Ottoman Empire has been left behind in favour of the modernity of the Republic. Through the European meta-image, Safa reproduces the modernist narrative by confirming that Turkey would find its place among European countries on an equal footing through modernisation. Europe's (actual or imagined) views on Turkey, however, increase the focus on present and future, contributing to anxiety and a fragile auto-image. Here, ambivalence and melancholy come to light: in a context where 'old Turkey,' and with it, the authenticity of the past, seems to be irretrievably lost, an orientation towards new, Western ideals appears

[279] Heidegger has been severely criticised for the nationalist implications of his philosophy. Most recently Julian Göpffarth (2020, 255) has put forth how "*authentic individual Dasein* depends on its relation to the *collective Dasein* of a *Volk*." A thought which, according to Göpffarth (2020, 255), "forms the foundation for Heidegger's later fervent support of NS. As he argues in his 1933 Freiburg seminars, 'the destiny of a people has to be understood in distinctively historical terms'. He thus defines German nationhood and race not in biological terms but adheres to a spiritual or cultural racism that defines national *Dasein* through its particular history."

obvious and maybe even without an alternative. The Kemalist rejection of the presumably outdated and Eastern character of the Ottoman Empire enforces the quest for new belongings.

Safa's post-imperial melancholy relates not only to the loss of a past history, culture and way of life but also to the loss of territory, influence and power, together giving way to the sense of a lost home. Safa (1938, 45) describes a feeling of melancholy related to the "fairly small" (*ufarak*) and "saddening" (*hazin*) current state of Turkey, an emotion further reinforced by the impressive spaciousness and vastness of European cities and their buildings (ibid.). Safa's survey about Europeanness seems to be the search for a home in an uprooted present. In Safa's exploration of new frameworks of belonging between past and future as well as between East and West, Safa cautiously suggests the study of history as a way out of Turkey's inauthentic temporality. In his article "Tarihçiler, Neredesiniz?" ("Where Are You, Historians?"), Safa (1939, 3) laments the scarce engagement with history in early republican Turkey: "Even after the Ottoman Empire had become part of history, no light was shed on the obscureness of Ottoman history."[280] In order to re-establish the unity of time, a confrontation with the Ottoman worlds of the past and its knowledge should illuminate ways for the future.

5.3.4. Gender: Female Duty and Beauty

"The future woman will not remain as she is today"

As someone who participated in almost all public debates of his time, Safa also actively contributed to discussions about women's concerns, the *kadın meselesi*. As the literary analysis of *Fatih Harbiye* has revealed, Safa's novel presents a clear opinion about how a (young) woman should behave and what kind of interests or life goals she should pursue. For example, rather than strolling around with her friend Fahriye in Beyoğlu and taking part in Western-style activities, Neriman's father and fiancé urge her to prepare for a married life instead. As Hülya Bayrak Akyıldiz (2021, 40) has noted with regard to the novel *Sözde Kızlar* briefly discussed above, Safa conveys a "threatening message to women" by contrasting sinister, manipulative, coquette girls with pure, honourable, Turkish and Muslim ones.

Not only his novels but also his journalistic texts clearly convey his rather conservative approach to the topic. In his article "Kadına Vadedilen İstikballer Hakkında" ("About the Future Promised to Women"), part of his 1937 *Cumhuriyet* column "Meseleler" ("Issues"), for example, Safa ponders how the First World War changed public life. The Great War, Safa

[280] "Osmanlı tarihinin karanlıkları, Osmanlı imparatorluğu tarihe karıştıktan sonra bile, desilemedi."

(1937c, 3) argues, "diminished millions of men," leaving women behind who were "forced to take their place in the professional life."[281] This development should not be regarded as an "indispensable part of evolution," since women "only began to work like men to fill an unnatural gap."[282] For Safa (ibid.), this situation can be regarded as a "crisis" (*buhran*)[283] emerging from the imbalanced relationship between work and home, a crisis democracy has not yet managed to solve. In another article on the same topic called "Bugünün ve Yarının Kadını" ("The Woman of Today and Tomorrow"), Safa (1937b, 3) argues in a similar vein that "everyone agrees on the fact that today's woman has lived through an evolutionary crisis and that this crisis has become essential."[284] Offering the prospect of improvement for the "future woman" (*istikbalin kadın*), Safa (ibid.) emphasises that the woman of tomorrow "will not remain as she is today."[285] Similarly, Safa (1937c, 3) makes it clear that women's advances into areas that were not within reach previously should only by regarded as an interim phenomenon until a new generation of men emerges. For the future woman, he claims (ibid.), "this temporary division of labour […] cannot become a normal example."[286] With the desolate post-imperial condition in mind, he instead suggests that women should focus on what he believes to be their core duty: "becoming a mother" (*ana olmak*). While Safa (ibid.) seems to support women's participation in the public sphere to a certain degree, their engagement should not distract them from their actual and most important role in society: "Before anything else, her whole destiny depends on the task to determine and organise activities in a way that does not hinder her in becoming a perfect mother and tutor."[287] In line with what Akyıldız (2021) refers to as a dichotomous constellation of female characters in his novels, Safa's (1937c) article introduces two stereotypical female 'types,' one 'good' and one 'bad.' In Safa's characterisation, the main difference between the "productive woman" (*müstahsil kadın*) and the "parasitic woman" (*tufeylî kadın*) is the question of motherhood.[288] The "productive woman" contributes to societal progress by concentrating on her duties centring around reproduction, birth, breastfeeding and

[281] "Büyük Harb milyonlarca erkeği eksiltti; iş hayatında onun yerini doldurmağa mecbur kalan kadın."

[282] "[...] tekâmülünün zarurî bir merhalesi olarak değil, sadece gayritabiî bir boşluğu kapatmak icin erkek gibi çalışmağa başladı."

[283] As will be discussed in Chapter 7, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's essay "Kelimeler Arasında Elli Yıl" ("Fifty Years Between Words," 2020 [1950], 91) concludes that the term "crisis" (*buhran*) is the most important word of the first half of the 20th century.

[284] "[...] herkes, bugünkü kadının bir tekamül buhranı geçirdiğini ve bu buhranın zarurî olduğunu kabul eder."

[285] "Bugünkü kadın [*sic*, it should be 'yarınki kadın'], elbette bugünkü gibi kalmıyacak."

[286] "Bu muvakkat iş bölümü, [istikbalin kadını için] normal bir örnek olamaz."

[287] "Onun bütün nasibi, herşeyden önce mükemmel bir ana ve mürebbi olmasını aksatmıyacak faaliyetlerin tayini ve tanzimi işine bağlı kalıyor."

[288] "Müstahsil ve tufeylî kadın birbirinden ayıracak ilk işaret, onun tarlada veya ezgâhta calışıp calışmaması değil, ana olup olmamasındır."

child education—in short, her role as a care giver: "If we consider population density as the primary aspect in the progress of humanity, we will say without hesitation that the cradle of civilisation is the bed of the woman in the postpartum period. The centre of all female activities is there" (ibid.).[289] In contrast to the "productive woman," the "parasitic woman" runs away from her actual duty of giving birth to children by spending too much time on beauty and coquetry. Over time, this "creature" (*mahlûk*) becomes barren—and thus, Safa implies, useless.

Although Safa is definitely more invested in pondering about women's reproductive obligations and the crisis of the female sex, he marginally thinks about male duties as well. In his brief article "Erkeklerin Bir Vazifesi" ("A Man's Duty"), Safa (1937a, 3) picks up the contemporaneous debate about whether men should give their tramway seats to women. According to his review of the different standpoints in the discussion, some argue that the city administration (*belediye*) should issue an explicit regulation giving preference to women, while others are convinced that neither sex deserves priority in this matter because of the principle of equality. For Safa, the juridical aspect of the debate is clear—"everyone is equal before the law."[290] Yet, he points out, there is a "debt of courtesy" (*nezaket borcu*) men have towards women. Based on his own observations on tramway rides (maybe from Fatih to Harbiye?), Safa (ibid.) laments that the number of men who stand up to give women their place is decreasing. Until a few years ago, he points out that the "Turkish man" (*Türk erkeği*) used to give his place to women in transport vehicles not by force but by their own volition. Witnessing a moral decline among the male population, Safa is convinced that the argument of equality in this context "is nothing more than a defence of rudeness."[291] The male duty of courtesy is linked to what I have discussed above as Safa's approach to societal female obligations. Not only are "women always physically weaker than men and in need of male guardianship,"[292] they might also be pregnant: "Without bad conscience, how can we consent to a woman carrying the Turk of tomorrow in her belly to stand in the tram?"[293] For Safa (ibid.), the message to his fellow men is clear: "all men, who are neither old nor sick, must immediately leave their seats to women!"[294] Giving up one's tramway seat, compared with the female duties he has in mind, indeed seems like peanuts.

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[289] "Hele insanın ilerleyişinde nüfus kesafetinin birinci derecede rolünü düşündüğümüz zaman, tereddüd etmeden, medeniyetin beşiği löğusa döşeğidir, diyeceğiz. Kadının bütün faaliyetlerinin merkezi orasıdır."

[290] "kanun önünde herkes müsavi oldu."

[291] "terbiyesizliğin müdafaasından başka bir şey değil."

[292] "vücudce kadın her zaman daha zayıf ve erkeğin himayesine muhtacdır."

[293] "Karnında yarının Türkünü taşıyan bir kadının tramvayda ayakta kalmasına gönlümüz nasıl razi olur?"

[294] "ihtiyar ve hasta olmıyan bütün erkeklerin, bütün kadınlara, derhal yerlerini vermeleri lâzım gelir."

Not only female duties but also female beauties kept Safa busy. While this might seem surprising at first sight, Safa was an enthusiastic and sympathetic observer and commentor of beauty contests, although he questioned the general importance of the topic. As Kaitlin Staudt (2019, 287) has argued, these increasingly popular competitions contributed to and reflected globalising debates in the early 20th century on beauty, femininity and womanhood:

> Arising in the late nineteenth century, the global expansion of international beauty pageants in the 1920s and 30s incited broad discussions of feminine visibility. The beauty queen circulated contemporaneously with other images of modern femininity, such as the film star, the flapper, the cinema goer, and the shopper that emphasized new constructions of female subjectivity, appearance, and political identity.

In Turkey, the first national beauty contests (*güzellik musabakası*) took place in the 1920s. On the occasion of Mübeccel Namık Behnesavi's victory in the 1930 Miss Turkey pageant and with reference to the broad press coverage surrounding it, including intrigues and gossip, Peyami Safa (1930, 2) asked in an article[295] "Kraliçe Türk Güzelliğini Temsil Eder Mi? Evet" ("Does the Queen Represent Turkish Beauty? Yes"), "What is this turmoil? As if the most important issue of Turkey is the beauty contest."[296]

Initiated by *Cumhuriyet*, Turkey began to send female contestants to international beauty contests by the late 1920s. Keriman Halis'[297] victory at the Miss Universe beauty contest in Belgium in 1932 triggered broad—predominantly positive—press coverage both within Turkey and abroad (see Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 13).[298] Safa was insofar involved in the spectacle as he organised a "beauty conference" (*güzellik konferansı*) nearby Taksim Square in honour of Halis upon her return to Istanbul. Amid a number of spectators, Keriman Halis herself was both present and presented at the event. Most daily newspapers reported on Safa's "conference," *Cumhuriyet* ([n.n.] 1932c, 6) even embedding his complete opening speech in an article called "Dünya Güzeli Dün Gece Halka Takdim Edildi" ("Miss World Was Presented to the Public Last Night"). Safa begins his speech by noting that the issue of beauty has "from Plato to our time tired all the contemplative heads and was not easily explained even in thousands of

[295] I would like to thank Kaitlin Staudt for sending me her scan of the article.

[296] "Bu kıyamet ne? Sanki Türkiye'nin en mühim meselesi güzellik musabakasıdır!"

[297] Halis was the 19-year-old granddaughter of the last Ottoman Sultan's Sheikh-ul Islam.

[298] As we have discussed in more detail, the Turkish press overall emphasised that Halis' victory symbolised Turkey's civilisational shift towards the West and as a crucial success of the republican reforms equating Turkish women with European women in terms of rights and liberty. German, English and French press coverage, on the other hand, was a bit more ambivalent, some sources sharing the Turkish public view, others portraying Halis' victory as a sign of liberation from the Oriental yoke (Aydın-Düzgit et al. 2017, 13).

volumes of books."[299] He goes on and describes his own approach towards the topic based on the relation between physical and inner beauty. For Safa, the first can always only be a reflection of the latter. A beautiful face with its lines, colours, poetry and music, he argues, "reflects the peace, harmony and balance of the soul."[300] The opposite, however, is not true according to Safa. If someone is commonly regarded as ugly, this form does not provide information of the content of his soul. Even those who we think of as particularly ugly, he argues, may have their beautiful and harmonious features. In the case of Keriman Halis, form and content overlap authentically. Her face, Safa puts forth in a nationalist rhetoric, conveys the order of the Turkish nation, the natural beauty of Turkey's towns and gardens as well as the richness of Turkish arts. By celebrating Halis not only for her "own beauty" (*kendi güzelliği*) but also as a symbol of "Turkish beauty" (*Türk güzelliği*), Safa ends his speech at the conference, and Halis enters the stage. Safa leads Halis to every corner of the stage,[301] presenting her to the euphoric and applauding audience from every angle. After this interlude, Halis sits down at a table, and the rest of the "conference," including a variety show, continues.[302]

In his writing on the above-mentioned 1930 Miss Turkey Mübeccel Namık Behnesavi, Safa (1930, 2) approaches beauty in a similar vein. Apparently, her victory had provoked dissatisfaction among other contestants who felt that Behnesavi did not conform to modern Western-oriented beauty standards. Safa summarises their objections as follows: "Mübecccel Namik Hanım was not worthy of being a queen; because her body was very fleshy […], she was almost fat, she was beautiful according to the standards of the old East, she didn't fit today's body images, etc." (ibid.).[303] The quote reveals how much female beauty mirrored the endeavour of the early republican Turkey's Self to conform with what was perceived as modern, Western standards in demarcation from the 'Old Eastern Self' that should be left behind. Safa (ibid.) criticises these allegations in defence of Behnesavi, saying that "[b]efore anything else, the beauty queen is a pure girl, and in every age a beautiful face is only the mirror of a pure soul."[304] Despite this primary focus on 'inner beauty,' Safa also evaluates her physical appearance. Trying to dispel all doubts about her beauty, Safa notes that Behnesavi has lost

[299] "Eflatun'dan zamanımıza kadar bu mevzu dünyanın bütün mütefekkir başlarını yormuştur ve binlerle cilt kitapta bile kolayca izah edilememiştir."

[300] "Güzel bir yüz, ruhun asayişini, ahengini, muvazenesini aksettirir."

[301] "sahnenin her iki cephesine de götürerek."

[302] "Kraliçe masasına geçtikten sonra varyete numaraları başladı."

[303] "İtirazlar şunlar: Mübecccel Namik hanım kraliçe olmaya lâyık değilmiş; cünkü vücudu pek etli imiş, […], adeta şişmanmış, eski şark anlayışına göre güzelmiş te, bugünkü bediî telâkilere, filânlara uymuyormuş."

[304] "Güzellik kraliçesi herşeyden evvel saf bir kızdır ve her asırda güzel bir yüz, ancak saf bir ruhun aynasıdır."

some kilos since the competition, hence implicitly confirming that she was a bit too chubby. Most importantly, Safa argues with regard to bodily features such as height and proportions that "our queen is not only a Turkish beauty, she displays features that are also alluring to Europe and the Americans."[305]

As Staudt (2018, 293) has put forth, the question of "Turkish beauty" triggered by the press surrounding beauty competitions reveals the complicated relationship between Turkish nationalism, gender and the Western gaze. While female beauty is 'nationalised' and 'Turkified,' it is at the same time observed through the evaluative and authoritative Western gaze (a meta-image), certifying—in the form of international contests—that female Turkish beauty conforms to Western-dominated international beauty standards: "Turkish beauty is thus both a fundamentally national and international spectacle, and the conditions of its visibility are predicated on being the object of a gaze whose standards are set externally while embodying a subject who is distinctly Turkish" (ibid.). While female visibility has increased in the context of these events and public debates surrounding it, women themselves are hardly granted agency beyond the display of their physical attributes. As the case of Keriman Halis illustrates, the female subject herself is often hardly more than a nationally and internationally observed object, utilised for domestic and foreign policy purposes; Halis is not even given the opportunity to speak at a conference dedicated to her beauty, which is predominantly judged and evaluated by men along the criteria they define. Or, as Mübeccel Namık Behnesavi's example shows, the male gaze evaluates female beauty through a nationalist lens and with reference to the imagined and no less masculine Western gaze.

5.4. In a Nutshell: Safa's Take on Self and Other

In early republican Turkey, Peyami Safa's voice was influential: as one of the period's major journalists and authors, he was well known to the informed public, and his articles as well as novels featured prominently in various newspapers. Safa approached Turkey's post-imperial condition through literary texts and essays, covering a broad variety of topics ranging from art and literature-related themes to beauty contests and political travelogues. In his engagement with Occidentalism, i.e., the global dominance of Western modernity, Safa explored and often insistently recommended how Turkey's road to modernity could or should unfold. As a republican conservative, Safa aimed at combining aspects of a modern European outlook with

[305] "Kraliçemiz yalnız Türk güzeli değil, Avrupa ve Amerikalıları da cezbedecek vasıfları haizdir."

selected characteristics ascribed to the local—that is, national Turkish—context. For Safa, the new national Self was still in abeyance; critical of how radically the Turkish nation had been designed in demarcation from the Ottoman past, Safa suggested a modern but traditionalist vision for the future. Read in the context of and together with his essays, Safa's novel *Fatih Harbiye*—and notably his protagonist Neriman's experience of being torn between East and West—can be regarded as paradigmatic of his thinking.

As I have argued in Chapters 2 and 3, Occidentalism produces images of the West as mobile and the East as immobile. The analysis of mobility-related aspects has revealed that Safa overall embraces the modern idea of progress. Both *Fatih Harbiye* and his essays, however, convey notions of 'right' and 'wrong' advancement. In *Fatih Harbiye*, the tram symbolically stands for new transportation means that enable the movement of people, goods and ideas (between East and West): the motion of the tram capturing the potential of a changing existence (see Chapter 2). For Neriman, this promising chance is regarded positively: the limiting and stagnant 'Eastern Self' could be left behind for a liberating and mobile 'Western Self' located in Istanbul's district of Beyoğlu. The possibility to move beyond the spheres of the known and 'old' relates to freedom, newness and emancipation and is connected with the wish to become part of the West as the Occidentalist embodiment of dynamism and productivity. The familiar worlds of the Fatih district, in contrast, stand for stagnation, death and lack of productivity. Through Neriman, Safa reproduces auto- and hetero-images along the lines of the mobile West and stagnant East dichotomy, though he approaches them critically. Without a stable moral compass, Safa suggests, questionable lifestyles, ideologies and products may enter and hence endanger local contexts like the *mahalle* in Fatih, which is described as culturally authentic. It is most notably Western materialism and the shallow adoption of the European way of life in Beyoğlu—including parties, balls and cafes where men and women mingle—that is portrayed in a critical light. In a societal context in which women increasingly profit from the possibilities of new mobility, Safa takes a rather patriarchal stance by warning his readers of girls 'going astray from the right path.' Safa's male protagonists like Şinasi in *Fatih Harbiye* or the first-person narrator in *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu*, in turn, seem to be almost paralysed by the heightened mobility and speed of modernity and, concomitantly, the mobility of women increasingly inhabiting public spaces. Women's new forms of movement—walking confidently in the streets, strolling along the promenades, taking the tram—and, based on that, new possibilities of experiences and social interactions appear to go hand in hand with men's loss of influence and power. Although the men's melancholic inactivity is to a certain extent approached in a critical light as well, overall, the Occidentalist dichotomy is revalued. Through

Şinasi, the Easterner's alleged stagnancy is reframed as rooted continuity imbued with passed on meanings, whereas the Westerner's mobility is associated with uprooted discontinuity and shallowness. In the end of the novel, male dominance and mobility are re-established at the expense of female self-determination.

Pointing to the dangers of a modernity predominantly based on technological advancement, Safa argues in his articles that accomplishments such as public transportation or motorised mobility should never be a purpose in and of themselves. Indicating the emptiness and meaninglessness stemming from such a narrow obsession with technical development, Safa suggests using the time saved through modern inventions for scholarly, artistic or literary endeavours representing meaningful progress. A prime example is arguably his journey to Europe in 1936, devoted to the intellectual enterprise of exploring the imaginative rather than geographical boundaries of Europe. Being on the move, Safa suggests, is a way to acquire knowledge—most notably about oneself and collective links between Self and Other. By recounting hetero-images of Turkey as modern and European that fellow travellers or locals share with him, and by describing the, in many ways, 'not-so-different' Greek and Italian cities, Safa's report reveals the flexible, unfixed and the indeed contingent character of the very concept of Europe. When it comes to Switzerland and France, Safa actively tries to dismantle the positive images many people in Turkey hold. In particular, his account tries to reverse the Occidentalist stereotype of a 'civilised France' as the epitome of European modernity. Safa contrasts the irrational, emotional, erratic, impolite or overly sexualised behaviour he encounters in France with the rational, polite and intellectual Turk he himself is taken to stand for. Through his journey, Safa shows how increased mobility enables experiences of difference that can act as means of discovering where and what the Self is, eventually contributing to an appreciation of one's home.

Despite his nuanced stance towards the dichotomy of East/Asia and West/Europe as rather variable geographical and imaginative concepts, Safa's oeuvre also contributes to reproducing the civilisational opposition standing at the centre of the Occidentalist condition. In Safa's book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar*, the Occidentalist assumption of a backward, mysterious, spiritual, pensive, timeless and haphazard East standing in contrast to a dynamic, progressive, rational, future-oriented West as the epitome of Civilisation as such is reproduced. Not taking Europe's ambitions for domination seriously, Safa puts forth how Asia's alleged lethargy and indifference contribute to its own demise, further aggravating the perceived civilisational difference in terms of levels of progress. Due to its lack of originality and activity in many fields

of society such as science, Safa further ascribes a certain imitativeness to the East and implies the necessity for civilisational 'awakening.' Although reproducing the dichotomy of a backward East and an advanced West, Safa also holds the "machine civilisation's" global imperialism and economic and resource exploitations responsible for Asia's decline. Although the positive Occidentalist image of a 'dynamic' West is adopted, it is partially reinterpreted as negative interfering expansionism, making the need for Eastern self-determination even more urgent.

Although located "where Europe is born," Safa largely assigns the national Turkish Self to what he evokes as the civilisational space of the East in his essays. Being somewhat—if peripherally—European and being 'Eastern' do not seem to be mutually exclusive categories in his writings. Safa's vision of the national Turkish Self is based on the combination of selected modern and European aspects as well as traditional Eastern features, i.e., a partial fusion of different civilisations. For Safa, modern life, including technological advancement, should facilitate the creation of a stable, authentic and rooted national identity in 'civilisational' continuity with the 'Eastern' Ottoman heritage, whose linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity, however, is completely ignored. In his travel report *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* and through the protagonist Neriman in *Fatih Harbiye*, Safa shows that the wish for a 'civilised life'—often projected on 'Europe' or a specific country like France—is most often buying into an alluring modern myth. As Safa tries to argue with reference to Western clothing, furniture, activities or instruments, adhering only to forms of modern life usually goes hand in hand with the neglect of authentic content represented in, for example, Eastern tradition, music and literature that new Turkey should not leave behind. By means of Istanbul's districts of Fatih and Beyoğlu, Safa contrasts a 'culturally original' but economically left behind context with an 'imitative' but prospering one. As he tries to show by means of Neriman, women are even more prone to fall for the superficial, i.e., materialist forms of Western civilisation represented by Beyoğlu. Although Safa implicitly also criticises 'Europe'—for instance, for its materialism or a decadent lifestyle—his main target is the 'Westernised Turk.' Critical of those who have grown up in strongly Westernised contexts (*tatlı su frengi*) in Turkey, Safa believes that *züppes* could only be convinced of the value of 'their own culture' when confronted with what he introduces as the European meta-image. As the example of the International Cairo Congress of Arab Music reveals, the Western gaze is utilised rhetorically to portray the 'Eastern context' as civilised and in some respects even superior to the Western hemisphere. Overall, Safa promotes celebrating Eastern civilisation's "authentic" (*hakiki*) values as part of Turkey's national identity and

condemns the adoption of imported and "fake" (*sahte*) values that destroy communitarian solidarity and the established (patriarchal) order.

Both *Fatih Harbiye* and the non-literary texts reveal that in Safa's philosophy, both an exaggerated focus on the past and an over-emphasis on the future lead to unhappiness in the present. For all main protagonists in *Fatih Harbiye*, the East relates to the past and its heritage, but the images and meanings ascribed to cultural or social legacies are different. Şinasi and Faiz Bey promote a synthesis between past and present through values and through the continuation of shared and collectively lived practices such as music and literature. In the post-imperial novel, male characters hold on to the diminishing and lost aspects of the past amid the societal and architectural ruins of the Ottoman Empire, caught up in melancholy and retrospection. Neriman, on the other hand, embraces the modern ideas of break and rupture, favouring a clear demarcation from the past and envisioning a pronounced orientation towards the Western future. Through Neriman, the Occidentalist dichotomy of 'Eastern past' and 'Western future' is reproduced and expressed in the image of a 'time lag,' associating belatedness with the East and novelty with the West. With Şinasi, in turn, the meanings commonly associated with the binary are revalued, evoking the 'Eastern past' as a culturally rich and inspiring framework of references while simultaneously pointing at the dangers and shortcomings of a 'Western future.' Given the temporal imbalance, what is at risk is most notably the alliance between men and women: Safa demonstrates how women who try to leave behind the Eastern past for a Western future bring anxiety to their fathers and potential husbands. The 'Eastern man' cannot keep up with the new developments pointing to a daunting future where their outlook on life seems to be increasingly irrelevant and outmoded. Although Safa valorises and promotes engagement with cultural heritage, he does not portray the melancholic male turn to the past in an overly positive light; traditional Turkish men's passivity, inactivity and lethargy is discussed as a factor pushing increasingly ambitious women to their morally inferior Westernised counterparts. What is at stake is individual and collective authenticity: throughout Safa's oeuvre, the negative image of an imitative, uprooted and superficial Turkish society dependent on Europe is looming on the horizon.

In his essays, too, temporality is discussed in references to aesthetic and social aspects relating to the question of (authentic) national identity. His philosophical take on temporality yet again shows how the modern idea of progress is embraced but should be, on the one hand, spatially localised and, on the other hand, temporally rooted in tradition. Disentangling the notion of originality as a key paradigm of Occidentalist cultural modernism from its European standard,

its realisation is ascribed to a specific locality embedded in a particular temporal configuration. As he summarises with the formula "new = classical + 1" (*yeni= klasik+1*), originality, and hence novelty, is achieved when artists expand on the heritage of their respective context and develop it further. The Ottoman past, neglected by historians as Safa laments, hence becomes the key reference point for aesthetic originality in the context of early republican Turkey. Although Safa repeatedly points to the necessity to let the national self-image be informed by the cultural legacies of the imperial past, he melancholically acknowledges that the Western gaze complicates this endeavour. Celebrating 'new Turkey' as well as its capital Ankara for their 'modern' character and supporting the break from the 'Oriental' Ottoman past, the outside observer pushes for an orientation towards a Western future through further attempts to modernise. Caught up in the intertwined post-imperial and post-colonial conditions, to be accepted as an independent, modern nation by the West appears to be almost without alternative, contributing to anxiety and a torn, fragile auto-image.

In the context of 'right'/authentic and 'wrong'/inauthentic behaviour, questions about the evolving features of manhood and womanhood take centre stage. Along with her attempts to break free from the limitations of her neighbourhood, *Fatih Harbiye*'s Neriman expresses her criticism about the encroaching behaviour of men, who use their elevated social positions to define the rules of social life and hence female opportunities in different spheres of life. The patriarchal alliance between father and fiancé symbolises the collective efforts of men to hold women in their place. Ranging from how Neriman walks to how she looks at others and dresses, men suspiciously try to control her behaviour, thwarting her attempts to become a 'new woman.' For Neriman, liberation from and resistance to the male-dominated local context is channelled through Westernism, i.e., attempts to proactively embrace everything associated with European modernity. From this perspective, *Fatih Harbiye* is a story not only about failed female emancipation but also about the (temporary) loss of male control and the re-establishment of patriarchy. Şinasi melancholically and lethargically ponders over how Neriman (and with her, their culture) has changed and thus epitomises (men's) individual and collective anxiety regarding the transformation of social order. Safa's novels reveal that what is at stake for young conservatives like Şinasi in early republican Turkey is the loss of not only an imperial culture framed as Eastern and predominantly Turkish but also a patriarchal order. And while Safa's female protagonists are either warned or punished for trying to emancipate themselves, men are encouraged to more actively engage with present challenges to stand up for themselves and their (more traditional) values. Safa's socially conservative outlook is also reflected in his essays, reminding his readers that the real duties of women are located in the

sphere of the home, with their social obligations mostly relating to reproductive activities. As Safa's engagement with and reflections on beauty contests reveal, female splendour rests mainly in the soul of women and, most importantly, reflects the more encompassing beauty of 'the Turkish nation.'

Overall, the four dimensions of the Occidentalist lens reveal central aspects of how East and West are construed within Safa's writing. A mixed and multi-faceted picture emerges: while a number of Occidentalist assumptions are reproduced and taken as key references, some are challenged, partially transcended or revalued. In different ways, both of *Fatih Harbiye*'s central characters, Neriman and Şinasi, employ Occidentalist images also as forms of resistance. Whereas Safa's narrative criticises how Neriman internalises the stereotypes of a stagnant, immobile East, the ideas of Western progress and the promise of a Western future allow Neriman to question the limitations she faces as a young woman in a restrictive environment. Şinasi, in turn, is often described as anxious and inflexible and thus not a hero in the classical sense of the term. Safa portrays him as almost paralysed by the modern experience, as someone who cannot—but also does not want to—adapt and instead practices resistance through melancholic retrospection. Through Şinasi, Safa tries to transcend the modern dictum of progress based on rupture: the identification with the (Ottoman) past is brought to the fore as an alternative—if far from straightforward—approach to identity in early republican Turkey.

6. Halide Edib: A Feminist Take on Post-Imperial Turkey

Halide Edib (Adıvar)[306] was a novelist, writer, translator, feminist movement activist, educational reformer, nurse, military corporal, lecturer, professor of English literature, university department chairwoman, parliamentarian, wife and mother of two. She was born in Ottoman Istanbul's Beşiktaş district in 1884 and died in the city's Beyazit quarter in 1964 (Çakıroğlu and Akpınar 2001). Edib was not only one of the most well-known public figures in late imperial and early republican times but also one of Turkey's most prominent intellectual voices abroad. Her professional career, personal biography and childhood memories are closely intertwined with the late Ottoman order. Politically, it is her experience of Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign—during which the more perceptively inclusive idea of Ottomanism was increasingly neglected in favour of the sultan's pan-Islamist ideology and, later, Young Turk nationalism—that provides the backdrop of the novel *Sinekli Bakkal* (1935/1936), which stands at the very centre of this chapter. Personally, it is Edib's upbringing between what she describes as Western education and Eastern tradition in her 1926 autobiography that has shaped her memory and literary image of late Ottoman society evoked in the novel. Given her extraordinary biography, the following paragraphs will provide an overview of her life.

As İnci Enginün (1986, 5) has noted, Edib's childhood and upbringing unfolded during the years of Ottoman decline.[307] Born into a wealthy family in Istanbul, Edib grew up in Beşiktaş in close proximity to Sultan Abdülhamid's residence, Yıldız Palace, where her father worked as the First Secretary to the Sultan's Privy Purse (see Edib 1926, 3). Since her mother died at a very young age, Edib grew up with different caregivers under the protection of her father's new wife (Durakbaşa 2006, 121). Her father's decision to take a second wife, however, eventually leads to the division of the family, which is divided into one part as the father's *alafranga* and the other as her grandmother's *alaturka* household in Istanbul (Enginün 1986, 5). Educated by renowned teachers and governesses from Istanbul and abroad as well as at the American College for Girls, Edib dives early on into the spheres of English, French and Ottoman literature (Çalışlar 2010, 21–35). She marries her mathematics teacher Salih Zeki Bey (1863–1921) right after graduating from college and has two sons with him (see ibid., 36–47).[308]

[306] Since Halide Edib did not use her new surname—Adıvar—until she returned to Turkey in 1939 and did not use her new surname on the books she wrote in English, she is listed in the bibliography under her middle name as 'Edib, Halide.'

[307] "Halide Edib'in çocukluğu ve yetişme yılları imparatorluğun yıkılış sancılarının yoğun olduğu yıllarda geçmiştir."

[308] Her last living descendant is her grandson Ahmet Ömer Sayar. For a recent interview with Sayar about his famous grandmother, see Ekotürk TV (2020).

Halide Edib's professional career took off in her mid-twenties. Critical of Abdülhamid's restrictive regime, she became supportive of the Young Turks' political endeavours. In the wake of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, she established herself as a writer through articles in the daily paper *Tanin* published by the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti), arguing for the necessity of educational and social reforms in the Ottoman Empire (Enginün 1986, 11f). Edib's ambitions as a writer went beyond journalistic work, and she soon became well-known as an author of fictional texts: her first novels *Heyulâ* ("Ghost," 1909) and *Raik'in Annesi* ("Raik's Mother," 1909) laid the foundation for more than 20 novels, short story collections and theatre plays she would write throughout her life. It was in 1910 that Edib divorced her first husband, who, according to her own accounts, had taken a second wife without Edib's consent (see Edib 1926, 307f). In the years preceding the First World War, Edib was affiliated with the nationalist movement of Turkism, joining the nationalist organisation *Türk Ocağı*, which propagated the ideology of Turanism, a political ideology based on the idea of a shared 'Turanian' heritage across different Turkic peoples (see Glassen 2002; 2016). In Edib's writings, political goals such as nationalism as well as women's self-determination and literary ambitions merged early on. In her famous 1912 novel *Yeni Turan* ("The New Turan"), for instance, Edib focuses on the strong female character Kaya, who joins the fictional political party 'Yeni Turan' to fight for her ideals. Edib herself was not only an active author and political thinker but subsequently also practically engaged in the fields of education (see Erdal 2008) and women's concerns (see Durakbaşa 2000). She worked for the "Women Teachers' Training College" and was later appointed as the empire's inspector general of the religious *Evkaf* schools. This job "gave her an opportunity to visit the outlying and poorest districts of Istanbul and their people, which incidentally became valuable for her novels" (İz 2012, n.p.).

In addition to Edib's nationalist orientation, it is her role during World War I that gave rise to criticism regarding the manner and content of her political involvement. In 1916, Cemal Pasha[309] engaged Edib to participate in educational reforms in schools in the Eastern parts of the empire and contribute to the 'reform' of orphanages in Ottoman Syria. As Taner Akçam (2012, xxx) argues, orphanages and their practice of forcefully assimilating Armenians were a central part of the evolving genocidal atmosphere in the late empire: "prior to the physical destruction of Armenian communities, the decision was made to gather Armenian children into

[309] Together with Enver Pasha and Talat Pasha, Cemal Pasha, previously governor of Baghdad, formed the triumvirate that ruled the Ottoman Empire during World War I. In 1915, Cemal Pasha was appointed as Governor of Syria, where large numbers of Armenians were 'resettled' in the context of the Armenian Genocide (see Çiçek 2014, Ch. 3). The question to what extent he was actively involved in the annihilation of the Armenian people is a matter of ongoing scholarly debate (see e.g., Kaiser 2010, Gust 2012, Kurt 2020).

city orphanages and force them to abandon their religion, language, and culture." Edib's involvement in the orphanage of Antoura, located in the northeast of Beirut, is contested. According to a recent study by Selim Deringil (2019, n.p.), the Antoura "orphanage [was] set up by Cemal Pasha with the purpose of Turkifying and Islamizing Armenian orphans whose parents and family had been murdered during the Armenian Genocide of 1915." In her recent paper on Armenian memoirs, Ayşenur Korkmaz (2020) discusses writers[310] who had spent years of their childhood and youth in such orphanages. In a similar vein, Deringil (2019) draws upon the accounts of Armenian boys[311] who were brought up in these institutions and who reported the "effacing of Armenian identity, language, religion and their replacement with an Islamic Turkish identity." Some of these accounts criticise Edib's involvement (ibid. 2019, n.p.). Edib, however, "according to her own and a few other accounts, […] did her best for the children, making sure that they were fed and cared for and did not pursue a rigorous policy of Islamization" (ibid.). In the chapter "Educational Work in Syria" in her autobiographical work *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, Edib (1926, 449) describes the degrading conditions at the orphanage and outlines how the overall situation improved during her time there, while references to policies such as forced name changes or physical punishment are left out: "I had never hoped to hear laughter in Aintoura; the most I looked for was less tears and less sickness" (ibid., 449). Edib's stance toward the orphanage in particular and the genocidal context in general remain vague: although her *Memoirs* reveal cautious criticism of Cemal Pasha's policies of Turkification and Islamisation (ibid., 429), they also frame the "Armenian deportations" as being part of the "mutual massacres of the peoples in Turkey" (ibid., 387). In her recent biography of Halide Edib, Hülya Adak (2016, 56) discusses Edib's narrow nationalist stance to the question of non-Muslim minorities after the foundation of the republic which also Deringil (2019) describes as "very close to the present-day denialist" positions.[312]

Edib stayed in the Antoura orphanage until 1918. Upon her return to the imperial capital towards the end of the war, Edib joined the emerging Turkish resistance movement against the backdrop of the Allied occupation of Istanbul that would soon be led by Mustafa Kemal (later: Atatürk) in Anatolia. In 1920, Halide Edib fled to Ankara with her second husband Dr Adnan

[310] Gurgen Mahari (1903–1969) and Vagharshak Norents Yeritsyan (1903–1973). Korkmaz (2020) discusses the notion of nostalgia in the works of those authors: "Armenian refugee writers also nourished sentiments of nostalgia for the past and fantasies of return to their hometowns."

[311] Melkon Bedrossian, Harutyun Alboyajian and Karnig Panian.

[312] Halide Edib (1926, 387f) herself admits that her take on the "Armenian question" changed over time: "I saw the Armenian question quite differently from the way I see it today." Whereas she had, in 1916, spoken passionately "against bloodshed," by the time of the publication of her *Memoires* in 1926, she had learned "about the Armenian crimes" and realised "that in similar cases others could be a hundred times worse than the Turks."

Adıvar, where she "soon became a member of their [Mustafa Kemal and his supporters'] 'inner circle'" (İz 2012, n.p.). Edib first contributed as a translator to the presswork of the movement, then helped reorganise the Red Crescent and relief work in Ankara. In 1921, she first worked as a nurse in a hospital in Eskişehir and then volunteered as a soldier on the front. Later that year, "she was promoted [as] a corporal (*onbashi*) and the name *Khalide Onbashi* became the symbol of women who took part in the nation struggle" (ibid.). She also found the time to write her famous novel *Ateşten Gömlek* ("The Shirt of Flame," 1922), which deals with a confident young woman named Ayşe, autobiographically inspired, who is active in the liberation of her country. Towards the end of the year 1922, Edib closely observed the war between the Greek army and the national movement as a sergeant-major and eventually witnessed the success of the Turkish resistance as well as the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the Armistice of Mudanya.

Halide Edib in 1935, *Cumhuriyet* ([n.n.] 1935, 1)

Following the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, "deep divisions within the ranks of the nationalists" led to a rift between Atatürk and many of his political companions, amongst who were also Halide Edib and her husband: "Because the Adıvars held firm to their liberal ideological stance, as opposed to the more radical position of the Turkish Republic's first president, Atatürk, they were unjustly accused of plotting against the increasingly authoritarian president" (Clancy-Smith 2008, 31). To escape looming imprisonment, the couple went into exile in Europe. After fourteen years in England, France, the United States and India, they eventually returned to Turkey after Atatürk's death on 10 November 1938. Back in Turkey in March 1939, Edib was appointed chair of the Department of English at Istanbul University and became a member of parliament for the Democrat Party (Demokrat Parti) between 1950 and 1954 (Durakbaşa 2006, 122).

All texts analysed in this chapter were written during this period abroad and in English (or in both English and Turkish). At the centre of the chapter stands Edib's novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, or *The Clown and His Daughter*. Over the course of her stay in Paris (1929–1939), where her husband worked as a lecturer at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Edib wrote this famous novel, which appeared almost simultaneously in English and Turkish in 1935 (see

Chapter 6.2.1.). Given Edib's extraordinary biography as one of the few women who inhabited the public space in so many different roles—e.g., as a writer, feminist, military corporal and professor—the first section of this chapter (6.1.) deviates from the structure of Chapters 5 and 7 by analysing the autobiographical account of Edib's thinking. *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926) was written during Edib's time in England (1924–1928) and covers the writer's life in the context of the transformation from empire to nation-state. Edib's post-imperial autobiography provides the backdrop for the analysis of *Sinekli Bakkal*, a historical novel set in late imperial times, and outlines biographically inspired themes and experiences that might have informed its content. To better understand how important *Sinekli Bakkal* was both for the formation of a new national canon in Turkey and to the visibility of Turkish literature abroad, the second section of this chapter (6.2.) gives a brief overview of *Sinekli Bakkal*'s reception in Turkey as well as in the United Kingdom and provides a short summary of the novel's content. The third section (6.3.) entails a comprehensive imagological close reading of *Sinekli Bakkal*, focusing on how images of Self and Other unfold in engagement with the Occidentalist condition. The fourth section of this chapter (6.4.) complements the literary analysis with a comparative examination of two books that provide insights into Edib's more academic approach towards East and West in post-imperial times and build on her lecture series in the United States and India, respectively: *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin* (1930) and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935). The fifth section (6.5) concludes.

6.1. Autobiographical Background

This section provides the autobiographical context for *Sinekli Bakkal* based on Halide Edib's 1926 memoirs. I analyse how Edib engages with key categories of Occidentalist modernity, namely spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender, by pointing out how her personal experiences of this transitory time might have been reflected in the novel. Studying her post-imperial autobiographical "emplotment of experience" provides insights into how the narrated Self is intertwined with the historical circumstances of the time, a process in which the "historical dimension of narration is co-articulated with the biographical level" (Venn 2000, 43).

Edib's *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926) are an excellent example of what Adak (2007, 29) refers to as the "transition from empire to nation autobiographies." Broadly speaking, Edib's memoir focuses on three central aspects: firstly, childhood memories contextualise Edib's upbringing against the backdrop of the multicultural and vivid Ottoman lifeworld of the late 19th century,

including detailed accounts of her family life. The second section provides insights into her private education and schooling at the American College for Girls as well as her intellectual development and interests. Thirdly, the memoir covers her political engagement and "national awakening" since the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and, most importantly, during World War I. Her political activism would become the central theme of the second volume of her autobiography, *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928),[313] which predominantly covers Edib's role in the national resistance movement between 1918 and 1923.[314] Overall, Edib's memoirs, similar to her novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, reveal the ambivalent relationship between the imperial past and the national present: while Edib melancholically evokes the peaceful cohabitation of different peoples in the Ottoman Empire as well as its vivid cultural scene, she also emphatically engages with the contours of a national Turkish future. The latter comes even more to the fore in her studies *Turkey Faces West* (1930) and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935b) discussed below in Chapter 6.4.

In her comprehensive study of women's (auto)biographers from Turkey, Adak (2007, 29) underlines the inherently political dimension of autobiographies that cover late imperial and early republican times: "underscoring childhood experiences is a politically loaded strategy because the autobiographers' states of childhood overlap with the last few decades of the Ottoman Empire." Edib's memoir reveals her severe criticism of Sultan Abdülhamid II as well as her memory of the general atmosphere of oppression his reign brought about. Adak (ibid., 30) refers to another important point by arguing that the self-description of Edib's child subjectivity causes readers to project features of the writer's child Self to her adult Self: "Edib's political tolerance to multi-ethnicity and multi-culturalism and her philosophy of non-violent nationalism are foreshadowed in her childhood." Her promotion of a non-violent approach to nation-building, however, remains in tension with her staunchly nationalist approach and her evolving opinion towards the atrocities committed against the Armenian population of the empire. Female autobiographies such as those by Edib are also political in how they implicitly or explicitly narrate the distinction between private and public spheres. As the transition from childhood to womanhood was only narratable to a limited extent in early republican times, female authors often felt the need to self-censor their writings (see Adak 2005). While the division of and inequality between genders and the restrictions women had to face are critically

[313] The second part of her autobiography, *The Turkish Ordeal*, focuses on the time between the end of WWI and the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. It gives a detailed account of the national liberation struggle in Anatolia.

[314] Adak (2003, 511) contextualises *The Turkish Ordeal* as "a text of self-defense written as a response to [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's speech] *Nutuk*, which dismissed Edib's role in the Independence struggle entirely."

approached in Edib's autobiography, more private matters such as sexuality or details about her second marriage are left out. What is most surprising, however, is that despite her (self-proclaimed) feminism, Edib fails to include other female literary voices in her memoir, a fact Adak (2007, 37) summarises as follows:

> [In *The Memoirs of Halide Edib*] it seems as if amidst the multitude of male Ottoman writers Halide Edib were the only woman writer. It seems as if for her neither the vibrant women's literature of that period, nor the previous generation of female writers (Fatma Aliye, Emine Semiye, and Şair Nigar) existed. In depicting female characters, Halide Edib fails to represent the multi-ethnicity of the Ottoman Empire which she so nostalgically praises in her work. The Armenian, Jewish, and Greek women writers and activists of the last few decades of the Ottoman Empire do not find mention in her memoir. […]. Further, with the exception of a few women characters, Halide Edib's *The Turkish Ordeal* gives the reader the impression that Halide Edib was the only female protagonist of the national struggle.[315]

These findings suggest that Edib, like many male writers before her, wrote her autobiography also with the objective of inscribing herself as a key figure both in the national history of Turkey and as *the* feminist voice from Turkey in the global history of female emancipation. Edib also seems to have pragmatically turned what at first sight might appear as disadvantageous life circumstances—notably her exile from Turkey—into something professionally useful: since it was difficult and partially impossible for her to publish texts in Turkey during her time outside the country, Edib positioned herself successfully as a (feminist) Turkish intellectual abroad. Her excellent command of English was on her side in this regard: *The Manchester Guardian* ([n.n.] 1930, 10), for example, summarising a broadcast discussion with Edib, recognises that "Halidé Edib Hanum, the Turkish woman speaker, covered an immense amount of ground in her quick, fluent English." Considering the scarcity of other (female) English-speaking voices from Turkey, Edib could successfully position herself as the most prominent female Turkish intellectual or writer and leave other prominent female voices unmentioned. As my review of Turkish news coverage at that time shows (see Chapter 6.3.1.), her unique positionality as an intellectual female Turk in a Western context attracted a considerable level of attention within Turkey. The following section examines Edib's autobiography through the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens, focusing on how images of Self and Other unfold against the categories of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender.

[315] The only political combatant Edib mentions in her memoirs is Fatma Aliye's sister Semiye Hanım (1864–1944), a writer and activist herself, who apparently was the only representative of women in the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP, İttihad ve Terakki) (see Safarian 2007, 147). Senem Timuroğlu (2014, 443) noted in a similar vein that "Halide Edip Adıvar did not mention the women writers who had come before her in her autobiographies and work, nor did she mention the freedom fight of women from different ethnic backgrounds, which created the illusion that she was the only woman writer of the time. This illusion was carried further perpetuated [*sic.*] by the official literary canon."

6.1.1. Spatiality: Losing and Regaining Mobility

"My life was confined within the walls of my apartment"

As an active traveller—from her role as a school inspector in the Ottoman Empire to her various posts in Anatolia during the Independence War and her exile abroad—the theme of mobility plays an important role in Halide Edib's autobiography. As discussed in Chapter 2, mobility is part of the 'meta-change' of modern society. Whereas spatial movement was connected to the idea of dynamism and progress (Kesselring 2008, 84), the unequal parameters of Occidentalist modernity also contributed to "enhance[ing] the mobility of some peoples and places" while "heighten[ing] the immobility of others" (Hannam et al. 2006, 32). The emergence of public transportation and motorised mobility, as discussed with regard to the tram and the car in Chapter 5, accelerated the experienced 'speed of modernity.' Processes of mobilisation also contributed to a certain equalisation of gender relations and—in many contexts—to the increased movement and mobility of women in the public sphere. Looking at images of Self and Other through the spectrum of im_mobility provides insights into how the modern being was narrated in spatial terms—who was able to move, in what ways and to what extent.

In Edib's memoir, questions of im_mobility play an important role in the depiction of her autobiographical Self. Periods of movement and phases of standstill are contextualised against a patriarchal context from which the female Self is gradually emancipated. Female advancement becomes meaningful—and even revolutionary—in a context that is portrayed as rather restrictive for women. In Edib's account of the late Ottoman context, mobility is clearly gendered, a fact that she would challenge in her novels, creating strong female characters breaking free from or revolting against the limitations inflicted upon them by society. Edib describes Ottoman public life and, *totum pro parte*, the private context, most notably the organisation of the family *konak*, as divided in masculine and feminine spaces. This "separation between the indoor and outdoor life of that day and world" (Edib 1926, 6) is shaped by two completely different domains of activity and opportunity. Whereas "indoors was the delicate, intimate rule of women; out of doors was the realm of men" (ibid., 6f). Male outside spaces are characterised by increased mobility, whereas female places are rather limited in scope. At the latest, girls become aware of this division when they approach puberty, and their mobility becomes even further restricted by external social expectations and interventions. Against this backdrop, the childhood Self is evoked as part of a period of almost unlimited mobility and action in Edib's memory, because as a child she could "share to the full the freedom of the two worlds" (ibid., 7). While her home in Beşiktaş was the place "where she moves and plays"

freely on her own (ibid., 8), her manservant, the *lala*, accompanied her on outside activities, including her *flânerie* in the streets of Istanbul.

The freedom of childhood is contrasted with the more difficult conditions of adolescence and especially adult life. It is foremost married life that poses new challenges for women and often goes hand in hand with the limitation of activity outside of the domestic sphere. Biographically inspired, the question of how women are restricted in their personal growth as soon as they enter marriage runs like a thread through Edib's novels (see Chapter 6.3.4.). Her autobiography sheds light on how she herself perceived and experienced married life, outlining the implications for her personal development and freedom as a woman, foreshadowing how thoughtfully Edib lets *Sinekli Bakkal*'s main protagonist Rabia choose her husband. Following a period of increased mobility and discovery during college times (see Edib 1926, Ch. V), Edib describes her married life as detached from the world, evoking a female auto-image coined by immobility: "My life was confined within the walls of my apartment. I led the life of the old-fashioned Turkish woman" (ibid., 207). Edib criticises her younger Self as being not self-determined enough to break free from the traditional patterns of gendered mobility, hence reproducing the predetermined "habitus" (Bourdieu 1977) of female im_mobility. Adapting herself too quickly to the demands of her much older first husband and the alleged requirements of her role as a wife, she accuses herself as having contributed to the confinement and immobility: "No little Circassian slave[316] bought from the slave-market at the lowest price could have entered upon our common life in such an obedient spirit as I did" (Edib 1926, 206). Similar to the message she conveys in her novels, Edib calls upon young women to take responsibility for their own destiny and free themselves from external expectations.

Besides externally imposed or social restrictions to female mobility, there are also (often-related) individual (psycho-)somatic aspects hindering or facilitating mobility. Similar to Peyami Safa (see Chapter 5), Edib struggled with physical health problems as well as depressive periods at least partially related to the societal transformation processes of her time: "that physical weakness has come with temporary loss of interest in life, while any new attachment of interest has made me leap back into life like a living narrow" (ibid., 36). In these phases, she objected and "disliked any kind of physical movement" (ibid., 40). Her bouts of poor health also included mental breakdowns (ibid., 210) and a general tendency towards temporary depression, both leading to decreased mobility. Edib observes in herself a melancholic soul

[316] Having profited from the work of a female slave called Reshé since her youth and later when she had children, Halide Edib's memoir displays a rather uncritical stance towards slavery (see, e.g., p. 231).

with a vague longing for a lost home. Comparing herself to her childhood dog, Flora, Edib notes sadness as a shared character trait: “Both had the same sadness and the same wonder at what we found in this world, where we felt lonely and homesick, though for what precisely I don’t know - probably for a kindlier state of things altogether” (ibid., 108). The notion of a lost home might relate to the disintegration of the happy family life in her grandmother’s mansion in the context of a more general atmosphere of decline in late Ottoman times. “Internal causes of decay” and “perpetual wars of aggression so ruinous for the empire” (ibid., 235) contributed to an anticipated feeling of loss and change in the society as a whole, a development that was also mirrored in the microcosm of the family, often literarily captured in the metaphor of the disintegrating patriarchal family *konak* (see Bertram 2013). In Edib’s case, her lively *konak* life would fall to pieces when her grandmother moved out upon the death of her husband, and especially when Edib’s father took a second wife: “the old wisteria-covered house began to be broken up, most of the furniture was sold, and the things we were to take were collected together and packed (Edib 1926, 110).” Overall, Edib’s melancholy relates to the inability to move forward and shows a tendency to focus on the past rather than on the present and future. While being a mother of two sons contributes to improving her health status (see ibid., 229), Edib observes a similar feeling of gloom in her first-born son Ali Ayetullah, who “had expressed the slow melancholy of my inner self” (ibid., 219). With recurrent phases of insomnia (ibid., 228), Edib displays another feature of melancholy that also stands at the very centre of Sema Kaygusuz’s (2012) contemporary story collection on the “black feeling,” *Karaduygun* (see Chovanec 2021, 353–358).

According to her auto-narrative, Edib regained her mental and physical mobility against the backdrop of the constitutional revolution in 1908, which brought about more freedom in a wider social framework. Edib was 24 years old at this point. Amid the political turmoil of the revolution, Edib became a writer for the revolutionary newspaper *Tanin* and, in her own eyes (see Edib 1926, 275), practically famous overnight: “In the general enthusiasm and rebirth I became a writer” (ibid., 260). In the context of the counter revolution in 1909, during which Edib’s safety was at risk due to the threats she received from conservatives, she was forced to leave Istanbul for Egypt with her two sons, continuing on to England. Having led a “secluded life” (ibid., 219) before, her active voice in Ottoman intellectual life under duress forced her into mobility. Apart from her quick rise to fame as an author and her temporary exile abroad, it was the divorce from her first husband that would signify the final break from what she described as a rather passive past Self.

6.1.2. Civilisation: Between Eastern Content and Western Form

"Art cannot be dethroned from the public heart"

A persistent theme in Halide Edib's oeuvre is the question of civilisational belonging. Since the 19th century, the notion of Civilisation (singular) was inherently linked to Europe as the dominant form of modernity (see Chapter 2). In this context, "it has become customary to assume that there was something culturally wrong with the states left out of 'the rise of the West'": an assumption that was also internalised by many beyond the Western European core (Zarakol 2011, 43 and 56). The idea of living a 'civilised life' as opposed to a 'barbaric' or 'backward life' increasingly became synonymous with European practices, social norms and values. Edib repeatedly refers to the East-West dichotomy in her writings (see also Chapter 6.4.). In her memoir, the authentic Eastern Self is paralleled with the image of Empire and located in her early childhood environment in an Istanbul neighbourhood. This context, however, is increasingly shaped by partially conflicting influences and ideas between what is dichotomously evoked as a culturally 'local East' and a 'foreign West.' Taking her childhood and adolescence as an example of wider societal changes, Edib illustrates in what ways her family cosmos reflected the diverse Ottoman society and its engagement with the homogenising and Westernising principles of modernity, searching for belonging between what was imagined as East and West.

Overall, Edib seems to accept the image of a more advanced West in terms of its level of civilisational progress and modernity. However, her autobiography also reveals ambivalent perceptions of Europe as a 'civilisational space' and ambiguities relating to the Ottoman Empire and a Turkish national identity in the making. On the one hand, European countries like the United Kingdom and France are introduced as role models regarding questions of civilisational advancement and cultural development. On the other hand, the West is perceived not only as a political and military threat but also as a cultural hegemon. As will be discussed below, indications of Westernisation, such as European clothing and dolls, are perceived as excessive, exaggerated and dangerous in the sense that they distort local patterns of originality and authenticity. Refuting the idea of extreme Westernisation, the memoir subtly suggests how Turkish nationalism should be based on the notion of an independent, unique nation partially rooted in selected traditions of the past instead of superficially imitating forms of European modernity. Challenging the Occidentalist image of an 'Oriental East,' she maintains that key elements of Ottoman-Turkish society—without specifying them further—had formally been already "distinctly Western" (Edib 1926, 315). Standing in partial succession to the Ottoman

Empire, Turkey thus naturally has a strong inclination towards Western civilisation. In addition to this formal belonging to the Western hemisphere, Edib suggests that Turkish culture and identity should be oriented towards the heritage of the Ottomans, most notably in the fields of literature and theatre, in order to guarantee an original and authentic national culture that can confidently persist side by side with, for example, French or English traditions within the European civilisational framework. As we will see below, Edib's attempts to create a national (Turkish) identity out of selected aspects from the Ottoman past, however, stand in partial contrast to her melancholic evocations of a lost multinational civilisation.

Edib contextualises her upbringing against the backdrop of the 'Eastern' and 'Western' influences that entered her life both from within the family and externally. Her earliest memories are located at her grandmother's beloved old 'wisteria-covered house,'[317] whose residents and social environment represent a typical late Ottoman upper-class household: servants, wet nurses and teachers from all across the empire and beyond mirror the collective multi-lingual, -cultural and -religious Ottoman Self standing in sharp contrast to the homogenised outlook of republican Turkey. The family's old *konak* is situated in a predominantly Christian neighbourhood in Istanbul's Beşiktaş district: "The place was a Christian quarter – Armenians and Greeks were the only neighbors" (ibid., 12). Her grandmother, an intelligent and cultivated woman with little formal education, for instance, forms a bridge between Ottoman traditions and the ever-changing contemporary world. Cultivating a close relationship with a dervish lodge in Istanbul's Eyüpsultan quarter, she lives a pious life in line with spiritual and traditional Sufi values. At the same time, however, she reads current-day novels translated from French and even writes short stories herself: "Granny, reading a Turkish translation of one of the Dumas types of novel so charming and so distinctive a product of French genius, was sitting on her bed" (ibid., 111). Her grandmother's devotion to Sufism reinforced Edib's search for mysticism, since Islam "taught by an orthodox person […] lacked a certain mystic emotion, and this led me to long as I grew older for the mystic tendencies of the dissenting spirit of the *tekkés*" (ibid., 158). Since she was "not orthodox in mind," the "Sunni teaching did not satisfy" her (ibid., 191). Edib's positive connection with Sufism and her struggle with orthodox Islam resonate with and are duplicated by two characters in *Sinkeli Bakkal*: the wise Sufi musician Vehbi Dede and a strict orthodox neighbourhood imam function as opposing and contrary influences for the novel's main protagonist Rabia (see Chapter 6.3.2.).

[317] The Turkish edition of her memoir was named after the house. *Mor Salkımlı Ev* ("The Wisteria-Covered House") was serialised almost 30 years after the publication of the English original in 1955 and finally published as a book in Turkish in 1963.

Whereas Vehbi Dede reflects an open-minded, inspiring and inclusive spirituality, the orthodox neighbourhood imam, Rabia's grandfather, stands for a rigid worldview that is limiting rather than empowering.

In contrast to her spiritual and culturally rooted 'Eastern' grandmother, Halide Edib's father, Edib Bey, adopted a more Western character:

> [He] had a strong admiration for the English […]. He occupied himself personally with her [Halide's][318] dresses, underclothing, shoes, and stockings- even handkerchiefs. Turkey having, however, not yet entered the road of reform and modernism by a slavish imitation of English outward apparel, he did not make her wear a hat (ibid., 23).

The citation reveals Edib's critical stance towards the superficial and imitative adoption of the European outer form, here epitomised by the matter of clothing. As a young girl, Halide Edib herself had to wear "short, dark blue frocks in winter, all English-made, and white linen in the summer. Her arms and legs were bare after the manner of English children, which shocked her granny" (ibid.). Edib felt alienated from her peers, as she "looked different from other children of her age and class" (ibid.). Getting herself dressed in English clothes, the plain simplicity of traditional clothing is in her writings introduced as an original and desirable counterexample to the—in her eyes, decadent and constantly evolving—world of European fashion that had entered the Ottoman Empire. The topic of clothing often reappears in her novels. The character of Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek*, for instance, only wears patched plain black dresses (Edib 1943 [1922], Ch. 3), and women affiliated with the "Yeni Turan" party in the eponymous novel *Yeni Turan* celebrate decent, unpretentious clothing in line with "Turkish and Islamic" values (Edib 2014 [1913], 18).[319] Rabia, the heroine in *Sinekli Bakkal*, in similar ways embodies Edib's ideal of modest womanhood as we will see below (see Chapter 6.4.4.).

Edib criticises the influence of the European form on her childhood also in other respects: she neglects the "European-looking" dolls "which my father brought me from the Pera shops" (Edib 1926, 39) as they do not correspond to her aspired auto-image as an Ottoman-Turkish girl. Instead, she decides to make her own dolls that more truly represent her cultural background. With these toys, she began her "embryonic novel-writing" by creating complex plots, "all inevitably of a tragic and melancholy turn" (ibid., 49). The self-made dolls epitomise originality, which allows for authentic characters, plots and settings. Part of this authenticity is melancholy: as I have discussed elsewhere (Chovanec 2021), the presentiment that the present

[318] Edib sometimes refers to herself in the third person.

[319] "Turan kadınlarının kıyafeti de sadeleşmiş, değişmiş, modaya hiç muvafık değil fakat Türk ve İslam âlemiyle pek münasebettar bir şekil almıştı."

order is about to change irreversibly leads to the aestheticized notion of feared or anticipated loss. The looming transformation of the socio-political order involves the gradual demise of traditional customs and the adoption of practices that are regarded as 'modern' and 'foreign.'

Most notably, Edib (1926, 122f) criticises the demise of the 'original' "national Turkish theatre" brought about through the introduction and promotion of European theatre as well as the close monitoring of cultural events under Sultan Abdülhamid. Framing the Ottoman *orta oyunu* ("play in the middle")[320] —widely popular across social strata—as a national tradition, Edib not only deplores its gradual disappearance as an important aspect of cultural heritage but also suggests its re-introduction as a nationalised cultural facet of Turkey (see Chapter 3.3.3.). Edib perceives the "Turkish theatre" as divided into two parts, given that she understands the European theatre tradition (based on the French theatre and introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century) to also be part of the national theatre:

> The Turkish theater had two origins. The first was the national one, orta oyoun, which corresponds in some ways with the first European open-air plays. These representations consisted mostly of review, skits on the peculiarities of all the different nationalities and classes in the country, satires on social vices, or veiled criticism of the political evils of the day. It was mostly improvised by the actors on the stage, although of course based on some sort of plan or story agreed on beforehand. The second origin was entirely French. This was introduced by Namik Kemal, Noury, and Ahmed Midhat Beys. They founded the Guedik Pasha Theater about 1867 and translated or adapted plays from the French for performances there. Gülly Agop, an Armenian, a talented actor, with his troupe, really started the romantic style of acting in Turkey. He and his whole company were trained in Turkish pronunciation by Namik Kemal (ibid., 122f).

Having experienced both Ottoman and European plays in her youth, Edib seems to favour a balanced presence of both theatre forms. However, while "[t]he Europeanized school continues to the present time and has formed the origin and the basis of the Turkish stage of to-day" (ibid., 123), the "open-air national theatre" was negatively affected by this development. Adapting to the features of the European theatre, it "migrated from the open air to fragile wooden stages with closed roofs" (ibid.) and hence lost one of its key characteristics. Edib particularly criticises the fact that instead of being a cultural artefact of equal value relative to the European stages, the *orta oyunu* turned into "second rate theaters to which the poorer classes go" (ibid.).

[320] *Orta oyunu* is a comedian "entertainment staged in the middle place," where spectators form a circle around the actors in public space (Boratav 2012a). The central feature of the *orta oyunu* is improvisation; since audience and *oyuncular* (players) are spatially very close, spontaneous, mutual inspiration is facilitated. The treated subjects of the play are taken from the daily lives of ordinary people and not "imported themes" from European plays as Halide Edib (Edib 1926 and Edib 1935b) laments. The players perform the roles of types rather than characters; peoples, figures and representatives are made recognisable through their external behaviour and appearance (Nutku 1970, 34). In addition to light-hearted parodies, caricatures or comical situations such as linguistic misunderstandings, the *orta oyunu* sometimes also displayed social and political satire, which is why it had fell victim to censorship since the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz (Nutku 1970, 50). As it is shown in the novel, Sultan Abdülhamid's network of spies, too, kept an eye on the performances.

The writer melancholically remembers the popular and talented "real artists" (ibid., 124) of her childhood days, whose brilliant comedian performances were feared by the sultan and who were hence kept away from the public as much as possible. She repeatedly mentions a famous comedian named Abdi, who might have served as a real-life inspiration for her protagonist Tevfik Bey in *Sinekli Bakkal*.[321] Like the main protagonist Rabia's artistic father who enjoys enormous popularity in Istanbul and is repeatedly exiled, Abdi's life "created a series of legends, and he was restored to the public after the Constitutional Revolution of 1908" (ibid., 124f).

Another example of what Edib identifies as an original cultural element of the (nationalised) Ottoman past is the—in her accounts, Turkified—traditional *karagöz* shadow play[322] performances (see Chapter 6.3.2.), which "charmed [her] beyond description" (ibid., 136). In this typical shadow play, a "cloth or screen […] was the stage on which the whole performance was enacted" (ibid., 135). Just like Rabia's father Tevfik, the famous *karagöz* players of her childhood days used figures cut in camel leather as the performing marionettes. Among the shadow play's most important features, Edib mentions not only the "absolutely original tone" but also the music, colour and "unpretentious artistry" (ibid., 136). According to Edib, the admiration of Western art and its uncritical adoption and imitation have led to disregard for this autochthonous form, evoked as a central aspect of the cultural Eastern Self. Both *orta oyunu* and *karagöz* are presented as cultural specificities that are both authentic and original, and their demise is mourned melancholically: "It is one of the heart-breaking facts of to-day that our new taste, or rather lack of taste, has killed this wonderful and simple art" (ibid., 136).

Overall, what emerges strongly from Edib's memoir is the importance she attaches to the role of 'authentic local art' in society, particularly as a corrective for political despotism and hegemony. In light of Sultan Abdülhamid's restrictive regime, she emphasises the function of art, literature and theatre as a unifying cathartic space of togetherness, laughter, criticism and freedom: "It is not perhaps political supremacy that has the greatest influence on the people. Art has a still greater power, and once it has gained sway, it cannot be dethroned from the public heart" (ibid., 124). Written in her exile abroad, this declaration of love for art can be understood as a warning towards Atatürk's government, which again, in a different way, limits the forms

[321] In the novel, Tevfik performs the play's female role of the *zenne* as a male actor in woman's clothing. At the age of 19, he becomes one of Istanbul's most famous players (Edib 2007 [1936], 18).

[322] In *karagöz*, "inanimate actors and flat, two-dimensional figures (ṣūret, taṣwīr), [are] manipulated by the shadow player who, as in the puppet theatre, makes them move and talks from behind a screen whilst he himself remains out of sight" (Boratav 2012b).

of cultural expression. At the same time, theatre and other art forms are also evoked as a unifying framework through which Western hegemony and the demise of the local content might be challenged. With this in mind, Edib's novel *Sinekli Bakkal* can be read as a literary monument to (the freedom of) art and as a site of resistance against the forces of the Occidentalist condition.

6.1.3. Temporality: Retrieving the Lost Culture for the Present

"Immense wooden houses purpled with age and on the brink of decay"

By favouring the new over the old and the future over the past, modernity is an inherently temporal concept. Radical change and rupture as key features of the modern experience are further accelerated by the post-imperial and the Occidentalist conditions: the disintegration of Empire and its political, symbolic and cultural order emphasises the general contingency of life and underlines the impossible retrieval of a familiar past. Modernisation-as-Westernisation processes, in turn, go hand in hand with feelings of belatedness and alienation from once homey local contexts, retrospectively evoked as heavens of authenticity untouched by the homogenising effects of global modernity. The notion of loss is at the heart of those accounts that melancholically approach the past. As Alastair Bonnett (2016, 1) has argued, "within modern, fast-moving and mobile societies, the experience of loss and a sense of yearning for the past are not only widespread but influential." Bonnett (ibid., 2) argues that nostalgia—i.e., the yearning for a lost home—"calls us back to meaning" and "evokes the possibility of meaningful events, relationships or things." The perceived necessity to catch up with the West and to leave the stagnant Self behind is thus often—and ambivalently—intertwined with a quest for past originality.

In her memoir, Edib reproduces the Occidentalist image of the Ottoman Empire's temporal 'belatedness' in relation to Europe, with the empire's 'time lag' reaching back to the first indications of gradual decline that became visible in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the 19th century, the "necessity of reform" eventually exposed "the tremendous distance between the Ottoman Empire and European states, a distance which the empire had to cover as fast as possible" (Edib 1926, 236). Although accepting the empire's 'belated' character, Edib approaches Western hegemony in a critical vein, arguing that it aggravated the Ottomans' alleged inferiority. Against the backdrop of the Ottoman Empire's demise, the European powers

"[o]ne after another […] hastened to snatch from Turkey what they could" (ibid, 301).[323] In this context, Edib refers to the common (meta-)image of the Ottoman Empire as a 'sick man' (see Chapter 3.2.1.) and points to the perceived political subordination of the empire in relation to European powers: the latter were "disappointed" about the constitutional reforms of 1908–1909 as they had "neatly planned the division of the sick man's estate" (ibid., 301).

For Edib, the empire was not only economically and politically but also in some ways culturally 'behind' the West, as the example of literature indicates. Referring to European literatures as more advanced, Edib argues that the introduction of the novel as a literary genre, the simplification of the language and the general introduction of a broader range of literary topics were the first major steps contributing to the process of 'catching up' and embracing the 'new':

> The Tanzimat period, which brought the first serious political reforms, also produced a wide change in the language, literature, and thought of the country. Modern Europe was furnishing a new current of thought and was creating a *new spirit in Turkish writing*. The European culture which was most influential in Turkey was decidedly French, the *poètes philosophes*. The nightingale and the eternal rose, the spring, and nature themes of literature were giving way to a wider range of subjects and a *new way* of looking at man and nature (ibid., 243; emphasis added).

While generally supportive of the Tanzimat reform project and its effects on the cultural realms, Edib believes that further developments were necessary to eventually play in the same league as, for instance, French literature.

> This *tardy renaissance* [the Tanzimat] has not produced masterpieces of world renown in Turkey [i.e., the Ottoman Empire], but it has produced works which are regarded as great. Besides it represented an admirable effort of human thought and *a conscious break from the old in form and spirit* as well as a highly constructive period in Turkish language (ibid., 244; emphasis added).

Despite accepting the notion of progress as a given, she warns against the uncritical adoption and imitation of European styles and instead emphasises the importance of original and authentic contents. For example, Edib (ibid., 262) criticises the writers affiliated with the late Ottoman "New Literature" movement (*Edebiyat-ı Cedide*), which she feels lacked the genius of independent, original artists and hence failed to literarily capture "the Turkish life."

The Ottoman Empire's eventual disintegration, Edib ironically concludes, made it impossible to "catch up" further with Europe. Instead, when "the curtain had fallen on the Ottoman empire," the "birth" of the Turkish national awakening was seen as a new chance for Turkey to

[323] As examples, Edib refers to the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the annexation of Crete by Greece and the seizure of Tripoli by Italy (1926, 301f).

be accepted as a "full member" (ibid., 472) of the West's civilisational space. For Edib, however, the division between a belated past "Ottoman Self" and a new present "Turkish Self" leads to a certain tension in the national identity-building process. The national Turkish Self emerges from the ruins of the old imperial framework that was both internally and externally perceived as inferior to European powers' political, military and cultural status. Against this political backdrop, Edib approaches the "ideal of a westernized Turkey" (ibid., 303) critically. Instead, she argues that a national awakening amid general political turmoil should remain sensitive to the external threat of European domination (see ibid., 312).

Edib recounts her personal memories against the backdrop of past Ottoman politics, society and cultural life and in the context of a demanding modernity that was to be implemented in the empire, forcefully separating the old from the new, the 'now' from the 'then.' The past, for Edib, is an ambivalent time-space; despite the above-discussed political necessity to 'catch up,' the effects of the transformation from empire to nation-state are also described as uprooting on a personal level. Her assessment of late Ottoman social life is ambiguous as well. On the one hand, Edib's memoirs evoke aspects of a rather negatively connoted patriarchal dominance; on the other hand, they reflect her positive stance to imperial multiculturalism and communitarianism, both at the family level and in the broader social context. Regarding the latter, Edib admiringly recalls the harmonious and peaceful cohabitation with other ethnic groups in the empire. Attending a Greek kindergarten as the only Turkish girl in a Greek neighbourhood, Edib almost incidentally learned the language and participated in Orthodox Christian festivities: "She had not entered yet that narrow human path where religion and language as well as racial differences make human beings devour each other. The little girl was still in a world where the joy of life is heart fusion and natural existence" (ibid., 27). Knowing different languages was a concomitant feature of living in a culturally diverse neighbourhood and not yet a matter of national identity: "The little girl did not realize that she spoke two languages, one at school and one at home. Language to her was a mere gesture, and one used one or the other according to the person who understood this or that way of expression" (ibid., 28).[324]

Similar to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's account of the colourful and ecological Ottoman past in his compilation of essays *Beş Şehir* (see Chapter 7), Edib stresses how the varied cultural life was embedded in a city cosmos that was still inherently connected with nature. Against the

[324] As the analysis of Edib's book *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* will show (see Chapter 6.4.), an idealised Ottoman past in terms of its political, social and cultural life all together is projected to pre-Hamidian times.

backdrop of the construction boom in early republican Turkey, Edib repeatedly stresses Istanbul's once blossoming gardens and green hills:

> The wisteria-covered house in Beshiktash stands on one of the many bare hills which are now more or less built over. At that time they presented a large expanse of ground of many colors – the somber green of the vegetable-gardens and orchards, which took the place of parks, where women and children went to eat plums and cherries and cucumbers beside dark pools under cool trees; the brilliant coloring of the hyacinth and tuberose gardens, stretching in brilliant patches of purple, yellow, white, and rich pinks and sending the rich perfumes in waves all over the place, while the dark shades of the pine-groves stood behind them as a natural background (Edib 1926, 33).

This "general gaiety of color and sound" (ibid.) that stands in stark contrast to the rapidly transforming urban space and more homogeneous population of national Turkey is evoked as the melancholic context of Edib's childhood in the late Ottoman Empire.

As part of these peaceful community relations, Edib also emphasises what she perceives as "the old systematic philanthropy of the Ottomans" (ibid., 87). In a time of social cohesion and solidarity, families with financial difficulties were usually supported by those financially better off. When children were sent to school for the first time, for instance, their families organised a ceremony called *başlamak* (literally "to begin") as an initiation rite. Richer families "would arrange for a few poor children of the quarter to share the ceremony and would thenceforward pay their schooling, as well as that of their own child" (ibid.). Edib laments that this attitude of solidarity was at that time already disappearing but "not entirely dead yet" (ibid.). In *Sinekli Bakkal*, it is wealthy Selim Pasha who bears the expenses of Rabia's education as her family cannot pay the costs of her music lessons. Thanks to the pasha's promotion and funding, Rabia can free herself from family structures and eventually become financially independent.

At the family level, Edib's interactions with servants from a variety of backgrounds brought the empire home. Memories of the manservant from her childhood are particularly vivid, since to her he embodied "the old-world service – devotion, attachment, pride, possession even – which the modern Turkish world has forgotten but which made so much of the warmth and color of the old household life" (ibid., 7). By ascribing values to the past that seem to be lacking in the post-imperial present, Edib displays a certain conservatism. Writing from the perspective of a privileged individual of late Ottoman society who was able to live in financially secure circumstances, the deep-rooted structures of social inequality that form the basis of the domestic servant system are barely mentioned in the memoir. Edib, however, employs a common motif of late Ottoman literature in her auto-fiction, namely the disintegration of the upper-class family *konak* that pars pro toto stands for the breaking apart of the empire. A combination of internal

and external factors—from her father's polygamy to her grandmother's debts—contribute to the dissolution of the household, urging the dispersed family members to find new homes. Moving with her grandmother and other family members from Beşiktaş to Istanbul's Selimiye district, Edib melancholically remembers the quarter's decaying Ottoman architecture, most notably its wooden *konaks*. Her grandmother chose one of the "immense wooden houses purpled with age and on the brink of decay" as their new home, despite "being half tumbled down" (ibid., 113): "The house itself and a great part of the whole quarter is now burned but I have several times since wandered among its ashes in my visits to the old haunts" (ibid.).

While Edib evokes the declining social and cultural aspects of the empire, such as the multicultural composition of its society, its representative architecture or lived traditions such as *orta oyunu* and the *karagöz* plays with some melancholy, facets of the past political situation are critiqued severely. Instead of remembering the patterns of decay visible in Sultan Abdülhamid's system of governance in a similar vein of nostalgia, she assesses them as markers of an outdated form of political organisation and mismanagement. Weathering palaces—in Orhan Pamuk's novels, melancholic symbols of lost influence and importance—are here remembered as signs of abuse of power:

> Everything at Yildiz was and is still in decay, as all vein and wrong exhibitions of power should be... There are indeed lots of these decaying palaces which used to be the scenes of pomp and royal ceremony. They are doomed, yet other human symbols of the same wrong conception of power, though embodied in different forms, rise over the old decay. Sometimes it makes on feel hopeless to watch the dull human intelligence which refuses to learn from the experience of the past (ibid., 103).

She suggests that the decaying architecture of the old political order may serve as a reminder of how fast power vested in the hands of a small elite can lead to corruption and a dysfunctional state. The quote illustrates Edib's critical stance towards Atatürk's regime, which she indirectly compares with Abdülhamid's rule. Despite the fact that they represent different political forms—one monarchic rule, the other republicanism—she observes similarities in how they displayed and (mis-)used their respective political power.

6.1.4. Gender: A Quest for Female Emancipation

"Genius is a divine gift which either a woman or a man may have"

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, the modern experience in the long 19th century went hand in hand with democratisation and legalisation processes contributing to shifts in gender relations. Ideas surrounding the 'new woman,' including her behaviour and dress code, challenged established parameters of femininity and masculinity and gave way to new images of gender identification. A key thread in Edib's memoir is what she describes as the development from a young girl conforming to external expectations to a self-determined woman. Her 'awakening' unfolds in parallel to the downfall of the empire and the nationalisation of Turkey. Edib describes how she had witnessed difficulties women face in a patriarchal society from early on. She delineates the social world of her childhood as clearly gendered and laments how early and abruptly the childhood of Muslim girls ends. In the following quote, Edib speaks of herself in the third person:

> She[325] [Halide Edib] knows two classes of people and two ages: 'Children' are all little girls and continue to live in child-dom till they take the veil. …That happens when they are ten years old, and they then join the grown-ups forever after. All the grown-ups are the same and of the same age whether they are twelve of fifty. Boys are emphatically not children (Edib 1926, 17).

As soon as the social environment determines the end of a girl's childhood, the neighbourhood match-maker, the *görücü*,[326] would come to see the now marriageable girl in order to find her an appropriate suitor. As Berrak Burçak (2018, 347) has argued, the *görücü* was "the main protagonist in Ottoman arranged marriage practices." In Edib's memory, the young girls would only reluctantly attend those meetings and its rigid rituals: this "dull and unbearable ceremony," however, was "the key to the entrance to life for the Turkish girls of that time" (Edib 1926, 122). She further criticises how men regarded their wives as their property rather than as an equal partner. Right after the wedding ceremony, a husband would examine the physical features of his wife, making sure that "none of the beauteous attributes of his wife were false" (ibid., 47). Edib remembers that a gentleman testing "the physical virtues of his wife as if he were examining any other property such as slaves or cows" was normal to her as a young girl, when she had not yet "acquired a feministic turn of mind" (ibid., 48). Edib's assessment of the marrying practices of her time is confirmed by Burçak (2018, 347), who notes that beauty has traditionally always been an important feature for "any young maiden if she wanted to strike

[325] In the first chapter of her *Memoirs*, Halide Edib writes about herself in the third person.

[326] Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın has famously captured this social practice in his short story "Görücü."

the eye of the match-maker." Within the increasingly patriotic framework of the Hamidian period, however, beauty was gradually associated with fertility and motherhood and "a new attitude toward how to achieve and maintain healthy beauty" emerged (ibid.). Edib's memoir provides a critical evaluation of how women were dependent on their male relatives and their general social environment in many respects. By means of her heroine Rabia in *Sinekli Bakkal*, who is affected by how people in her neighbourhood change their behaviour towards her when she reaches puberty, Edib sets out her critique of gender inequalities.

Another aspect severely criticised by Edib is polygny, whose consequences "produced a very ugly and distressing impression" (Edib 1926, 145). Edib recalls how her father's polygyny would lead to jealousy and resentment between his two wives and, finally, to hatred as well as two separate households—as mentioned above, her fathers's *alafranga* and her grandmother's *alaturka konak*. Edib is also aware of the impact her father's decision to take a second wife had on his social environment: "As a man of liberal and modern ideas, his marriage was unfavorably regarded by his friends" (ibid., 145). Later, her first husband's unilateral decision to take a second wife (see ibid., 307f) would urge Edib to emancipate herself and focus even more on her professional advancement. In her novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, the author criticises the 'unmodern' custom of polygamy by means of Selim Pasha—the pasha's decision to take a second wife in order to get another male heir has a lasting negative impact on his marriage with Sabiha Hanım.

Another aspect central in Edib's personal and professional career is the education of women. In her memoir, her grandmother is introduced as her role model with regard to literary endeavours: "Undoubtedly my writing is hers. Her little education and her time had not allowed her to express herself in public, but her happiest moments were those when she could sit down and write crude love-stories and very old-fashioned verse" (ibid., 59). Against the backdrop of the rather fixed gender roles and male-dominated public discourse, opportunities for girls and women to receive the same level of education as their male peers and/or actively participate in the public sphere were rare and limited. All the more exceptional must have been the education Edib received, which laid the foundation for her later fame as a writer and public intellectual. Attending the American College for Girls twice[327] (1893–1894 and 1899–1901) as the youngest and as one of the only Muslim students, Edib received an American-style education (see ibid., 148f). In the years away from college, Edib's education consisted of extensive private lessons in Arabic together with the study of the Quran (ibid., 156), English and English literature (ibid.,

[327] According to her memoir, she had to leave the college in 1894 as Sultan Abdülhamid forbid Turkish children from attending foreign schools (see Edib 1926, 153). For more information see Chapter V of the memoir.

180), French and Turkish literature (ibid., 182) as well as tutoring in mathematics by her later husband Salih Zeki Bey (ibid., 202f).

The liberation of women from their limited roles as mothers and housewives and the furtherance of their education becomes a central part of the civilisational project Edib envisions. Practices of male polygyny, the limited education of girls and the lack of equality in marriages are perceived as obstacles to successful societal transformation. However, Edib also draws attention to how quickly changing gender roles and patterns of inter-sex interactions led to anxiety among those who could not keep up with new developments. Similar to the protagonist Gülter in Peyami Safa's novel *Fatih Harbiye* (see Chapter 5.2.4.), it is her beloved grandmother who anxiously witnesses and observes the emergence of the 'new woman':

> She was much shocked by the new women. Their talk, their walk, their dress, and their general aspect hurt her. She felt lonely, like a stranger in a world where she felt she had stayed too long, like a visitor who has outstayed his welcome; it was as if the newly arrived guests had taken all the room, and they looked ever so different from her. She suffered because they shook their arms as they walked, looked into men's eyes, had loud voices, and smoked in public; above all they did not iron their clothes as she did every morning (ibid., 353).

While Edib melancholically promotes aspects of Ottoman culture as a necessary part of national identity, a focus on gender relations reveals a more critical stance towards social standards in Ottoman society. Criticising aspects of female immobility in the domestic as well as public spheres by means of her own experiences, the writer shows how questions of gender and (social) mobility are intertwined. Having observed and experienced the limitations and restrictions shaping the lives of girls and women since her childhood, Edib maintains a feminist discourse that somewhat contradicts her partially nostalgic stance on Ottoman culture. As we will see in the next chapter, in her novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, Edib resolves this tension between the social and cultural aspects of Empire by locating a story of female emancipation and success *within* the Ottoman context. Edib's critical approach to the unequal position of women in Ottoman society points to a certain ambivalence inscribed in her post-imperial texts: Is it convincing to literarily wish back certain aspects of Empire from a feminist viewpoint? Both her autobiography and *Sinekli Bakkal* reveal her position on this matter: Politically, Edib is in favour of national (and individual) self-determination and democratic rights that should improve the social status and professional opportunities for women and girls. She generally supports the idea of men and women being equal in their political rights and in the pursuit of professional goals. In this regard, neither Abdülhamid's despotic reign nor the autocratic government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk embody her political ideals. Regarding the spheres of theatre and literature, however, Edib clearly mourns the perceived authenticity of the past Ottoman culture. When it comes to

gender aspects in the empire's cultural realms, Edib nevertheless fails to address the very fact that only very few women could play a role in Ottoman cultural spheres. Although she is convinced that "genius is a divine gift which either a woman or a man may have" (ibid., 221) she dismisses the circumstance that it was predominantly men who could pursue their artistic endeavours. She believes in the natural difference between man and woman but emphasises their equality: "sometimes indeed it is a woman who may express the man's note in art while a man may express the woman's. It does not depend on their sex" (ibid.). A serious weakness with this line of argumentation, however, is that Edib only refers to male geniuses, completely leaving out examples of female genius.[328] In *Sinekli Bakkal*, however, the main protagonist Rabia is presented as a very gifted individual.

Overall, Halide Edib's memoir provides a personal and post-imperial account of the transformation from empire to nation-state. She reveals how the simultaneous admiration of European culture and the fear of European hegemony contributed to shaping Turkish nationalism. While locating national Turkey within the civilisational context of Europe, she emphasises the necessity to further invest in catching up with the premises of European modernity. Although she argues for the necessity to bridge the civilisational gap between Europe and Turkey, she emphasises the importance of striving for cultural authenticity—connected to aspects of the Ottoman past—in the formation of a national Self. In her novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, which stands at the centre of this chapter, the 'original' Fatih neighbourhood takes centre stage in which the young girl Rabia is emancipated from the restrictive forces of a patriarchal society, while remaining attached to Eastern traditions of the past.

6.2. Approaching *Sinekli Bakkal*

Halide Edib penned two versions of her famous novel, *The Clown and His Daughter* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, both of which were published almost simultaneously. *The Clown and His Daughter* appeared as an English-language novel in London (George Allen & Unwin) in 1935. A slightly different, in both form and content, Turkish version of the text appeared in 135 instalments in the daily newspaper *Haber* between 11 October 1935 and 24 February 1936. Later that year, the complete Turkish serial was published as a novel in Istanbul by Ahmed Halid Kitabevi. While *The Clown and His Daughter* targeted an English-speaking readership, the placement of

[328] The poet Suleiman Dedé and Jesus Christ represent the "supreme note of women in religion and art," whereas the Prophet Mohammed and William Shakespeare "sound the highest note of man" (Edib 1926, 221). Female examples of inspiring personalities representative of the "female" or the "male spirit" are missing.

Sinekli Bakkal in a daily Turkish newspaper as an *edebi roman*, like Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* (see Chapter 5), aimed at Turkish-speaking readers. This Turkish version has recently been translated back into English by W. D. Halsey.[329] As Yalçındağ and Karadağ (2020, 47) demonstrate based on information provided in her memoirs, Edib first wrote *The Clown and His Daughter* in English and then self-translated the novel with the title "Sinekli Bakkal." Because of amendments in the Turkish version, Edib herself did not consider *Sinekli Bakkal* a translation but a new version for the Turkish context (Kürük 2017, 15).[330] In translation studies, some scholars follow Edib's stance and consider the text a rewrite (Arslan 2006), while others consider it a self-translation (Yalçındağ and Karadağ 2020).[331]

6.2.1. Formal Aspects and Reception

Since the 1930s, Halide Edib has been considered one of Turkey's most important literary voices. Although she was a *persona non grata* in the early republican political environment, literary circles back then already celebrated her as one of Turkey's most outstanding writers and intellectuals. A survey conducted in 1937 by the newspaper *Akşam* ([n.n.] 1937, 8) among students of the faculty of literature at Istanbul University, for example, ranked her beside Halid Ziya, Reşad Nuri and Hüseyin Rahmi among the most popular novelists[332] of the time. The article praises the high literary merit of Edib's novels and quotes a student of literature who claims that the literary value of the author's work is at least equal to that of European literature (ibid.).

Announcement in *Haber* ([n.n.] 1935b, 12)

In the case of *Sinekli Bakkal*, however, appreciation by the Turkish public did not set in immediately with its publication in 1935. My review of the novel's reception in Turkish media has revealed that—in contrast to the broad press coverage accompanying the publication of Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*—*Sinekli Bakkal* initially did not receive much attention in the news, neither upon its publication as a sequel nor after its release as a novel. It was primarily the publishing newspaper *Haber* itself that promoted *Sinekli Bakkal*. *Haber* ([n.n.] 1935a, 1)

[329] For more information about Halsey and his translation, see Yalçındağ and Karadağ (2020, 49–50).

[330] "Bunların [*Sinekli Bakkal* ve *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*] hiçbiri tercüme değildir, fakat bazı yerleri kısa, bazı yerleri biraz uzun olmakla beraber, öz itibariyle aynıdır."

[331] A similar example of an auto-translated novel is Suat Derviş's novel *Çılgın Gibi* ("Like Crazy," 1945), which the author herself expanded and translated into French as *Les Ombres du Yalı* (1948).

[332] Peyami Safa is mentioned a couple of times, too, but he did not make it into the top four.

announced the first instalment of *Sinekli Bakkal* euphorically on its front page and promoted it as a "unique" (*emsalsız*) masterpiece that would bring "enjoyment" (*zevk*) and "taste" (*lezzet*) to the readers' lives. Apart from short advertisements by the publishing house, Ahmed Halid Kitabevi, I could not find any reviews of the novel in the Kemalist daily paper *Cumhuriyet*, for instance, which generally reported very little about Edib's whereabouts until the early 1940s. Edib's dispute with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was publicly known, and it seems likely that *Cumhuriyet* hence did not want—or was unable—to give her much attention. Apart from *Haber*, only few newspapers picked up on Edib's new novel initially. *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1936, 11) did publish a short anonymous review on their literature page ("Edebiyat Sayfası"), praising Edib's excellence as a writer ("The novel displays the novelist's entire mastery."[333]) but criticising the novel's partially exaggerated and unrealistic romanticism, particularly regarding the main protagonist, Rabia's, life story.

Sinekli Bakkal
Gazetelerde gördüğünüz yukardaki ilân
HALİDE EDİB'in
11 ilkteşrin Cuma günü
HABER
Gazetesinde neşredilmeğe başlıyacak
olan son romanının adıdır
Halide Edib'in, aslını HABER gazetesine verdiği bu eserin İngilizceye tercümesi, bu günlerde Londrada neşredilecektir.
Türk edebiyatının en kıymetli bir eseri olduğu şüphesiz bulunan bu romanı takip etmek isteyenler şimdiden gazetelerini aldıkları satıcılara siparişte bulunmalıdırlar.

Advertisement in *Cumhuriyet* ([n.n.] 1936c, 9)

When Halide Edib returned to Turkey in early 1939, public interest increased significantly. Edib was then at the peak of her professional career. She had acquired prestige and fame as a novelist, speaker and lecturer in the United Kingdom and was appointed as professor at Istanbul University. Against this backdrop, the press coverage about her intensified significantly: upon her return to Istanbul, the daily newspaper *Akşam* ([n.n.] 1939, 5), for instance, celebrated her as an excellent writer and speaker. It is interesting to note that the article explicitly stated that Edib's fame was not due to her being a "female author" (*kadın muharrir*) but because of her powerful and sophisticated talent as a masterful writer.[334] The awakened public interest in Edib was also reflected in an interview with her that was published by *Vakit* (Hikmet 1939, 7). The

Halide E dip bugün

Halide Edib in 1939 (Hikmet 1939, 7)

[333] "Romanda romancının bütün ustalığı vardır."

[334] "kudretli ve kültürlü kalem sahibi olduğu için."

interviewer, Neriman Hikmet, describes how difficult (*Imkânsız!*) it was to persuade Edib's servant[335] and niece to let her through to Edib. Eventually, the writer would, however, agree to a short conversation. Hikmet (ibid., 10) admiringly concludes that *Sinekli Bakkal*'s "soul" and "everything that is lively and characteristic for the novel took shape in front of her."[336] What seems to delight the interviewer most, however, is the fact that despite having lived abroad for a long time, Edib appears to not have changed in her manners and style: "Surprisingly, Halide Edip is [still] so much ours!... Europe, America, Africa have not changed her in the least. Her dress was in the local style and plain" (ibid., 7),[337] proving how Edib distanced herself from the European clothing she was forced to wear in her childhood (see above). Like other articles published in that time, this interview shows how quickly the public embraced Edib as the country's national pride after having ignored her widely for more than 15 years. Edib herself expressed to the public that she was euphoric about being back in Turkey: "I'm not going anywhere anymore; I came here; to my homeland, to my country" (ibid., 7 and 10).[338]

7 — VAKIT 23 MART 1939

Halide Ediple Mülâkat

Garpta yaptığı seyahatler Halide Edibi hiç değiştirmemiş; konuşması ve edası tamamile bizden. Yalnız saçları biraz daha beyaz, okadar..

Tekrar yeni bir seyahate çıkıp çıkmıyacağına dair sorulan bir suale romancı heyecanla şu cevabı veriyor :

"Artık hiçbir yere gitmiyeceğim; buraya geldim; vatanıma, memleketime..."

Mülâkatı Yapan Neriman Hikmet

Atejden gömlek mücellifinin 15 sene evvele ait bir resmi

Interview with Halide Edib in *Vakit* (Hikmet 1939, 7)

It was during this period that *Sinekli Bakkal*'s somewhat belated success set in: Edib's fame as a novelist rose to unexpected heights when *Sinekli Bakkal* was awarded the first price of the first Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP; Republican People's Party) novel contest ("Partinin Roman Mükâfatı") in 1942. For the jury consisting of 23 reviewers, Edib's novel prevailed not only against Peyami Safa's *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* (see Chapter 5) and *Bir Tereddün Romanı* but also against a number of other nominated literary texts by well-known authors (*Haber*

Partinin roman mükâfatını Halide Edib kazandı

Jüri heyeti "Sinekli bakkal" romanını üstün buldu ve eserin müellifine 2.500 lira verildi

Front page of *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1942, 1) on 23 February

[335] "[Halide] kimseyi kabul etmiyor, çok meşguldur."

[336] "romandaki ruh, canlı ve karakteristik olarak karşımda şekillenmişti."

[337] "Meğer Halide Edip ne kadar bizdenmiş… Onu Avrupa, Amerika, Afrika hiç mi hiç değiştirmemiş. Üstündeki elbise yerli biçimde ve sade!"

[338] "artık hiçbir yere gitmiyeceğim; buraya geldim; vatanıma, memlektime."

[n.n.] 1942, 3).[339] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Yaban* ("Stranger," 1932) and Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar's *Fahim Bey ve Biz* ("Fahim Bey and Us," 1941) reached, respectively, the second and third place in the ranking. The prize of 2,500 lira for first place went to Edib (*Haber* [n.n.] 1942, 3). Although all daily newspapers reported on the "roman mükâfatı," *Haber* (ibid.), which had initially published the novel in instalments, was particularly proud and remarked that the award exemplified the high standards of their literary texts.

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar also published an extensive and euphoric review of *Sinekli Bakkal* on the front page of *Vakit*. Referring to the novel as a "work I very much like" (*çok sevdiğim bir eser*) written by a "precious and honourable professor and novelist" (*aziz ve muhterem profesör ve romancı*), Tanpınar (1942, 1) emphasises how the story targets important collective questions beyond individual fates: in his opinion, the guiding principle for good novel writing (see Chapter 7). *Sinekli Bakkal*, he argues, brings to life a certain period of society with its particular lifestyles, modalities and fate. Through its "free" (*serbest*) character, Tanpınar (ibid., 2) claims, the novel cannot only be regarded as an important stage in Edib's development as a writer but also as an important work in the history of the Turkish novel more generally. Moreover, he notes, it is important to mention that *Sinekli Bakkal* was also met with approval in the "Western world" (*garp âlemi*) and that Edib can be considered as the first writer "in our midst" (*aramızda*) producing original novels in a Western language.[340] Yet, he acknowledges, it is most notably the focus on the local dynamics and social life (*cemiyet hayatı*) that makes the novel special. Tanpınar concludes his review on a melancholic note, stating that the novel is "full of the poetry of the past."[341]

Notwithstanding a few critical voices,[342] the attention *Sinekli Bakkal* received through winning the literary prize contributed to the novel's canonisation. Since the early 1940s, the novel has been regularly listed among the masterpieces of Turkish literature and early on became an

[339] The jury nominated novels written by Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mahmut Yesari, Memduh Şevket Esendal, Mithat Cemal, Osman Cemal Kaygılı, Refik Ahmet Sevengil, Reşat Nuri Güntekin, Sabahattin Ali, Sait Faik and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (*Haber* 1942, 3).

[340] "Sinekli Bakkalın bir hususiyeti de kitabın garp âleminde uyandırdığı büyük ve heyecanlı kabuldür. Unutmamalı ki romanını daha evvel bir kere de ingilizcede yazmış Edib Hanım, aramızda bir garp diliyle ibda yapan ilk muharriridir."

[341] "Hiç şiir yapmıyan bir kitabın bütün bir geçmiş zaman şiirile dolu olduğunu da söylemek lâzımdır."

[342] In his nationalist article "Romanda Türke doğru" ("Towards the Turk in the Novel"), the writer and pedagogue İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1942, 2) underlines the need to develop the "national novel" (*milli roman*) and challenges the "Turkishness" of *Sinkeli Bakkal*'s protagonists ("Tuurgenief'in kahramanları hep Rus ve Hüseyin Rahmi'nin kahramanları hep Türk; fakat Yalan ile Sinekli Bakkal'ın tiplerinde şüphem var"). He proposes that certain aspects of the novel, such as the strong references to Sufism, are diametrically opposed to the idea of national Turkish literature and closes his article with the demand: "Turk, don't stop, create! Create a totally new Turkish literature! Return to yourself, Turk!" ("Türk durma, yarat! Yepyeni bir Türk edebiyatı yarat! Türk kendine dön!").

indispensable component of the newly forming national canon.[343] Like Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* and *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu*, Edib's novels *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Handan*, *Ateşten Gömlek* and *Zinonun Oğlu* were included in Oktay Akbal's (1942, 11) list of the national literary canon, "Turkish Literature of Eighteen Years" ("Onsekiz Yılın Türk Edebiyatı"). Akbal (ibid.) suggests that Edib has convincingly captured the "internal structure" (*iç bünye*) of Turkish society and hence conveys a truthful and authentic image of Turkey to both local and foreign readers. Novels like *Sinekli Bakkal*, he argues, convey a "deep social vision" and share a powerful image of reality that "catches the reader's eye at first sight."[344] Consequently, Edib succeeded in her endeavour to "fill out the field of the novel which had been stagnant for years."[345] Akbal (ibid.) further emphasises the significance of Edib's work abroad. He claims that Edib's oeuvre has increased the global visibility of Turkish literature and argues that it has positioned the Turkish novel successfully in the international literary field.[346] In the same vein, an article published by *Akşam* ([n.n.] 1939) emphasises that Edib represents "our culture" (*kültürümüz*) in the "international world" (*beynelmilel âlem*).

This view is supported by English newspaper articles. Edib generally aroused considerable interest in the United Kingdom (and in the United States), where she was celebrated for both her political activism and her literary as well as essayistic works (see *Aberdeen Journal* [n.n.] 1935). As early as 1927, *The Times* ([n.n.] 1927, 17) referred to her as a "Turkish lady who has achieved distinction as an author and played an important part in the organization of the Nationalist resistance." In a broadcast, Helen Simpson (cited in *The Manchester Guardian* 1935, 22) praises *The Clown and his Daughter* for providing insights into a foreign cosmos:

> I enjoyed this book as I have enjoyed walking through a foreign town in the company of a native, a person who belongs to it. The town keeps its foreignness to the eye, and yet you are able to understand what you see. *The Clown and his Daughter* is a change; it is a mental cruise up the Bosphorous.

Up to the 1960s, *The Clown and his Daughter* was one of very few literary texts from Turkey that was available to English-speaking readers. In *The Times* special issue on Turkey, Geoffrey Lewis (1967, x), the first professor of Turkish language at the University of Oxford, points out that Turkish literature had been translated into English only to a limited degree and highlights the importance of "Halide Edip's masterpiece, *The Clown and his Daughter*, which she wrote

[343] *Sinekli Bakkal* also made film history as it was turned into a film in 1967 and into a series in 2007.

[344] "romanlarındaki derin içtimai görüş ve realite kudreti ilk nazarda okuyucunun gözüne carpmaktadır."

[345] "Halide Edip senelerdenberi durgun olan roman sahasını doldurmaya calışmış ve bunda muvaffak olmuştur."

[346] "[Halide Edib'in] Yabancı memlektlerde Türk romanına bir mevki verdiren eserleri."

in English."[347] An extended obituary for Edib—"a strong, original writer and a personality of the first magnitude"—in *The Times* (1964, 15) remembers her as "one of the most gifted and influential writers of her generation, and a woman of action who fought alongside Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in the Turkish war of independence of 1921-22." *The Clown and His Daughter* is mentioned as one of her best literary works.

As indicated above, the text's two versions can be distinguished through formal as well as content-related aspects. The English version consists of 59 chapters, whereas the Turkish text is split into two parts, consisting of 27 and 23 chapters, respectively. According to my comparative reading of the English and the Turkish originals, the two versions are largely identical in content but differ stylistically. In some cases, Edib puts a stronger or weaker focus on certain details and adds, moves or omits sections.[348] For example, certain characters' names[349] or detailed physical descriptions that appear in *Sinekli Bakkal* are absent or different in the English version.[350] The two versions also differ in their use of terms related to "culture-specific issues," as Edib "gives the meanings of these elements, has them explained within the text, or provides a similar cultural issue in English rather than using footnotes," while the Turkish version does not feature such explanations (Yalçındağ and Karadağ 2020, 54).[351] This chapter builds on the Turkish original (Edib 2007 [1936]). Considering the above-mentioned differences between Edib's English and Turkish originals, I use Halsey's two-part English translation (Edib 2012a [1935] and Edib 2012b [1935]),[352] adapting it wherever necessary and sometimes using my own translation to highlight aspects that Halsey's translation omits.[353] In cases where the English original corresponds literally with the Turkish original, or to illustrate noteworthy differences between the two original versions, I also cite Edib's English original (Edib 1935a).[354]

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[347] According to Lewis, apart from "one or two of Reşat Nuri's novels […] and Yaşar Kemal's *Mehmet, My Hawk*, hardly anything is available in English of the enormous variety of literary works, some of an extremely high standard, that have been produced under the republic." He argues that yet untranslated novels by authors like Peyami Safa, however, would "give a far clearer picture of Turkish life and how it has changed and is changing than any formal social history."

[348] For a detailed overview of the similarities and differences between the two versions including tables, see Yalçındağ and Karadağ (2020).

[349] E.g., Mustafa, the name of Tefvik's uncle or his midwife's name, Ebe Zehra Hanım.

[350] E.g., the imam's appearance, or Selim Pasha's physical attributes.

[351] E.g., "Stringed instruments" instead of "*kemence*" (Yalçındağ and Karadağ 2020, 55).

[352] In this case, the translation is quoted in the main text, and the Turkish original is quoted in the footnotes.

[353] In this case, the Turkish original is quoted in the main text after my own translation, and the Turkish original remains without reference in the footnotes.

[354] In this case, Halide Edib's English original is quoted in the main text, and the Turkish original is quoted in the footnotes; or, the English original is simply added to the Turkish original in the footnotes.

6.2.2. Content

Written in early republican times, *Sinekli Bakkal* takes readers back to the recent Ottoman past, when questions of civilisational belonging and the fate of the empire were the subject of heated debates. Halide Edib retrospectively conveys a multi-faceted picture of the final days of the empire and pays special attention to the close intertwinement of cultural and political developments. The historical narrative is set in fin-de siècle Istanbul during the, in Edib's (2007 [1936], 15) words, "terrific" (*tedhiş*) reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Edib's critical stance towards his network of informers, restrictive censorship and relentless fight against political critics and opponents forms the political backdrop of *Sinekli Bakkal*. Since all her main protagonists are artists or musicians, Edib notably sheds light on how restrictive political systems affect the free development of arts. Her critique targets not only the autocratic policies characteristic of the sultan's hold on power but also, implicitly, Kemalism's radical Westernisation reforms. Whereas in late imperial times censorship and the danger of exile prevent freedom of speech and the free exercise of artistic professions, the cut with the Ottoman past in the early republic makes it impossible to openly engage with the imperial heritage. *Sinekli Bakkal* shows that against the backdrop of the anticipated loss of the imperial order and the political as well as cultural dominance of Europe, feelings of belonging between East and West become a matter of debate across all social strata. The narrative ends with the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 that forces the sultan to restore the Ottoman Constitution of 1876.

When approached through Occidentalism as a theoretical framework, *Sinekli Bakkal* focuses on how macrosocial developments connected with Western-dominated modernity affect individuals and communities in a traditional context. The very first sentence of the novel reveals that the story takes place on Sinekli Bakkal Street in a decrepit neighbourhood in Istanbul's Fatih district: "The narrow black street took its name from that of the neighbourhood where it was found: Sinekli Bakkal, that is, grocery with flies" (Edib 2012a [1935], 3).[355] The narrative centres around the coming-of-age of Rabia, a young girl living in a typical Ottoman *mahalle*. Key locations in that *mahalle* are her father Tevfik's grocery story, her grandfather's (the imam's) house next to the central well and standing in contrast to the surrounding shabby

[355] "Bu dar arka sokak bulunduğu semtin adını almıştır: *Sinekli Bakkal*" (Edib 2007 [1936], 13). The first sentence of the English original is as follows: "The Sinekli-Bakkal—that is, 'The Fly-Plagued Grocer'—was the name generally given to a wide area, containing streets both rich and poor, in the southern part of Istanbul. In reality it was a tiny back street which owned the title" (Edib 1935a, 5).

houses, the mansion (*konak*) inhabited by minister[356] Selim Pasha, his wife Sabiha Hanım and their household.

The story begins with the short romance and marriage between the conservative imam's daughter Emine and the artist Tevfik. Pregnant with Rabia, Emine divorces Tefvik because of his unsteady and non-conformist lifestyle as well as his theatrical imitations of her in public. Tevfik, widely known as "girl-Tevfik" (*kız-Tevfik*) because of his excellent impersonation of women's roles, is a light- and warm-hearted artist and actor of the traditional play, *orta oyunu*. Wherever he goes, Tefvik becomes popular for his impersonation of female characters, his shadow play (*karagöz*) or his witty imitations of other people. He inherits the neighbourhood's grocery story and uses the attached garden as the location for his shows. Stirring unrest with his plays and performances in the eyes of the imam and his followers, Tevfik is exiled when the sultan is informed about the turbulences surrounding the divorce and Tevfik's 'improper' behaviour. In his absence, Emine gives birth to Rabia who grows up under the restrictive and orthodox religious influence and home education of her grandfather, the imam: "Thus this small girl, whose mind's first imaginings were so harsh, dwelt in her first years in a neighbourhood enclosed by walls of prohibition" (Edib 2012a [1935], 16).[357] Wearing patched stiff and thick dresses made out of her mother's and grandfather's cast-offs, the precocious and earnest girl quickly learns to stay away from everything that her grandfather condemns as worldly pleasures.

Becoming aware of her outstanding voice and giftedness, the imam and Emine decide "to make the girl a *hafiza* [one who has memorised the Quran]" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 32)[358] when Rabia is only five years old. At the age of eleven, "Tevfik's daughter performed her memorization [of the Quran] publicly and became known as the smallest hafiz of Istanbul, but also the one with the most lovely sense of style and the most mournful and touching voice" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 33).[359] Because of her talent, Rabia is hired "on a big salary" (ibid.) in Istanbul's mosques to perform her Quran memorisations, where Selim Pasha's wife Sabiha Hanım witnesses her talent. The elderly upper-class lady, who surrounds herself with different illustrious personalities in her lively *konak*, soon invites Rabia to her home where the girl "was overjoyed

[356] "Zaptiye Nazırı" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 43).

[357] "Dimağının ilk tesavvurları bu kadar çetin olan bu küçük kız, hayatının ilk senelerini etrafı memnuat duvarlarıyla çevrilmiş, böyle bir muhitte geçirdi" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 31).

[358] "kızı hafiz yapmaya karar verdiler."

[359] "Tevfikín kızı on bir yaşında hıfzını dinletti ve İstanbul'un en küçük, fakat latif üsluplu ve en yanık sesli hafızı olarak tanındi."

as if she had discovered a new world" (Edib 2012a [1935], 21).[360] Becoming more and more fond of the little Quran *hafiza*, Sabiha Hanım decides that Rabia should receive the best possible education and to support her musical development. Acquainted with the renowned musician and Sufi dervish Vehbi Dede, Sabiha invites Rabia to her *konak* every day so that she can take lessons from the famous dervish. Under the guidance of Vehbi Dede, Rabia soon dives into the universe of traditional folk music:

> And after the tambourine, the child learned the oud, the zither, almost all Turkish [*alaturka*] instruments with an aptitude and speed that left Vehbi Dede astonished. And after a time, she played the stringed instruments, although not as skilfully as her teacher, with a fire, an exultation very much peculiar to herself (ibid., 55).[361]

The pasha and Sabiha's son, Hilmi Bey, follow Rabia's development with interest but suggest complementing her 'Eastern' musical education with a training in classical European music. While the pasha is initially hesitant about Rabia becoming familiar with European customs, his Europeanised "alafranga" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 55) son Hilmi nevertheless arranges for a meeting between his famous friend, the renowned Italian pianist Peregrini, and Rabia. Peregrini is a former Catholic priest who left his previous profession and came to Istanbul, where he works as a music teacher.[362] As Habib (1942, 2) summarises in his *Cumhuriyet* review, Peregrini "leaving this priesthood of his, and his Christianity, and his homeland behind, came to Istanbul. He is a smart man who, now resting in the spiritual climate of the East, ran away from the spiritual climate of the West."[363] Like Vehbi Dede, Peregrini is instantly impressed by Rabia. Underlining his godlessness and his belonging to the spheres of Cesar and the devil, he, however, declines Hilmi's suggestion to teach her classical European music: "The child belongs to Allah; let her remain where she belongs" (Edib 1935a, 59).[364] In this key passage, Western civilisation, personified by Peregrini, immediately recognises the value and autonomy of Eastern art and takes the decision to not interfere.

Rabia's life changes significantly when her father Tevfik returns from exile and reopens his grocery store together with his best friend Rakım, whom the novel introduces as a dwarf actor.

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[360] "yeni bir dünya keşfetmiş gibi sevindi" (ibid., 38).

[361] "Ve çocuk teften sonra ud, kanun, hemen alaturka sazların hepsini,Vehbi Dede'yi hayran bırakan bir sür'atle, kabiliyetle öğrendi. Bir zaman sonra telli sazları, hocası kadar maharetle çalmıyorsa bile, pek kendisine mahsus bir ateşle, heyecanla çalıyordu" (ibid., 76f).

[362] In the novel, he is introduced as follows: "Peregrini, he was a European [*Frenk*], who teaches the piano in Westernised [*alafranga*] families" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 58) ("O, alafranga ailelerde piyano hocalığı eden bir Frenkti").

[363] "Fakat o papazlığı da, hırstiyanlığı da, vatanını da bırakarak Istanbula'a geldi. Garbın ruh ikliminden kaçıp şarkın ruh ikliminde dinlenen zeki adam."

[364] "Çocuk Allah'ın, bırakın olduğu yerde kalsın" (Edib 2007 [1936], 83).

For Rabia, from one day to the next, "everything suddenly has changed, the world happened to become the most beautiful dream of all" (Edib 2007 [1936], 93).[365] Her father, a tall, "childlike spirited" (*çocuk gibi*) "strange being" (*acayıp bir mahlûk*) with a "laughing mouth underneath the long brown moustache" (*uzun kumral bıyıkların altında gülen ağız*) (ibid., 94), is overcome with joy when he meets his 11-year-old daughter for the first time in his life. Trying to resolve the open dispute between Tefvik and the imam over whom the girl should stay with, Selim Pasha decides to let Rabia choose under whose guardianship she wants to live. Rabia instantly moves in with her father and, from that day on, works together with him and Rakım in the grocery as well as supports her father's endeavour to perform *karagöz* in the backyard of the store. As part of the agreement with the imam, all Rabia's earnings from the readings at the mosques go to her grandfather. Rabia, however, also has another source of income. Thanks to her dedicated leadership and hard work with Tevfik, Rakım and another friend of Tevfik's, the Romani woman Penbe,[366] "the 'Istanbul Grocery' again became the busiest shopping place in the neighbourhood" (ibid., 109).[367] Rabia's weekly music lessons given by Vehbi Dedi are transferred from Selim Bey's *konak* to Tevfik's place above the grocery, making it the intellectual and musical centre also for Hilmi and his friends. As part of Hilmi's entourage, Peregrini's interest in Rabia increases; he not only joins the gatherings at her house but also attends her readings and listens to Tevfik's plays in the grocery's garden.

This untroubled life, however, is not of a lasting nature: used to the company of young, educated men like Hilmi and his friends as well as male mentors like Vehbi Dede and Selim Pasha, Rabia's natural place among them in the community is increasingly regarded as improper when she grows sexually mature. Suddenly, her womanhood and hence pending marriage become a matter of concern for the whole neighbourhood. Rabia succeeds in refusing proposals from different individuals and continues her work at the grocery, despite the fact that the pasha finds it unsuitable. The relationship between her and Peregrini also gradually alters as they begin to perceive each other differently:

> When Rabia saw the change in the pianist's eyes, her cheeks also blushed, the color of some ancient rare wine, and she let down her long eyelashes over her radiant eyes. Having understood that Peregrini had suddenly noticed she had grown up, had become a woman, she felt the strange shame that Adam felt in the garden of Eden when he first saw that he was naked. For the first

[365] "Her şey birdenbire değişmiş, dünya rüyaların en güzeli ulurvermişti."

[366] Her name is "Pembe" in the Turkish version.

[367] "'İstanbul Bakkaliyesi' gene o semtin en işlek alışveriş yeri olmuş."

> time, the simple and casual relationship that had existed between them for years became a vineyard that was a violent beating to their hearts (Edib 2012a [1935], 119).[368]

It is at this point that Rabia first asks Sabiha Hanım about the possibility of a Muslim woman marrying a Christian man.

But Rabia's life is also affected by other, external events that are closely linked to the unstable political situation in the decaying empire, characterised by political unrest, a growing espionage system, continued detentions of alleged dissidents and the deep mistrust of the ruling sultan. After Rabia's mother Emine dies, filled with bitterness and consumed with envy and hate for her ex-husband and daughter, her grandfather, the imam, denounces Tevfik at the Sublime Porte for dubious gatherings at his house and questionable imitations of high-ranking politicians. Although Tevfik can save his neck this time, he is soon arrested and expelled from Istanbul. This time, it is the Europeanised Hilmi who seals Tevfik's fate: he persuades the politically uninvolved Tevfik, dressed up in women clothes, to pick up seditious Young Turk writings from the foreign post office. Tevfik gets caught, and since Selim Pasha rightly suspects his own son behind the operation, both Tevfik and Hilmi are sent to Damascus. The pasha, a loyal advocate for the imperial order, however, cannot get over how his position has inflicted suffering on his wife and other persons closely associated with him, like Rabia. After some time, he resigns, a decision that eventually leads to the dissolution of the luxurious household with its carriages and slaves whose maintenance costs he cannot bear anymore.

After the expulsion of her father, now 18-year-old Rabia becomes a "living corpse" (*canlı cenazeye*) (Edib 2007 [1936]), 245) out of concern for Tevfik's well-being. It is only through the help of Rakım and Penbe that she manages to continue running the grocery store. What makes Rabia feel better, however, are both Peregrini's cautious visits and new achievements in her professional development. She becomes a teacher of Turkish music in the house of an Ottoman prince and reads the Quran during "Mevlid Kandili"—the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muhammed—at the house of the government's Second Chamberlain: "Suddenly she felt at heart the childish pride that her fame had awakened in her in the first days of her profession as a hafiz. How strange life was! It was not like it did not resemble the streets of the Sinekli Bakkal district. This analogy made Rabia smile" (ibid., 298).[369] Although Rabia had

[368] "Piyanistin gözlerinde tahavvülü gören Rabia'nın yanakları da nadide bir eski şarap rengini aldı, uzun kirpikleri parlak gözlerinin üstüne indi. Büyüdüğünü, kadın olduğunu Peregrini'nin birdenbir ekeşfettiğini anlamış, Âdem'in Cennet bahçesinde kendini ilk çıplak gördüğü zaman duyduğu acayip hicabı duymuştu. Aralarında yıllar süren sade ve gayri şahsi rabıta ilk defa yüreklerine çarpıntı olan bir bağ oluvermişti" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 150f).

[369] "Birdenbire içinde ilk fafizliği günlerindeki şöhretinin verdiği çocuk gururu uyandı. Hayat ne garipti! Sinekli Bakkal emtinin sokaklarına benzemiyor değildi. Rabia bu mukayeseye tebessüm etti."

made it from the impoverished Sinekli Bakkal to the palaces of high society at a very young age, her modesty and rootedness do not allow her to value her success in this social class more than that achieved in the *mahalle*.

At the age of 20, Rabia "had students in every quarter of the city" (ibid., 319)[370] and yet again an unforeseen incident unsettles her life. The death of his mother causes Peregrini to leave Istanbul and return to Italy after 15 years. Without knowing whether he will come back, Rabia, decides for herself to marry Peregrini, with specific conditions in mind: "The decision: eventually, one of her heart's thousand and one arms will absolutely catch hold of Peregrini. She will make him a Muslim, and she will marry him" (ibid., 322).[371] After more than a year, Peregrini eventually returns to Istanbul with the same idea in his mind and asks Rabia to marry him. When it becomes clear that she will not leave the Sinekli Bakkal and move anywhere else for the sake of him keeping his name and religion, Peregrini gives in and agrees to completely convert to her world: "'One time my mother brought me to the world, and one time it is you, who brings me to an utterly different world, Rabia. What is my name?' 'Osman'" (ibid., 326).[372]

A few weeks later, the wedding takes place, Peregrini—now known as Osman—moves in with Rabia and the couple tries to adapt to the new circumstances. The couple sometimes gets into arguments about questions of lifestyle. While wealthy Osman tries to convince Rabia to live a more convenient and materially comfortable life by moving to a bigger house or spending the hot summer months in a lovely *yalı* nearby the Bosporus, for instance, Rabia wants Osman to become accustomed to a more modest life in Sinekli Bakkal. Both partners end up making concessions—Osman works on integrating himself into the social structures of the *mahalle* by regularly visiting the local coffee house, and Rabia tries to compromise on the question of European furniture. When Rabia's grandfather, the imam, dies, the couple decides to renovate his big house after Rabia becomes pregnant and move there. Although the doctors recommend an abortion due to the low chances of both mother and child surviving the necessary Caesarean birth, Rabia decides to bear the child. The novel ends on a happy note when not only Rabia safely gives birth to a healthy son but also Tevfik finally returns to Istanbul against the backdrop of the 1908 Young Turk Revolution.

[370] "Şehrin her köşesinde talebesi vardı."

[371] "Karar: Gönlünün binbir kolundan biri mutlak bir gün Peregrini'yi yakalacak Onu Müslüman edecek, onunla evlenecek."

[372] "'Bir kere annem beni dünyaya getirdi, bir kere de sen, bambaşka bir dünyaya beni getiriyorsun Rabia. Yeni adım ne?' 'Osman.'"

6.3. *Sinekli Bakkal* through the Occidentalist Lens

6.3.1. Spatiality: When the West Moves towards the East

"The Istanbul grocery, the centre of the world!"

Halide Edib's novel presents a panoramic picture of late Ottoman society, highlighting how the local is necessarily embedded in broader, often global structures relating to processes of modernisation and development in the context of the Occidentalist condition. *Sinekli Bakkal*'s different characters allow us to draw a complex image of the individual positionalities and possibilities within the imperial order shaped by certain forms (or the lack) of movement: a girl from a traditional context who fights for space and visibility; an Italian musician leaving Europe for good and reducing his radius of action by settling in the *mahalle*; and various other forced im_mobilities such as the slave Kanarya, who is given away to the imperial palace and obliged to spend her life in a golden cage; or Rabia's father Tevfik, who is compelled to move to Damascus. Above all, Edib delineates how female emancipation may look within a conservative setting: at the centre of the narrations stands Rabia's emancipation, which is portrayed as a development from oppression to increased self-determination. In the beginning of the narration, external factors restrain Rabia's development as a child; she goes through an isolated childhood, confined to the walls of the imam's house. Being responsible for her grandfather's well-being, care and chores are an integral part of Rabia's daily life. Not allowed to play with other children outside in the streets, Rabia's range of action is quite typically located *inside* the house where also her mother Emine dwells: "At six years of age, she was a girl who saw to housework properly. She took care of everything her grandfather needed. These were the things that were customary at that time in Sinekli Bakkal for every female child" (Edib 2012a [1935], 16).[373] Rabia is not allowed to visit the neighbourhood primary school either, as her grandfather decides to homeschool her. As the patriarchal head of the family, the imam is responsible for everything going on *outside* the four walls. Rabia meets social expectations regarding what it means to be a girl: she appears as a very adapted child who has learned early on to balance the sullenness and disgruntlement of her environment with care and needlessness: "She became so well-behaved that every mother in the neighborhood pointed her out to their daughters as an example. To defend their lives, like birds and insects that take on the colors of their

[373] "Yedi yaşında adamakıllı ev işi gören bir kızdı. Hele büyük babasının hizmetine hep o bakardı. Bunlar Sinekli Bakkal'da her kız çocuğu için o zaman tabiî olan şeylerdi" (Edib 2007 [1936], 30). The English original is slightly different: "Rabia, Tewfik's daughter, was five. Like other girls belonging to her humble station of life, she had to do a certain amount of household work. She made coffee, washed dishes, peeled potatoes, and served her elders" (Edib 1935a, 17).

surroundings, she also made her face, her manner and her voice conform to the expressions surrounding her, where no one smiled, no one amused himself" (ibid., 17).[374] Living under the strong influence and guidance of her grandfather, the parameters of Rabia's daily life are shaped by the imam's religious rules, rigid manners and strict education. This externally imposed immobility and lack of freedom suppress Rabia's *joie de vivre* and hinders the formation of an authentic Self, hence making her internal life feel "jammed like a gun powder reservoir" (Edib 2007 [1936], 118).[375] Rabia's rather limited and immobile childhood Self transforms into a more active adolescent and finally quite independent and productive female adult. Based on Sabiha Hanım's educational and financial support, Rabia's outstanding musical talent and strong inner will become the keys to her mental and social mobility. Through the acquaintance with the Sufi dervish and musician Vehbi Dede, Rabia becomes familiar with Eastern instruments and folk songs connecting her with the Ottoman history of music beyond her grandfather's exclusively religious domain. Her professional engagement across Istanbul allows her to move in and between the different social worlds of Ottoman society. Every day she leaves her humble accommodation in the Fatih neighbourhood to work in mosques across the city, spend time at the pasha's mansion and later also at the homes of princes and other high state representatives. When Rabia moves in with her father and helps him set up the grocery store, restrictions make space for the experience of freedom:

> Busying herself with many years of accumulated dust, grime and dirt, Rabia's heart was as light as water. For the first time in her life the walls of prohibition had been pulled down. As if a hand untying her heartstrings had said: "Laugh, play, love and live as much as you want!" (Edib 2007 [1936], 100).[376]

Together with Tevfik and Rakım, Rabia experiences childlike happiness and freedom for the first time in her life: "The three were happy as children" (Edib 2012a [1935], 74).[377] The

[374] "O kadar uslu oldu ki mahallede her ana onu kızına numune diye gösteriyordu. Nefsini müdafaa için etraflarının rengini alan kuşlar ve böcekler gibi o da yüzünü, tavrını ve sesini, muhitinin gülmeyen, eğlenmeyen sıkıntılı ifadesine uydurmuştu" (Edib 2007 [1936], 32). The English original is slightly different: "The Imam's constant preaching that to be gay was an abomination was schooling her in a fixed gravity. This outward solemnity and restraint was perhaps in some degree the result of a self-protective instinct, similar to that of birds and insects, which take on the colour of their surroundings to avert danger" (Edib 1935a, 19).

[375] Full quote: "Yaşamak arzuları, içinde bir barut mahzeni gibi sıkışıp kalan çocuğun yüzündeki ifade tamamen silinmemişti." The English original speaks of Rabia's "long-suppressed desire for freedom, which formed a sort of powder-magazine within her young mind" (Edib 1935a, 101).

[376] "Senelerin yığdığı pislik, kir ve tozla uğraşan Rabia'nın kalbi su gibi hafifti. Ömründe ilk defa etrafını çeviren memnuat duvarı dibine kadar yıkılmıştı. Güya bir el, kalbinin bağlarını çözmüş, ona, 'Istediğin kadar gül, oyna, sev ve yaşa!' demişti." The English original says: "Rabia, struggling with the accumulated dirt of years, was feeling a lightness of heart which she had never experienced in the Imam's house. For the first time in her life she was working in the spirit of play, released from the colossal inhibitions of her childhood. She was at last a free human being, tasting joy without a sense of guilt" (Edib 1935b, 74).

[377] "Üçü de çocuk gibi Mesut" (Edib 2007 [1936], 100). This sentence is missing in the English original.

traditional grocery Rabia runs with Tevfik and Rakım is a buzzing place. Here, the threads of the narrative come together; visitors are received, music is played, debates are held and customs as well as cultural practices are maintained: "Life at the shop for the three was like a day that precedes a feast day. In their opinion, Sinekli Bakkal, with its broken pavement, its foul smells, its darkness, had become with joy alone the center, the soul of a living universe erupting in a great booming noise" (ibid., 83).[378]

Deeply rooted in the multi-layered communitarian structures that span across social classes, Rabia builds up a successful career as a hafiz and later music teacher. Productivity and dynamism, Edib seems to suggest, can be combined with a communal life and must not necessarily lead to the individualistic outlook of Western modernity: Rabia and Tevfik's traditional grocery—standing in contrast to the increasing uniformity and anonymity of capitalist department stores—became the "busiest place of purchase" in the quarter (2007 [1936], 109).[379] Unlike the protagonist Handan in Edib's eponymous novel *Handan* (1912), for instance, Rabia does not consider living in Europe, not even when she marries a European. She decides to not move away and, without hesitation, remains faithful to her cultural and living environment. At the same time, by moving all around Istanbul to see her students, Rabia in fact lives a rather mobile life. Rabia's increasing mobility also attracts Peregrini's attention:

> In the old days, even despite her nimbleness and agility, she was a little slow. Peregrini called her 'Andante'. Now it was necessary to call her 'Presto'. In the past, he perceived that he was quicker than Rabia, but now he was forced to speed up into a quick tempo and movement, in order to bring his state of being into conformity with the girl's (Edib 2012b [1935]), 26).[380]

While Rabia runs from one side of Istanbul to the other for her lessons, she always returns to the fold of Fatih in the evening, knowing exactly where she belongs (Edib 2007 [1936], 319).[381] The narrative reveals Edib's critical interpretation of the general move towards Occidentalist globality. By means of Rabia, Edib suggests that a 'productive' and mobile—and hence fulfilled—life can also take place within local contexts. Contrary to Safa's protagonist Neriman (see Chapter 5), Rabia does not long for a life different from the one she lives. Although Rabia's talent sparks great interest not only in traditional circles but also among the Europeanised Ottoman upper-class society, the idea to leave Sinekli Bakkal and move to more 'modern'

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[378] "Üçlerin dükkân hayatı, ertesi olmayan bir bayrama benziyordu. Onlara göre, kırık kaldırımlı, pis kokulu, karanlık Sinekli Bakkal, yalnız neşe ile gümbür gümbür atan canlı bir kâinatın ruhu, merkezi oluvermişti" (Edib 2007 [1936], 109).

[379] "'Istanbul Bakkaliyesi' gene o semtin en işlek alışveriş yeri olmuş."

[380] "Eski zamanlarda bile çevikliğine, becerikliliğine rağmen biraz yavaştı. Ona Peregrini andante derdi. Şimdi presto demek lâzım.Vaktiyle kendisinin Rabia'ya göre fazla çabuk olduğunu hissederdi. Halbuki bugün varlığını kıza uydurmak için daha seri bir tempo ile harekete mecbur" (Edib 2007 [1936], 271).

[381] "Şehrin bir başından öteki başına koşuyor."

quarters in Istanbul or even to Europe does not even cross her mind.[382] Edib transforms the Occidentalist image of a stagnant East in Rabia's chosen and positively evaluated rootedness and shows that activism and mobility can take on different forms. The author suggests that a deliberately chosen connectedness with local structures neither contradicts productivity nor female self-determination or professional fulfilment. With Rabia and her conscious engagement with tradition, the author emphasises the importance of continuity and the necessity to integrate grown structures into evolving social and cultural systems. The stereotypical image of Eastern *stagnancy* is reassessed as *constancy*: the author argues that connectedness with traditional local structures does not necessarily mean stagnation and financial hardship, as in the case of Şinasi in Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*. Rabia's self-development, both personally and professionally, suggests that one does not have to follow what is imagined as desirable European standards in order to be happy and (economically) successful.

While Rabia's motion and pace increase gradually, Peregrini's transformation to Osman, in turn, goes hand in hand with decreased movement and speed. Edib explicitly refers to this change in the English version of the novel:

> It was not so easy to decipher Osman in his new life. Though he had talked with his old gusto in the room upstairs, there were longish spells of silence during which *he sat motionless*. One couldn't have imagined it in Peregrini. *Altogether the man had fallen into a more moderate tempo*. Was that Rabia's work? (Edib 1935a, 298; emphasis added).[383]

Through Peregrini/Osman's reduced dynamism, Edib challenges the positive evaluation of heightened progress, dynamism and speed that, as outlined in Chapter 2, stands at the centre of the Occidentalist condition. Describing Peregrini's old lifestyle as characterised by restless wandering detached from the past (see also Chapter 6.3.3.), she suggests that 'moderate' mobility and pace allow for development that remains connected with one's origins and localities.

With Peregrini's move toward Rabia and her lifeworld, Edib also makes a more general point about the dynamics of Western-dominated modernity: she illustrates that the political and cultural orientation towards Europe should not be accepted as an unquestionable given. Unlike in many other novels of the time, it is not the 'Eastern' character who sets off on a journey

[382] When her husband Peregrini convinces her to spend the summer in a chic *yalı* (mansion) on the Bosporus, Rabia soon feels uprooted and her happiness shallow.

[383] The Turkish version is slightly different. It does not include the explicit reference to mobility but speaks of Peregrini's "fire" or "passion" (*ateş*): "Osman'ın yeni hayatında ne şekil aldığını anlamak o kadar kolay değildi. Yukarıdaki odada eski günlerden fazla bir ateşle konuşmuştu. Fakat mutfağa iner inmez, aile arasına karışır karışmaz yeni bir sükûtîlik gösteriyordu."

toward achieving Western education, customs and lifestyle. Instead, it is the Western character Peregrini, who moves to the Ottoman Empire, engaging himself deeply with Ottoman thinking and traditions and finally adapting to Rabia's living environment. With the character of Peregrini/Osman, Edib reverses the common literary motif of the Westernised young adult striving for European civilisation and European approval. By means of Peregrini, Edib makes the West move towards the East: Although Peregrini is introduced as a true European, teaching a Western instrument in *alafranga* families, he "did not resemble the other European piano teachers. Speaking Turkish like a Turk, he was also counted among the most knowledgeable men in Istanbul regarding Eastern philosophy and culture. One says that he has given up on his homeland and religion" (Edib 2007 [1936], 58f).[384] Peregrini is well versed in both Western and Eastern history of thought, and he is known for his unlimited curiosity as well as eagerness to engage with the context he has become part of. In an age when Ottoman intellectuals embraced French culture and language, his Turkish is "fluent" (*pürüzsüz*) (ibid., 56).

Edib wrote her novel in a time when traditional music, literature and language were widely neglected and devalued among middle and upper classes as being 'unmodern.' With Peregrini's move to the Ottoman Empire, his adaption to the customs of the *mahalle* and his interest in many aspects of Eastern culture, Edib makes a point about the equal value of what is evoked as Eastern and Western traditions. At a time when Western-dominated modernity is increasingly embraced as an allegedly universal developmental goal, Peregrini's ability to engage with alterity beyond what is generally seen as the West as well as his willingness to adapt can be regarded as an unusual counterpoint. At the same time, Edib shows that despite all courage, it nevertheless can be challenging to adapt to a different value system and lifestyle.

While Peregrini chooses to move to the East and Rabia decides to stay there, other protagonists in the novel embody im_mobilities that are not self-chosen. Those forced im_mobilities stand in stark contrast to the 'luxury' of self-determined (in)activities, which in the case of Peregrini are based on a comfortable financial situation and status and, in the case of Rabia, stem from her talent, active emancipation and wish to support others. While Ottoman slavery (see Erdem 1996) is hardly a topic discussed critically in Edib's non-literary texts, her novel displays some criticism about forced immobility in Ottoman high society. By means of the Circassian slave Kanarya, Rabia's friend, who is educated at Selim Pasha's *konak* and then handed over as a present to the sultan's palace, Edib reveals the challenges and tragedies related to the trade of

[384] "pek de öteki Avrupalı piyano hocalarına benzemiyordu.Türkçeyi Türk gibi söyler, Şark felsefesini, harsını İstanbul'da en iyi bilenler arasında sayılırdı. Memleketini ve dinini terk etmiş olduğu söylenirdi."

women (Edib 2007 [1936], 70f). In a conversation with Selim Pasha, Rabia learns that Kanarya is about to be sent to Abdülhamid's "golden cage" as a "living present" (*canlı hediye*) (ibid., 72): "They will throw Kanarya Hanım in the golden cage next week… From now on she won't sing songs anymore in our konak…" (ibid., 69).[385] Learning that her friend and companion will be sent away, Rabia is overwhelmed with sadness, prompting the pasha, as the representative of the imperial order and its customs, to tell her: "Why are your eyes filled with tears? It is not that bad; she will go to palace and will become a palace person. The golden cage is not such a bad thing, my girl" (ibid., 70).[386] Having witnessed Kanarya's sorrow, however, Rabia perceives the palace as a rather saddening place.[387]

The image of the Ottoman Empire as restrictive and unfree, epitomised by life in the palace, is confirmed by a different form of immobility coming to the fore in Rabia's conversation with a prince who has hired her as a musician (ibid., Pt. II, Ch. 7). Rabia is surprised to learn of the immobile life the prince is forced to live within the confines of the palace walls and the imperial garden attached to it.[388] As the conversation between the prince and Rabia develops, they even find parallels in their restrained upbringing despite their different socio-economic backgrounds. Prohibited to play, move freely, independently and light-heartedly, the prince's life in the 'golden cage' is also dominated by far-reaching restrictions. Rabia's emancipation from the patriarchal imam and her largely autonomous life impress the prince, whose decadent and artificial living environment is contrasted with the 'authenticity' of Rabia's humble living environment:

> "Oh, how distressing!" he said, his eyes filling at once. But somehow it was enjoyable to be distressed about people who had the originality to eat only bread and that evil-smelling vegetable for supper. His Palace folk provided him with no distresses of that sort. All their troubles were based on sex, on jealousy, on intrigue . . . oh, the monotony of it all! (Edib 1935a, 244).[389]

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[385] "Kanarya Hanım'ı gelecek hafta altın kafesine koyacaklar... Artık konağımızda bir daha şarkı söyleyemeyecek..." The English version is slightly toned down (see also next footnote): "Canary will be in a golden cage next week; she cannot sing in our Konak for long" (Edib 1935a, 49).

[386] "Niye gözlerin doldu? Fenâ değil, Saray'a gidecek, saraylı olacak. Altın kafes o kadar fenâ bir şey değil, kızım." In the English original it says: "Don't look distressed; it is not really a cage. I mean that she is going to the Palace to be a great lady" (Edib 1935a, 49).

[387] "In Rabia's mind, the palace immediately became a golden cage." ("Rabia'nın zihninde Saray derhal altın bir kafes oldu") (Edib 2007 [1936], 70).

[388] Edib's own acquaintance with a prince might have inspired her to include the peculiarities of palaces and their residents in the novel. Referring to the more open social structures after the Young Turk Revolution, she shows sympathy for a popular Ottoman prince in her memoir, who "seemed agreeably excited over the new regime, which allowed him to meet people and move about like any ordinary human being. So far he had been buried in his library and had only been able to ride about within the limit of his own large park" (Edib 1926, 297).

[389] "Efendi'nin gözleri dolmuştu. Fakat kendisi, gözlerine yaş getiren bu teessürden memnun. Kuru ekmekten başka yiyecek bulamayanlar, bir buçuk odaya dolup yatan bütün bir aile, bunlarda bir orjinalite buluyordu. Saray'da elemler, kederler hep

How much the Ottoman elite is detached from what is evoked as 'reality' is also illustrated by the personal information the prince provides about his family members. As neither of them is free to choose a profession, the prince's father, for example, loves play-acting a sea captain, while his cousin puts on fireman's clothes pretending to be a fireman. Within the high walls of the fake and artificial palace, Ottoman elites imitate not only European royalty but also melancholically long for what is imagined as the simple but exciting life of the commoners. Although Rabia finds this kind of "false life game" (*yalancıktan yaşamak oyununu*) (Edib 2007 [1936], 304) sad and pathetic, "for the first time she understood that he was a human being like herself, with desires and needs" (Edib 2012b [1935]), 57).[390] The forced immobilities of the "palace people" are part of the same system that forces political opponents into a different kind of im_mobility by sending them to prison or exile. Tevfik, the artist, and Hilmi, the nationally oriented political agitator, are both removed in order to protect the sultan's restrictive order.

Similar to Edib's 1926 autobiography, *Sinekli Bakkal* criticises the political aspects of late Ottoman rule that forced different people into different forms of im_mobility, slaves, princes and political opponents alike. Politically, the image of empire hence becomes a framework for restriction and limited mobility on different levels. Socially, the imperial setting unfolds as a panorama of different, partially conflicting images: characterised by patriarchal and religious authorities who decide on people's radius of action, the neighbourhood is also evoked as a space of shared communitarian activities and cultural dynamism. The image of Europe, in turn, unfolds mostly *in absentia*—neither Europe nor Istanbul's Europeanised quarter are of any attraction to Rabia. The modern wanderer Peregrini also turns his back on Europe, deciding to embrace (Eastern) locality rather than (Westernised) globality.

6.3.2. Civilisation: The *Mahalle* Writes Back

"All being is a shadow, an illusion, a reflection cast on a mirror"

As a historical post-imperial novel, *Sinekli Bakkal* reflects a particular interest in the late Ottoman struggle between imperial and national narratives of belonging. The loss of empire is looming, and the irreversible transformation of both the political and cultural order becomes tangible. Affinities to an overarching imperial belonging are oriented towards what is imagined as the Eastern civilisational context, whereas nationalist positionalities are oriented towards the

bir örnek. Kıskançlık, entrika, hırs, artık kusacak kadar iğrendiği cinsiyet ihtilaçları!" (Edib 2007 [1936], 303). The last part of the English original quoted above is missing in the Turkish version.

[390] "Rabia içinden ilk defa Efendi'yi de dilekleri, mahrumiyetleri olan kendisi gibi bir insan olarak gördü" (Edib 2007 [1936], 304).

West. In addition to questions of imperial and national affiliation, it is most notably the neighbourhood as a smaller unit of belonging that takes centre stage. Protagonists like Rabia and Tevfik are portrayed as embodying a natural connection with Eastern (cultural) heritage; and it is the narrator's focalisation on them that illuminates undesirable developments, such as the excessive Europeanisation of upper-class representatives as well as a more general trend towards Westernisation. The quest for cultural authenticity and the anticipation of losing what is perceived as Eastern legacies stands at the very heart of *Sinekli Bakkal*. Edib's stance is a political one: despite having been at the forefront of the Turkish independence war and taking a pioneer role in the nationalist movement, the writer comments on the social and cultural implications of Kemalist reforms and their ingratiation with Western-dominated modernity. Criticising the superficiality and shallowness of the Westernisation reforms in post-imperial Turkey that form the historical backdrop of the novel's publication, Edib promotes certain aspects of the diminishing Ottoman cultural life and a set of (largely conservative) values as key pillars for the nation-state project.[391]

In explicit terms, the question of civilisational belonging within imperial or national frameworks is discussed between Selim Pasha and his Europeanised son Hilmi with regard to Rabia's musical education. For Hilmi, real talent and virtuosity are displayed on European stages only, which is why Rabia's giftedness should be supported by Western teachers so that she would be invited to "European stages" (*Avrupa sahneleri*) (Edib 2007 [1936], 58). The prestige of musicians and the value of their achievements are linked to the idea of a European standard; 'making it to Europe,' however, requires training in Western classical music, instruments and singing, an education Hilmi wants Rabia to profit from so that she might become a famous "prima donna in Europe" (ibid.).[392]

In Hilmi's opinion, Western musicians are better than Eastern musicians in terms of both form and content, as the former embody simultaneously "science" (*fen*) and "life" (*hayat*) (ibid., 61).[393] Western music is described as being characterised by a combination of rationality and emotion, and in this synthesis, virtuosity and passion are brought into accordance. Hilmi contrasts this positive hetero-image of the West with how he thinks that Easterners are unable

[391] This is an argument she expounds on in her book *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, which was published in the same year as *Sinekli Bakkal* (see Chapter 6.4.).

[392] "Kimbilir, belkide Avrupa sahnelerine çıkacak bir 'primadonna' olur." In the English version, the reference to "prima donnas" is missing. Here, Hilmi suggests, "I should engage Peregrini as her music master. Two years under his tutelage would improve her voice so greatly… she would be good enough for a European stage" (Edib 1935a, 40).

[393] In the English original Hilmi says, "[t]here is both life and science in Western music. As to ours… poof! ..." (Edib 1935a, 41).

to achieve such artistic grandness of character: "laziness" (*tembellik*) and "narcotic modesty" (*uyuşturucu kanaati*) lead to Easterners' "wailing, weeping music" (*inleyen, ağlayan mûsikîmiz*) (ibid., 41).[394] For Hilmi, the melancholic undercurrent of traditional Eastern music rather reveals the backward-looking nature of the East that is embedded in the centuries of old imperial frameworks inhibiting forward-looking change. Lacking both substantive breadth and sophisticated technique, neither Eastern music's content nor its form convince Hilmi. His argumentation is similar to Neriman's stance towards the East in Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*—whereas the active West makes progress at all levels, the passive East is described as soporific and stagnant. Edib seems to take a critical stance towards Hilmi, letting her narrator sarcastically remark that his image of European culture is rather idealising and focused on the splendid form only: "His soft eyes moistened with longing for the dream of an unreachable [*erişilmez*] civilisation where 'Prima Donnas' sang songs on stages" (ibid., 58).[395] Figuratively speaking, Hilmi falls for a stage set, for an image that hardly represents the full picture of reality.

Hilmi's father, Selim Pasha, criticises his son's uncritical admiration of European music for mixing up exaggerated performances with life itself: "[speaking to Hilmi] 'You remember you said that both European music and European literature represented life. But let me ask you, in life have you ever seen a man making a declaration of love with such a tumult of words as if he played in *orta oyunu*?'" (ibid., 60).[396] The pasha's image of Europe also differs significantly from Hilmi's: "'I see nothing but rapaciousness, a gross materialism, hypocrisy, and lack of reserve in Europeans, men and women'" (Edib 1935a, 41).[397] The pasha can be regarded as a representative of a certain (Eastern) form: the imperial order standing for the Eastern tradition in every respect. As one of the empire's highest-ranking officials, he is concerned with securing the status quo and preventing political upheaval. His most important goal, hence, is to guarantee the survival of the empire, endangered by the dominant image of Europe representing progress and freedom. In his eyes, those—like Hilmi—who embrace European civilisation and admire the French ideals of republicanism and democracy pose a significant threat to the survival of

[394] In the English original Hilmi says, "I should say that the contentment of the masses, the idle luxury of the rich, are both due to the sleepy, moaning, insinuating melodies of the East" (Edib 1935a, 41).

[395] "Yumuşak gözleri 'primadonna'ları, sahnelerde şarkı söyleyen bir medeniyetin erişilmez hulyâsının hasretiyle sulandı." This passage is missing in the English original.

[396] "Sen hani Avrupa mûsikîsi de, edebiyatı da hayatı temsil eder, diyordun. Fakat sana sorarım, hayatta orta oyununa çıkar gibi, okadar kalabalık bir ağızla ilanı aşk eden erkek gördün mü?" In the English original, the reference to *orta oyunu* is omitted: "Well, you tell me that European music and literature is based on life. Who ever saw such bustle and hustle, such unnecessary fuss made over the simple acts of life? Can you imagine any sane human being making love or dying in that spectacular manner?" (Edib 1935a, 41).

[397] "Onların [*Frenk*] erkeğinde, karısında da ben, yüzsüzlükten, açgözlülükten başka bir şey görmedim" (Edib 2007 [1936], 61).

the Ottoman Empire. From the pasha's point of view, whatever content might endanger the imperial form is to be banished, which is also why he emphatically supports Rabia's education in the Eastern musical tradition. The ongoing debates between son and father about the quality of music reveals to what extent arts and politics are intertwined. Dependent on the respective political point of view, Eastern (or, respectively, Western) music is embraced or devalued.

The dispute regarding the question of music reveals a broader generational conflict not only about civilisational belonging but also about the role of religion. Hilmi perceives "Islamic civilisation" as backward, underdeveloped, passive and stagnant, whereas the secularising Western civilisation is presented as characterised by material advancement and higher living standards. The pasha gets furious when his son insults the "tradition of a Muslim nation,"[398] while Hilmi cannot understand why his father defends the "Islamic countries" (*mülk-i İslam*) that "lie in ruins from end to end" (*baştan başa virane*) (Edib 2007 [1936], 61). What Hilmi and his friends admire most about the Italian musician Peregrini is his atheistic turning away from religion and the church. The combination of secularism and material wealth are regarded as indicators of civilisational advancement. This focus on materialism enrages the pasha: "May their mansions collapse on their heads. If you […] equate mansions and prosperous places with civilisation, you shall be damned!" (ibid.).[399] The pasha is disappointed in Hilmi's unlimited and superficial admiration for the West, while Hilmi is ashamed of his father's unqualified dedication to a despotic ruler. Both father and son argue for and against certain social and cultural forms—the established pasha for the imperial, the activist Hilmi for a Europeanised, subsequently national Turkish form. Both characters display two diverging sets of images surrounding the notion of Empire: for the pasha, Empire stands for stability, continuity and congruence between political form and civilisational content. For Hilmi, adherence to Empire means holding on to an outdated model preventing the disassociation from the old and the emergence of a modern and new civilisation in line with Occidentalist standards. While for the pasha the image of Europe should not be a directory for imitation and admiration, for Hilmi, it has come to stand for quality, development, productivity and advancement in all societal spheres.

Neither the pasha's 'outdated' attachment to a despotic sultanate nor Hilmi's 'uncritical admiration' of Europe can be regarded as representative of Edib's societal vision. Like in her

[398] "Bir Müslüman milletinin an'anesini."

[399] "Kâşaneleri başlarına yıkılsın. [O imansız, Padişah haini herif gibi] sen de mendeniyeti kâşane, mamure farz ediyorsan, sana yuf!"

memoir (see Chapter 6.1.), where the lively neighbourhood life and its cultural traditions are evoked as central reference points, *Sinekli Bakkal* evokes the image of the *mahalle* as a still intact social cosmos, yet unaffected by the uprooting influences of modernity. Contrasting with the prosperous European(ised) places that Hilmi propagates as indicators of an advanced civilisational status, Edib's portrayal of the *mahalle* provides insights into her take on what should be regarded as valuable. Instead of embracing Empire as an overarching political framework, or Europe as the Occidentalist epitome of modernity, moral virtues such as modesty and communality are celebrated by means of neighbourhood life. The modest circumstances of the Fatih *mahalle* stand in stark contrast to the luxurious mansions and its Westernised inhabitants in wealthier Istanbul districts such as Bebek and Beyoğlu. Despite (or maybe because of) the run-down buildings, the dirt and the residents who live in impoverished conditions, the Sinekli Bakkal seems to be closer to "real life" than modernising places in and beyond Istanbul.[400]

Peregrini, subconsciously driven by his nascent love for Rabia, gradually dives into the microcosm of the *mahalle*. His first point of contact with the quarter is the grocery story. When he enters the shop for the first time, he discovers a whole new world characterised by an unagitated but warm and inviting simplicity that stands in stark contrast to the pompous shops of Beyoğlu and the upper-class households he is used to:

> Peregrini, who did not know what bashfulness was, entered somewhat bashfully. Although the ex-priest was an apostate from the Catholic world, he had passed fifteen years among Moslems; however, all his Turkish and Moslem friends lived in a Europeanized [*alafranga*] and wealthy world. To this man, who was regularly admitted even to the Palace, until now the home of a poor or middle-class Moslem was closed like a fortress. But this artist, coming from an altogether different social class, began to be powerfully interested in this small new shop that he had entered with trepidation. Here the son of a city of ancient civilization felt pleasure in the

[400] The influence of political or religious authorities—such as the pasha or the imam—in turn, is covered in a critical veil. The devious, greedy and powerful neighbourhood imam is introduced as a negative example of the potentially manipulative and hence harmful nature of religion and its representatives. As a 1942 book review notes, there only "was hell and no heaven" in his sermons (Habib 1942, 2). Although the orthodox imam seems to be very pious and morally superior from the outside, his is described as stingy and egoistic from the inside. In the dervish's spirituality, on the contrary, external appearance and internal values are congruent and hence authentic. Vehbi Dede's open, welcoming 'Eastern' spirituality is portrayed as a promising alternative to the imam's orthodox interpretation of Islam that is rather depicted as a discontinued model. After the imam's death, no successor is in sight, but Rabia herself is suggested as the heir to Vehbi Dede's humanistic Sufi philosophy. The frightening, patriarchal and orthodox heritage of the imam dies out, whereas the warm, open and friendly Sufi legacies are suggested as a suitable individual spiritual guide. Against the backdrop of the closure of Sufi convents in 1925, this proposal is clearly political as it openly envisions a completely different spiritual direction of the country than Atatürk's policies did. For a discussion of the importance of Sufism in modern Turkish literature, see Göknar (2012, 311), Furlanetto (2017, 147–155) and Petrisson (2020).

> eye that disposed colorful merchandise with special care for Ramadan (Edib 2012a [1935], 85).[401]

Taking the *bakkal* as a starting point, Peregrini begins engaging with Rabia and "the mystery of mysteries which was Rabia's background" (Edib 1935a, 94). Behind the desolate, shabby and poor form of the district, he finds authentic humanity and emotion, communality and, eventually, true love. Used to being a part of Istanbul's wealthy and Europeanised upper-class society, the musician gradually discovers a modest life beyond the status-oriented circles with which he has become familiar. As the following quote shows, what opens this door to this previously concealed world is Rabia's reading of the Quran. It is his admiration of Rabia's recitation that eventually brings him to the grocery store, which then appears to him as the hub of the world—a world in which not material but spiritual matters count:

> The joy of those who have found a secret and closed continent had enveloped in Peregrini's heart. A loveable, personal, informal and human continent! He had perceived this world for the very first time when he heard Rabia read the Koran. At that moment, *everything external to this shop and street was artificial, unnatural*. Thus it came to him that *for the residents of this narrow street there was not a single physical value in the world, but they valued only the heart, spiritual riches and beauties* (Edib 2012a [1935], 88; emphasis added).[402]

What Perigrini perceives as Rabia's intimate but alien world (see Edib 1935a, 94), including the shop, the people surrounding her, her art and her religion, represent for him the authenticity of the East. Humanity, familiarity and interpersonal warmth are hidden behind what appears at first sight as the impenetrable walls of the *mahalle*. In his analogy of the neighbourhood, Rabia at first also appears like a well-protected fortress; the way to her heart leads Peregrini through the unconditional acceptance of the quarter's customs and lifestyle. Rabia epitomises the desirable synthesis of individuality and commonality; her distinct artistic character is naturally embedded in the social structures surrounding her. In contrast to the Turkish *alafranga* families Peregrini is acquainted with, Rabia represents local nativity and originality and emerges as the modest, spiritual counter-model to Peregrini's Western materialism.

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[401] "Sıkılganlık nedir bilmeyen Peregrini buraya epeyce sılılarak girmişti. Gerçi Katolik dünyasının aforoz ettiği bu sabık rahip, on beşsenedir ömrünü Müslümanlar arasında geçiyordu. Fakat onun Türk ve Müslüman dostları hep alafranga ve zengin bir âlemde yaşarlardı. Hattâ Saray'a bile muntazaman giren bu adama şimdiye kadar fakir ve orta halli Müslumanların evi kapalı bir kale gibi gelmişti. Fakat pek başka içtimaî bir sınıftan gelen bu sanatkâr, çekinerek girdiği bu yeni küçük dükkânla şiddetle alâkadar olmaya başladı. Oraya renkli malları, Ramazan'a mahsus bir itinâ ile yerleştiren gözde, en eski medeniyetli bir şehir evlâdının zevki vardı" (Edib 2007 [1936], 112).

[402] "Peregrini'nin içini kapalı ve gizli bir kıta keşfetmişlerin sevinçi bürümüştü. Sevimli, husûsî, teklifsiz ve insanî bir kıta! Bu dünyayı en evvel Rabia'nın Kuran okuyuşundan sezmişti. O dakika bu dükkânın ve sokağın haricindeki her şey sun'idir, yabancıdır. Ona öyle geldi ki bu dar sokak sakinleri için dünyada bir tek maddi kıymet yoktur, onlar yalnız kalbe ve ma'nevî servetlere, güzelliklere kıymet verirler!" (Edib 2007 [1936], 114).

Not only the *Frenk* Peregrini but also representatives of the upper-class *alafranga* families as well as "palace people" (*saraylılar*) such as Westernised Ottoman princes take interest in the autochthonous life of the *mahalle* through their encounters with Rabia. Described as decadently detached from the 'real life' of common people, a 'degenerate' prince fantasises about the hidden world of Rabia's quarter: "For the Gentleman, the common people were an undiscovered world, the world of real life" (Edib 2007 [1936], 307).[403] As highlighted above, however, the palace life of the prince is arguably an even more closed and self-contained system. The social and economic gap between *mahalle* and palace seems to be so wide that little exchange or interaction takes place. In both settings, the world of the respective Other stimulates imagination. In a conversation with Rabia, the Ottoman prince tries to find out more about the unknown universe of the *mahalle*:

> "Mistress, I've heard that Sinekli Bakkal is the name of your street. What a lovely name!" he said and laughed that special cut-off laugh that is peculiar to the palace people. […]
> "If you saw the flies in our street in summer, both the name and the street itself you would not find it so lovely. Have you ever passed by our street, Milord?"
> "No. But I am always very curious about the insides of houses in back streets, as well as those who dwell in them."
> "There is not much reason to be curious. Especially because the street is both dirty and noisy. Every day there is a fight at the fountain head, children roll around in the mud from morning to evening."
> "Marvellous, marvellous…" (Edib 2012b [1935]), 55–56; amended).[404]

The prince does not know about the 'real' life in the *mahalle*, he is unaware of the challenges, traditions and routines of the people living there. The façade and form of the quarter catch his interest and cause him to wonder about the hidden 'inside,' the content of the houses, a secret world escaping his perception. The prince's orientalising approach towards ordinary people reveals Edib's critique of the considerable divide between political elites and the general public in late Ottoman society. Edib's down-to-earth heroine Rabia refuses to accept the prince's romanticising and orientalising image of the *mahalle*'s poverty and struggle:

> Rabia seemed to him like a traveller just returned from an unseen land: Whatever she said, he laughed with an unnatural, very nervous laugh. Rabia was slightly resentful. What was there to laugh at thus in Sinekli Bakkal? Nestled inside his villa, he listened, as if it was a curious novel,

[403] "Efendi için halk, keşfedilmemiş bir dünyayı, hakikî hayat dünyası."

[404] "– Hanım, sizin sokağın adı Sinekli Bakkal olduğunu söyledi. Ne sevimli isim, diye saraylılara mahsus o biraz sun'î, kesik güküşü ile gülüyordu. […]. – Yazın bizim sokaktaki sinekleri görseniz adını da, kendini de bu kadar sevimli bulamazdınız. Hiç bizim sokaktan geçtiniz mi, Efendim? – Hayır. Fakat hep bu arka sokaklarda evlerin içini de, içindekileri de çok merak ederim. – Pek meral edilecek yeler değil. Bilhassa sokak hem pistir, hem gürültülüdür. Çesme başında her gün kavga vardır, çocuklar sabahtan akşama kadar çamurlara yuvarlanır. – Harikulade, harikulade…" (Edib 2007 [1936], 302).

> to the condition of wretches who fight from morning to evening for a scrap of dry bread (Edib 2012b [1935]), 56).[405]

With her depiction of the Ottoman prince, Edib criticises the structural decadence of the ruling social class. Just like in the case of Selim Pasha, who is portrayed in a structurally problematic but personally likeable way, her critique targets the overall degeneration of the political system under Sultan Abdülhamid rather than individual failure. The conversation between the prince and Rabia highlights that a wealthy life does not guarantee a happy life; it warns readers to not uncritically admire what appears as the shiny and perfect palace life by revealing the desperation, shallowness and melancholy omnipresent behind the scenes. In Rabia's words: "The palace is sometimes splendid, sometimes ridiculous, and sometimes also so wretched and lifeless…" (ibid., 61).[406] Both the distance from the everyday experiences of men and women living in rather unremarkable quarters like Fatih but also the adoption of European lifestyles lead to a trivial, lonely, individualistic and nostalgic condition among upper-class individuals. European furniture, architecture and interior design further enhance the impression of a "cold" and "logical" life:

> [Vehbi Efendi] made a comparison between the houses of ordinary people in the West and in the East: "Their insides will be made in conformity with every logical principle. Every segment is made for a purpose. In our monuments, there are unnecessary corners and nooks. Corners are created without thinking of a purpose. But how nearer and warmer they are!" (ibid., 68).[407]

According to the dervish Vehbi Efendi, the sophistication and logical structure of European-style homes displays the underlying idea of expediency. This approach to the regulation and rationalisation of space, however, limits individual and collective development. Ordinary people's houses in Sinekli Bakkal *mahalle* are implicitly evoked as a positive counter model; it is the authentic simplicity and inviting warmth of places like Tevfik's grocery store that attract individuals of all classes longing for love, inclusion, connection and community.

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[405] "Rabia ona görülmemiş bir memleketten yeni dönen bir seyyah gibi geliyordu. O ne söylese sinirli sinirli ve tabiî olmayan gülüşü ile güluyordu. Rabia hafifçe içerledi. Sinekli Bakkal'da böyle gülecek ne vardı. Köşkünün içine kurulmuş, bir lokma kuru ekmek için sabahtan akşama kadar didişen zavallıların halini meraklı bir roman gibi dinliyor. Vay beyim vay!" (Edib 2007 [1936], 302f).

[406] "Saray, bazân muhteşem,bazân gülünç, bazân da o kadar zavallı ve cansız ki..." (Edib 2007 [1936], 307). This sentence is missing in the English version (see Edib 1935a, 249).

[407] "Cevap verdiği zaman bir sadâ abidesini değil, Şark ve Garb'da alelade insanların meskenlerini mukayese ederek anlatıyor gibiydi. 'İçleri hep mantığa uydurularak yapılmış olacak. Her parçası bir maksat için yapılmış. Onlarda bizimkilerdeki köşeler, bucaklar olmasa gerek. Bir maksat düşünülmeden yapılan köşeler. Fakat ne kadar daha canayakın ve sıcaktırlar!'" (Edib 2007 [1936], 315) The English version is slightly different: "'What sort of interiors would such monuments have?' the Princess asked. 'I should imagine them to be very logical. Every piece built for some useful purpose. Not like ours, which have such useless but such cosy and intimate nooks and corners.'" (Edib 1935a, 254)

Similar to Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, music and art take centre stage in Edib's accounts of originality and authenticity. Traditional art forms are evoked as original and authentic counter models to the consumerist and materialist lifestyles of the Europeanised and decadent political elites of the time. While the latter lose connection with their Ottoman heritage and their historical belonging to a given cultural space, Rabia and Tevfik unknowingly prompt them to reflect on their alienation. Rabia's modest background, her 'authentic' being and especially her 'original' art bring new life and joy to the decadent palaces and mansions. Listening to Rabia's Turkish folk music, religious chants or her Quran readings seems to reconnect the upper-class representatives with something they have distanced themselves from, with a heritage that is slowly disappearing. As comedian and "clown," Tevfik is also depicted as an original 'Eastern artist.' Through Tevfik, Edib introduces the traditional art forms of *orta oyunu*[408] and *karagöz* as examples of Ottoman cultural heritage that, in Edib's eyes, are to be included in the formation of Turkey's national identity. The relevance of Tevfik as a character is reflected not only in the English title of *Sinekli Bakkal—The* Clown *and His Daughter*—but also through a saying by the Sufi poet Molla Câmî (1414–1492) that heads the novel as a literary motto and implicitly refers to Tevik's *karagöz* shadow play: "All being is a Shadow, an Illusion, a Reflection cast on a Mirror."[409] Through *karagöz* (literally, "black eye") theatre Tevfik plays with the often complex relationship between original and copy or content and form. *Karagöz* as a form allows him to comment on societal questions that generally remain outside of restricted public debates under Sultan Abdülhamid's restrictive rule and thus, in a way, to engage more closely with the challenging realities people are facing in their daily lives. The fact that Edib decided to put this quote on the cover of the book might be an indication that she wants to highlight the transience of life and the importance of literature to capture it.

At a more general level, *karagöz* and *orta oyunu* come to stand for the dwindling cultural Eastern Self. When Tevfik returns from his first period in exile (inflicted upon him by the imam, his former father-in-law), the *orta oyunu* organisation he used to work for has disbanded, and many of the former players, the *oyuncular,* have joined modern European theatres. This leads Tevfik to sarcastically remark: "Our Zuhurî company has fallen apart. Most of our friends became 'actors'. Ha… ha…ha! What kind of play is this? They learn from books what they are

[408] Tevfik's best friend Rakım is famous for playing the character of *Bebe Ruhi*, who is usually embodied "by an actor genuinely a dwarf and hump-backed" (Boratav 2012a).

[409] The Turkish original, too, includes the epigraph: "Kâinatta ne varsa hepsi vehim ve hayal, yani aynalara vuran akisler veyahut gölgeler."

going to say" (Edib 2007 [1936], 98).[410] The quote implies that the memorisation and recitation of texts, a key characteristic of European theatre, is not considered real acting in the Ottoman tradition, which is based on improvisation. As a representative of the Ottoman theatre, Tevfik melancholically complains about this development; he disapproves of the rehearsed, thematically Europe-oriented plays that have entered Istanbul's cultural life through translations from European dramas, and he criticises that these plays have driven out other art forms. Similar to Rabia, Tevfik does not give in to the economic pressure to perform on a European-style stage but remains true to his passion and original profession.

6.3.3. Temporality: Plants and Roots

"Novelty had a greater hold on him than permanent things"

Sinekli Bakkal evokes the Fatih neighbourhood not only as an 'autochthonous' locality embedded in the civilisational framework of the East but also as a temporally integrated space that stands in stark contrast to places like Beyoğlu, which reject the past for the sake of a Western future. Although the harsh conditions of the *mahalle* are not idealised or romanticised by the narrator, past, present and future seem to be naturally connected with each other in this largely intact microcosm. The narrator suggests that life in the *mahalle* is desirable despite all hardships: the speed of modernity and new lifestyles have not yet entered and affected its indigenous context, where social cohesion is embraced and where spiritual elements are preferred over material values. While Istanbul's Westernised quarters embrace individualism and materialism, the *mahalle* is celebrated as a place where lived communality is not (yet) buried in the pre-modern past but still valued. Together with lived customs and cultural practices, the vivacious community life in the neighbourhood conveys the image of an undisturbed, authentic microcosm, largely unaffected by processes of Westernisation and modernisation. Amid the reforms and upheavals of the time, the local *mahalle* hence appears to be one of the last places in a revolving political and cultural order, where the heritage of the past is kept as a reference point for the present. This temporal continuity allows for the impression of originality and authenticity against the backdrop of rapid societal change.

Rabia contributes in a number of ways to the continuation and maintenance of the quarter's community life: she works as a local grocer, upholds spiritual values, lives modestly and humbly, conforms to the customs of her environment and preserves as well as cultivates the

[410] "Bizim Zuhurî kolu parçalanmış...Arkadaşların bir çoğu aktör olmuş. Ha...Ha...Ha...Nasıl oyun bu? Söyleyeceklerini kitaplardan öğreniyorlar."

artistic and social legacies of the East. The grocery store—both spatially and temporally—integrates the different aspects of life in the community, with Rabia at its very centre:

> Rabia had a spiritual climate [*ruh iklimi*] from which she could not break free. Even if Peregrini were a Moslem, he would want to take her to other places, another life. Whereas Sinekli Bakkal seemed to her to be more powerful than either love or religion. Her roots [*kökleri*] were here, if she tore herself away, she would wither like an uprooted plant [*köksüz bir ot*] (Edib 2012b [1935]), 76).[411]

Rabia has a well-balanced rootedness with the past, a trait that is also observed by others. In the seaside mansion (*yalı*) of the sultan's Second Chamberlain, for instance, Rabia meets Behire Hanım, the official's niece.[412] Behire feels estranged from the practices and manners of her own family. She laments her husband's one-sided admiration of everything European and how his approach has affected the education as well as upbringing of their daughters who seem to be cut off from their cultural heritage. Educated by French governesses, the young women are unable to read the Ottoman Arabic script: "They were good girls. But like their father they sneered at everything that was local [*yerli olan her şey*], and when their mother sang a Turkish [*alaturka*] song, they would keep their ears shut and run away laughing" (Edib 2007 [1936], 283f).[413] The quote illustrates the woman's discomfort with her children's 'moving away' from traditions such as folk songs as well as their general disconnect from Ottoman cultural heritage. Through Behire's account, Edib critically engages with the long-term effects of the Westernisation processes that came along with the Tanzimat reforms, a development leading to temporal discontinuity and potentially irreversible ruptures. She implicitly points to the continuity and parallels between the Europeanisation tendencies in the late empire and the Kemalist reforms in early republican Turkey, a time when political, legal and cultural Westernisation reached its peak. Particularly, the long-lasting effects of the Kemalists' cultural reforms of the 1920 and 1930s—most notably the language and script reforms[414]—would contribute to what many perceived as an irreversible break with the past as the younger

[411] "Rabia'nın bir ruh iklimi vardı ki oradan kendini koparmak imkânı yoktu. Peregrini Müslüman olsa bile onu başka yerlere, başka bir hayata götürmek isteyecekti. Halbuki Sinekli Bakkal ona, aşkından da, hattâ dininden de kuvvetli göründü. Kökleri orada, kendini oradan koparırsa, köksüz bir ot gibi kuruyacak" (Edib 2007 [1936], 324).

[412] Interestingly, in the English original, the passages about Behire Hanım and her family are omitted completely. Behire is only mentioned briefly without name as the chamberlain's niece, and the only thing we learn about her is that "[h]er own household was of a more modern type; she herself enjoyed the freedom of a Westernised life, but temperamentally she had remained rather old-fashioned. The Koran-chanter delighted her because she seemed to have her roots in the native soil— a symbol of all that was old and permanent in the tradition of the land" (Edib 1935a, 228). For English readers, Edib maybe did not want to go into what she perceived as Turkey's 'internal problems.'

[413] "İyi kızlardı. Fakat onlar da babaları gibi yerli olan her şeye dudak büküyorlar, anneleri alaturka bir şarkı söylese kulaklarını tıkayıp gülerek kaçıyorlardı."

[414] In an interview, Edib's last living descendent, Ahmet Ömer Sayar, claims that his famous grandmother wrote in the Arabic script up until her death (Ekotürk TV 2020).

generation was severed from the written heritage of the Ottoman order (see Chapter 3.3.).[415] Rabia, in turn, embodies temporal integrity and hence authenticity. For Behire Hanım, "Rabia, who had her roots in the deepest stratum of mother earth, made her think involuntarily that her daughters were a little artificial [*suni*] and imitative [*mukallit*]" (Edib 2012b [1935]), 39).[416] Because of their lack of rootedness in the past, the Europeanised individuals of upper-class society are described as lacking depth or content: no matter how much they approximate the European outer form—through the adoption of European clothes, languages and manners—they will never actually *be* European. The result is an endless struggle of being neither 'indigenously Ottoman/Turkish' nor 'authentically European.' Europeanness can never be completely achieved, and what once was a culturally embedded sense of Self is increasingly neglected for the sake of an artificial identity made up by copying and imitating others. Rabia stands out as a counterpoint to what is described as the alienated elites. The increasing artificiality of late Ottoman culture and society strikes not only critical 'local' observers but also contemporaneous intellectuals from Europe, like Peregrini:

> In his mind the child [Rabia] awakened immediately a comparison with the rich, Europeanized girls to whom he gave lessons. All of them were like straw paper copies [*kopya*] of European children; whereas this girl [Rabia], with her three pig-tails down her back, her open face and buff-colored scarf, was a local example [*yerli bir örnek*] created by the centuries-long evolution of the culture and civilization of the city of Istanbul (Edib 2012a [1935], 56f).[417]

Peregrini, in turn, is described as a restless vagrant whose future-oriented 'Western' intellectuality and belief in development unsettle his heart. Driven by a scientific mind, he strives for the new and embraces progress at all levels. Himself uprooted, Peregrini admires Rabia for her grounding:

> Wasn't it one of the things that made her desirable, that Rabia's roots were so strong? It would not be possible to plant her in foreign soil, have her send down new shoots. Whereas Peregrini himself was an eternal wanderer. It suited him to leap over all the obstacles to get to the girl. To get Rabia, it would not be enough only to accept her religion. It was necessary for him to live in

[415] In her two books on Turkey's relations with the West (see Chapter 6.4.), Edib expounds on the alphabet change in detail (see Edib 1935b, 171f and Edib 1930, 232f) and reveals her rather critical stance towards it.

[416] "Kökleri ana toprağının en derin mâzisinde olan Rabia dimağında gayri ihtiyari ona biraz sun'i, biraz mukallit kızlarını hatırlattı" (Edib 2007 [1936], 284).

[417] "Çocuk onun zihninde ders verdiği alafranga, zengin kız çocuklarıyla derhal bir mukayese uyandırmıştı. Onların hepsi Avrupa çocuklarının saman kâğıdı kopyası gibi idiler; halbuki bu kız arkasındaki üç sıkı kumral örgüsüyle, açık yüzüyle nohudî yemenisiyle İstanbul şehrinin medeniyetinin, harsının asırlar süren tekâmülünün vücuda getirdiği yerli bir örnek" (Edib 2007 [1936], 79). In the English original it says: "He found her a soothing contrast to the other Turkish children whom he had taught. They all appeared to be second-hand copies of European children, while this child, in her sober Turkish dress, with her sleek head, and the five bright brown plaits hanging down her back, *seemed the genuine article*" (Edib 1935a, 57; emphasis added).

> the same street, house, manner. After looking all these things in the face, he had come to Sinekli Bakkal (Edib 2012b [1935]), 76).[418]

Peregrini embodies the modern wanderer, a figure which Friedrich Nietzsche understands as resulting from the new age's focus on progress, development, and individuality (Nietzsche 2009 [1878], 362). With his "Freude an dem Wechsel und der Vergänglichkeit" (ibid.), the wanderer is driven by a forward-looking rationality. What Peregrini as a modern traveller misses, however, is a form of rootedness in temporal continuities. It seems as if with every step, the past recedes further into the distance. Embodying the rapid change and societal transformation of Occidentalist modernity, it is in the English original of the novel that Peregrini recognises that "against her simple background[,] values seemed more real than in his own changeable world" (Edib 1935a, 260) and that he was "continuously running after the new in his life" (Edib 2007 [1936], 358)[419] while admiring the "capacity for attachment in the girl" (Edib 1935a, 260). As modernity seems to require continuous renewal, Rabia is afraid that Peregrini—now Osman—will one day turn his back on her: "Perhaps Osman was of a disposition to view everything that became habitual as a chain. One day, one day too perhaps he would lose interest in everything to do with Sinekli Bakkal and he would go away and leave Rabia" (2012b [1935]), 107).[420] Rabia ponders that "novelty had a greater hold on him than permanent things" (Edib 1935a, 285). Peregrini/Osman, however, eventually replaces the Occidentalist dictum of change—valuing the new over the old—with the ideal of permanence and attachment. He finds a new home in the East and discovers a sense of rootedness:

> In his heart he had the peace of a child who has found his way after being lost for a long time. […] From childhood, from the days when he had sat in the depths of his mother's lap, he had not felt such inner peace and security. He was no longer analysing himself. The air of the kitchen, the proximity of Rabia, seemed to have made peace among the contradictory powers that fought within him without respite or truce (Edib 2012b [1935]), 18).[421]

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[418] "Rabia'nın köklerinin bu kadar sağlam olması onu cazip yapan şeylerden biri değil miydi? Onu yabancı bir toprağa dikip yeniden filiz saldırmak imkânı yoktu. Halbuki Peregrini'nin kendisi ezelî serseri. Bütün maniaları atlayıp kıza ulaşmak ona düşüyor. Rabia'yı alacaksa yalnız onun dinini kabuletmek kifayet etmeyecekti. Onun yaşadığı sokakta, evde, aynı tarzda yaşamak lâzımdı. Bütün bunları gözüne aldıktan sonra, Sinekli Bakkal'a gelmişti" (Edib 2007 [1936], 325). In the English original Peregrini thinks to himself, "[p]robably a part of her be- witching personality was due to her being a well-rooted soul, one which could not be transplanted in alien soil. He himself was a wanderer. He must leap over the barriers and accept such a life as she lived if he wished to have her for his wife" (Edib 1935a, 260).

[419] "Hayatta mütemadiyen yenilik peşinde koşuyordu."

[420] "Belki Osman itiyat haline gelen her şeyi bir zincir telakki edecek mizaçtaydı. Bir gün, bir gün belki de Sinekli Bakkal'ın her şeyinden Hevesi geçecek, Rabia'yı bırakıp kaçacak" (Edib 2007 [1936], 358). In the English version it says, "[w]ith her, attachments and backgrounds had to grow and become permanent. She loved things because of their lasting familiarity, but she had a vague fear that habits might mean chains to him. 'I am having nasty thoughts because I am always afraid of his leaving me one day. I do hope something new will turn up before he gets fed-up with the coffee-house'" (Edib 1935a, 285).

[421] "İçinde, uzun müddet yolunu kaybedip de sonra bulan bir çocuğun sükûnu vardı. […]. Çocukluğundan beri, anasının dizinin dibinde oturduğu günlerden beri içinde bu kadar emniyet ve selâmet hissetmemişti. Artık kendini tahlil etmiyordu.

While Peregrini's belief in progress and his admiration for 'the new' long prevent him from finding peace and happiness in the present, it is through embracing Rabia's rootedness in traditions strongly connected to an Eastern past that he relates and finds the home he never had. This step is symbolised by his change of name, which represents a radical transformation of (civilisational) belonging: "Peregrini does not exist anymore, Osman exists" (Edib 2007 [1936], 333).[422] Peregrini's 'Easternisation' is seen as being as extreme as the Westernisation policies in early republican Turkey that Edib is so critical of: "The connection between Osman and Peregrini seemed as if it was cut apart with a knife, as if they thew it away" (ibid.).[423] With Peregrini's name change, Edib subtly refers to an idealised version of the early Ottoman period, a democratic and feminist Eastern utopia that she discusses in *Turkey Faces West* as well as in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (see Chapter 6.4.).

Peregrini's gaze as that of the informed outsider confirms and reproduces the image of the 'fake' vs. the 'real' Easterner, the latter remaining naturally embedded in the civilisation's temporal continuity. Peregrini evokes the idea of centuries-old 'Eastern civilisation' as different but valuable and equal to 'Western culture'—not only for 'Easterners' themselves but also for 'Westerners.' In a similar vein, Rabia confirms Peregrini/Osman's 'real Europeanness' that is distinguished from the fake Europeanisation attempts by upper class Ottomans. When Rabia first sees Osman's new studio in the renovated house that previously belonged to the imam, she studies its European furniture and decoration. Here, the Turkish and English versions of the novel deviate significantly: In *Sinekli Bakkal,* Rabia feels embarrassed because in their previous accommodation she had denied her husband a "Western artist's working, living room" where he could "work, think and relax" (ibid., 451).[424] Reversing Virginia Woolf's famous dictum[425] (2020 [1929]) of having "a room of one's own" in her eponymous novel, she is ashamed about not having provided her husband such a corner or privacy. In *The Clown and His Daughter,* in turn, Rabia emphasises the original character of Peregrini/Osman's European interior furnishing, which she distinguishes from imitative Europeanness:

Mutfağın havası, Rabia'nın yakınlığı, içindeki aman vermeden çarpışan zıd kuvvetleri barıştırmış gibiydi" (Edib 2007 [1936], 262).

[422] "artık Peregrini yok, Osman var."

[423] "Osman'ın Peregrini ile bağını bıçakla keser gibi kesmiş, atmışlardı."

[424] "Garblı bir sanatkârın çalıştığı, yaşadığı oda…"; "Bir buçuk senelik hayatlarında, Osman çalışacağı, düşüneceği, başını dinleyeceği bir köşeden mahrumdur."

[425] In the first chapter of *A Room of One's Own,* Woolf (2020 [1929], 4) notes the correlation between women and fiction-writing: "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction."

> It was the only place where Osman had dared install his Western background. *To her it seemed like a bit of real Europe*. She sat on the arm of a chair and studied it. Yes, all those books, those lovely pictures, the big piano from the Konak, and the general arrangement was foreign. *But it had nothing of the overcrowded, second-hand, imitation look which she had so detested* (Edib 1935a, 358).

The marriage between Rabia and Peregrini symbolises the realisation of the synthesis between East and West, where both partners can remain true to their artistic and hence cultural belonging. Yet, reversing the Occidentalist movement from Eastern past to Western future, the synthesis unfolds in the context of the East. As a representative of Europe's Roman heritage, Peregrini, who speaks Turkish perfectly, aims to engage with the East on an equal footing, in contrast to the Ottoman upper classes' attempts to turn away from their own heritage. Although Peregrini is a disputatious and intellectual character, he does not interfere in internal political affairs and does not try to influence Rabia in her 'natural development' as an 'Eastern artist.' Edib thus appeals to her compatriots to embrace their cultural legacies and requests Europeans to engage with the East as a rich civilisation on equal terms. This approach, Edib seems to suggest, allows for a balanced dialogue of equals, a partnership between East and West characterised by mutual fascination and respect.

6.3.4. Gender: New Women and Men

"He would ask seriously for her opinion, and listen"

Secondary literature mentions Edib's literary oeuvre as a "cornerstone of women's writing in Turkey," alongside the works of Ottoman writer Fatma Aliye (1862–1936) (Timuroğlu 2014, 431). The topic of female emancipation from the predefined roles of mother or wife and the portrayal of new womanhood are two key threads running through most of Edib's novels. When Edib published her first novels in the early 20th century, questions about women's rights, education and roles within society were widely discussed in intellectual circles (see Chapter 3.3.4.). As a privileged women entering the expanding public sphere after the Ottoman constitutional revolution of 1908, Edib played an active role in this transformation period by establishing the Kadınların Durumunu Yükseltme Cemiyeti (Society for the Elevation of Women), which had close links with the British suffrage movement (Kandiyoti 2022 [1991], 269).

In her 1910 novel[426] *Seviye Talip*, for instance, the question of female emancipation takes centre stage. The novel's main protagonist, Fahir, who has just come back from his stay in England, complains about how Turkish women—most notably his rather obedient wife Macide—are less inclined to fight for their emancipation than British women and how they unquestioningly accept their confinement to domestic affairs (see Edib 2020 [1910], 14). This submissive behaviour, as Edib argues in this novel as well as in her autobiography (see Chapter 6.1.1.), makes women less attractive for men, who prefer more intellectual stimulation and good conversation with their wives (see Sönmez 1969). Like *Sinekli Bakkal*'s Rabia, Fahir's wife Macide in *Seviye Talip* has been brought up traditionally, unaffected by processes of Westernisation and without formal education. Although Fahir describes the willpower and self-esteem of European women as inspirational, he argues that Turkish women should not imitate them but remain loyal to the values and pillars of an Islamic society. Fahir encourages Macide, who is mainly occupied with household chores and lacks the mental capacity to discuss social and political matters, to free herself from the suppressing chains of her conservative upbringing (Küçükalioğlu 2007, 8). Engaged in the education of women, Edib problematises women's lack of formal learning and urges men to encourage their wives, daughters and sisters to pursue their educational goals while she also calls on women to stand up and fight for their own rights.[427]

Erdağ Göknar (2013, 34f) has argued that the nationalistic intellectual climate preceding the downfall of the empire, which allowed for the "advocacy and participation of popular women's movements and the active leadership of public intellectuals such as Fatma Aliye, Fatma Muhiddin and Halide Edib," eventually clashed with Atatürk's stance on women's issues in the early republic. The "liberal, emancipatory vision" of leading female voices conflicted with the, yet again, patriarchal republican order that implemented an "authoritarian, top down 'state feminism'" (ibid., 35). In Edib's biographically informed novel *Ateşten Gömlek* (1922), female emancipation is intertwined with ideas of national self-determination against the backdrop of the Turkish resistance movement.[428] In his comparison of *Ateşten Gömlek* and the second part of Edib's memoir, *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928), Göknar (2013, 38) highlights how "the national narrative fails women," prompting Edib as "one of the leading feminist intellectuals of the

[426] Edib wrote the novel during her time in England in 1909 (see Edib 1926, 295), shortly before her divorce from her first husband.

[427] In this early example of Halide Edib's literary works, it still is the "duty of the male hero to declare how women should be, to decide what is good for women and for society, and to show what are culturally designated as feminine characteristics" (Küçükalioğlu 2007, 9).

[428] Although *Ateşten Gömlek* can be considered as the pinnacle of Halide Edib's nationalistic novels, her earlier novels, most notably *Yeni Turan* (1912), engage with the utopian premises of national self-determination. In both novels, the socio-political ideals of young women take centre stage.

Ottoman-republican transition period" to adopt a "position of political critique against the state." While men and women fight side by side for the national cause in *Ateşten Gömlek* (see Albay 2020), *The Turkish Ordeal* implies that, for Edib, Atatürk's autocratic "post-independence patriarchal nationalism" (Göknar 2013, 47) does not fulfil what late Ottoman feminism and the independence war had promised.

Published after the downfall of the empire and against the backdrop of Edib's disappointment with Atatürk's new Turkey, *Sinekli Bakkal* stands out among her other works regarding the matter of gender. As in *Ateşten Gömlek* the narration focalises on a female protagonist, but this time Edib shifts her focus from the (utopian) future to the past. As discussed in Chapter 4, the preoccupation with the past is a central feature of the post-imperial novel, indicating a critical stance towards the present or the discontent with (aspects of) the new order. By setting the plot in the Ottoman Empire, Edib subverts Atatürk's paradigm of a progressive national future. Rabia's rootedness in the past runs counter to both the Occidentalist model of progress and the Kemalist's adoption of it. Rabia's womanhood is formulated against the backdrop of Edib's discontentment with the Kemalist reforms, which she observed from exile in England. In Rabia, Edib expresses both her critique of the Western idea of civilisational progress and her disappointment with Atatürk's Westernised state feminism. Deviating from a dominant narrative scheme previously employed in her texts, Edib this time disentangles womanhood from explicit political ideologies, like Turanism, and rather connects it with local neighbourhood dynamics standing in partial resistance to political developments (see Appadurai 2010 [1996], 190f). In contrast to, for example, Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek* or Kaya in *Yeni Turan* (1912), Rabia's vision is not a future political utopia. Her personal fulfilment builds on her natural connection with both time and space. The vectors of Rabia's temporality and spatiality subvert the direction and location of Kemalist modernity. Temporarily, Rabia naturally synthesises the Ottoman past with the present. And while characters in Edib's nationalistic novels are increasingly oriented towards Anatolia, Rabia spatially operates within the imperial centre of Istanbul and is more than unwilling to leave it.

With Rabia, Edib thus creates an image of ideal womanhood that is rooted in tradition and customs and, at the same time, independent and free. Rabia's freedom is multi-layered: she detaches herself from restrictive, patriarchal structures in a revolutionary way and carefully avoids making herself dependent on other people or ideals. A number of aspects can be regarded as central to Edib's portrayal of ideal womanhood in early republican Turkey. First of all, Rabia is described as increasingly self-determined and independent in the course of the

Entwicklungsroman. Rabia's pregnancy can be regarded as the climax of her emancipation. Although all people in her close environment, including the dervish, recommend an abortion for health-related reasons, Rabia listens to her heart and decides against it. Most notable in this context is her inner dissociation from Vehbi Dede, whose spiritual primacy she has already outgrown: Looking at her long-standing mentor for the first time without devotion (*teslimiyet*) or obedience (*itaat*), "the girl has taken her own fate into her own hands" and has become "spiritually independent" (Edib 2007 [1936], 445).[429]

Second, despite her adherence to Islamic values and her rooting in local traditions, she challenges patriarchal practices such as arranged marriages. Instead of giving in to social pressure to marry at a young age, she confidently rejects the various proposals of young men in the *mahalle* and chooses an unconventional marriage of love:

> When Selim Pasha's daughter became a bride, Rabia would be the oldest girl in the quarter. In April she would turn nineteen. In Sinekli Bakkal, however, there was no unmarried girl older than fifteen. But whom could Rabia marry? […] In truth there was not a single man she could marry. She said this, but in the deepest level of her consciousness, there was a face that was always there. A small man with a wrinkled face, his eyes like embers. And his hands… (Edib 2007 [1936], 268f).[430]

When she decides to marry Peregrini/Osman in her early twenties, she indeed is the 'oldest' unmarried woman in the *mahalle*. By emphasising in several passages that it is Rabia's decision to marry Osman, Edib takes a firm stance towards forced marriage and short childhood. She encourages her female readers to choose a husband they love and to neither give up on their professional goals nor on their values and beliefs. In contrast to other suitors from the *mahalle*, the Westerner Peregrini appreciates Rabia's autonomy and professional career. Apparently, 'Eastern men' are not (yet) ready for the 'new Eastern woman.'

Third, Rabia embodies Edib's ideal image of a financially independent and professionally successful woman. At a rather young age, Rabia becomes autonomous due to her wages from her Quran recitations, religious chants, dedicated involvement in the grocery store and, as a grown-up, her ability to teach music lessons. Later, when Rabia is married to Peregrini/Osman, she does not neglect her work as a music teacher and her Quran recitations in spite of her

[429] "Kız kendi mukadderatını kendi ellerine almıştı"; "Rabia'nın ruhen müstakil oldu."

[430] "Selim Paşa'nın kızı gelin olunca o civarda en yaşlı kız Rabia olacaktı. Nisan gelirse on sekizini bitiriyor. Halbuki Sinekli Bakkal'da on beş yaşından yukarı evlenmemiş kız yok. Fakat Rabia kime varabilirdi? […]. Hakikat onun varabileceği bir tek erkek yok. Böyle diyor ama şuurunun en alt tabakasında bir sima var, her zaman vardı.Yüzü çizgi içinde bir küçük adam, gözleri kor gibi. Ve elleri..."

husband having enough financial resources to provide for both of them: "Osman had enough fortune to look after everyone, even Tevfik" (ibid., 372).[431]

Fourth, Edib seems to suggest with Rabia that a 'modern' approach towards marriage and female professional activity can be combined with an adherence to the manners and customs or, more generally, the moral outlook related to one's cultural rooting: "Osman all the time wants to walk and hold hands like a child who ran away from school, but he did not dare to take the liberty. The girl was fanatically on the side of maintaining street customs" (ibid., 356).[432] Rabia's ascetic spirituality prevents her from deviating from the path of modesty. She seems immune to the materialist temptations that are displayed in Beyoğlu's shop windows or the luxurious mansions of the Ottoman elites. Although married to a rich European man, she stays away from unnecessary consumerism:

> In the main street of Pera he led her along the pavement, pointing to the display in the windows of the European shops. He longed to have her ask for silks, for jewels, for a hundred frivolities. He didn't dare to offer them. She did not wear the pair of lovely emerald ear-rings which he had given her, for the simple reason that her ears were not pierced. When Pembeh offered to pierce them she replied: 'Women would have been born with pierced ears if they were to wear ear-rings' (Edib 1935a, 283).[433]

Fifth, Rabia's womanhood is distinguished from Europeanised Turkish women, whose open and less decent clothing style is portrayed as a deviation from Rabia's authentic 'Eastern' cultural character. Rabia's belonging to 'Eastern civilisation' manifests itself not only in her modest behaviour but also in her outward appearance. Her plain black dresses are contrasted with the sexually suggestive clothes of *alafranga* girls. When Rabia strolls with Osman through Beyoğlu, they pass by two women Osman is familiar with:

> In front of them, two young women approached them tottering on high heels. The skirts of their charshafs were narrow, their capes short, their pulled-down veils thin. When the two passed, they salaamed Osman.
> "Who are they, Osman?"
> "Handan, the daughter of Asim Bey and the wife of Hüsnü Pasha. The other is her niece".
> "And how they try to be like European women. If Rakim imitated a monkey, the resemblance would be greater".
> "Are you jealous, dear Rabia?"

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[431] "Osman'ın hepsine, hattâ Tevfik'e de bakacak serveti var."

[432] "Osman bidüziye mektepten kaçmış bir çocuk gibi el ele tutuşup yürümek istiyor, fakat cesaret edemiyor. Kız, sokak adabının muhafazasına taassupla taraftar." The English original says, "[h]e felt like a child on holiday, and would have liked to hold her hand. It wasn't to be thought of. She insisted on maintaining the proper street decorum" (Edib 1935a, 283).

[433] "Nihayet Beyoğlu'na tünelle geçtiler. Osman ona birer birer dükkân camekânlarını göstermeye başladı. Rabia'ya elmas almak, ipek kumaşlar almak için çıldırıyordu. Fakat cesareti yoktu. Yüzgörümlüğü diye getirdiği zümrüt küpeleri – kulaklarının delik olmadığını bahane ederek – konsolun gözüne kilitlemişti. Penbe kulaklarını delmeyi teklif edince, 'Allah küpe takmamızı istese kulaklarımızı delik yaratırdı,' demişti" (Edib 2007 [1936], 365f).

> "Jealous? Me? Ha ha!"
> In truth it was clear that she was not jealous. She found it so much better not to compare herself with them. She had looked at them like a jeweller looks at fake diamonds trying to be passed off as true first-rate diamonds (Edib 2012b [1935]), 105f).[434]

The quote most probably is an intertextual self-reference to one of Edib's previous novels. In the passage quoted above, Rabia and Osman pass by Handan and her niece Neriman, both central characters in her 1912 novel *Handan*. In this epistolary work, Neriman's future husband Refik Cemal describes in a letter to his friend Server how the "Europeanised girls" (*alafranga kızlar*) Neriman and Handan present themselves on the streets: "While they are walking side by side with their light throws and their free demeanour, they are speaking English very quickly!" (Edib 2007 [1912], 11).[435] Edib here contrasts Rabia's outward plain simplicity with the 'provocative' appearance of the Europeanised Turkish women (of whom Handan would meet a tragic end in Edib's 1912 novel) and encourages her female readers to not compare themselves with imitative copies of the European original.

Sixth, and relatedly, Rabia's femininity is in line with the Islamic ideal of sexual decency. Edib puts forth the idea that a woman's sexuality should only be perceived by her husband: "All Rabia's expressiveness was consecrated to the intimacy within four walls, the place where she showed her sexuality. Seen out of doors, her sexuality was inconceivable" (2012b [1935]), 104f).[436] Despite following her own professional path and being an independent woman in many ways, Rabia is still a perfect wife in terms of care, household and cooking: "Yet, it was also not possible to find fault in her work as a housewife. She would appease her husband's material needs up to the smallest detail. To fry such an eggplant, to prepare such a *cacık*, was something that not just any woman could do (Edib 2007 [1936], 375).[437]

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[434] "Karşılarında, uzun ökçelerinin üstünde yalpa vurur gibi yürüyen, iki genç kadın onlara yaklaştı. Çarşaflarının etekleri dar, pelerinleri kısa, inik peçeleri inceydi. İkisi de geçerken Osman'a selâm verdiler.— Bunlar kim Osman?— Asım Bey'in kızı Handan, Hüsnü Paşa'nın karısı. Öteki yeğeni.—Nekadar da Frenk karılarına benzemeye yeltenmişler. Rakım maymun taklidi yapsa daha çok benzetir.— Kıskanıyor musun, sevgili Rabia?— Kim? Ben mi? Ha ha... Hakikat kıskanmadığı aşikârdı. Kendini onlarla mukayese etmeyi düşünmeyecek kadar daha iyi buluyordu. Onlara hakiki pırlanta diye geçirilmek istenen yalancı elmaslara bir kuyumcunun baktığı gibi bakmıştı" (Edib 2007 [1936], 357). The passage is shortened in the English version, and the intertextual reference to *Handan* is left out: "She [Rabia] laughed as she pointed to three young women who came towards them wobbling on high heels. They were elaborately made-up, and wore very short capes and very tight skirts. All three nodded to Osman and passed on. 'Who are they?" she asked. 'Pupils of mine; rather pretty, eh?' He watched her face for a sign of jealousy. It was full of scorn. 'Uncle Rakim imitates monkeys better than they ape European women.'"

[435] "O sırayla kısa yeldirmeleri, serbest tavırları, hızlı İngilizceleriyle giden kızlar!"

[436] "Rabia'nın her tavrı, cinsî tezahüratı olduğu yere, dört duvar arasının mahremiyetine hasrediyor. Hariçte onu gören cinsiyetini hiç düşünmezdi."

[437] "Fakat ev kadınlığına da kusur bulmak imkanı yok. Kocasının maddî ihtiyaçlarını en küçük teferruatına kadar tatmin ediyor. Böyle bir patlıcan kızartması, böyle bir cacık değme kadının kârı değil."

Although the late Ottoman discourse on womanhood was based on what Elaman-Garner (2017) refers to as "Islamic modernism," it shows parallels with the secular Kemalist approach: "The defining attributes of the 'ideal' woman in both discourses, hence, were compatible: on the one hand she is modern, educated and intellectual and plays a greater role in public life; on the other hand, she remains within socially acceptable and traditional norms as a dutiful wife, good mother and virtuous woman" (ibid., 435). With regard to this aspect, Edib's vision of womanhood is in line with the Kemalists' patriarchal top-down state-feminism that encourages women to combine their alleged duties in the household with endeavours in the professional realm: "Kemalists also defended the idea that women should participate in social life and take on social responsibilities and roles as professional women alongside their traditional sex roles of mother and wife" (Durakbaşa 1999, 142f).

Taken together, Rabia's femininity combines feminist approaches such as financial independence and self-determination with aspects of traditional womanhood like being in charge of household work and embodying moral decency. Overall, Rabia represents Edib's vision of authentic 'Eastern femininity' combined with aspects of modern female self-determination. Well-educated in music and well-read, Rabia is presented as an equal partner to her husband who takes her seriously in all regards. Edib reverses her earlier dictum that educated men should educate women: as mentioned above, Peregrini consciously decides to not work as Rabia's teacher. The lack of (professional or personal) hierarchy hence enables the two individuals to unite as a couple on equal footing later on. For the renowned composer Peregrini, Rabia even becomes his most important critic: "Peregrini played every new composition of his first for her, he would earnestly ask for her opinion, and listen" (Edib 2007 [1936], 120).[438]

Edib's "modern, enlightened female characters" such as Rabia "needed new men" (Maraucci 2018, 171) as counterparts; at the same time, her novels implicitly indicate that these 'new men' were hard to find. How are masculinities, then, approached in *Sinekli Bakkal*? As discussed in Chapter 2, not only the 'new woman' but also novel images of manhood are nascent in the transformation period from empire to nation-state. In *Sinekli Bakkal,* the conflict between old and new conceptions of masculinity is represented by Selim Pasha's traditional 'imperial' and Hilmi's more subversive 'Europeanised' masculinity (see Chapter 6.3.2.). Both are complex and multi-layered characters to whom Edib attributes both positive and more ambivalent features. The pasha's imperial masculinity, which is characterised by assertiveness and

[438] "Peregrini her yeni kompozisyonunu evvelâ ona çalar, onun fikrini ciddiyetle sorar, dinlerdi."

dominance but also kindness and care for those close to him, is reflected in his physical appearance: "His eyes were blue-hazel, his nose was long, its upper part regular but the lower part hooking directly at his face gave the majesty of an eagle. His face appeared sometimes harsh and severe, but also sometimes friendly, even refined" (Edib 2012a [1935], 33).[439] He even "looks younger than his wife" because only parts of his hair have turned grey.[440] Within the domain of his *konak*, the pasha's more sensitive and kinder rule as a *pater familias* comes to the fore: "He was a good family man, and he was particularly bound to his wife" (Edib 2007 [1936], 43).[441] His job at the palace, however, where he serves a "tyrannical monarch" (*zalim bir hüküm*), "was both arduous and delicate" (ibid.).[442] Being a loyal servant of the imperial order, "he recognized the Sultanate as divine justice and those opposing the Sultan – be they whosoever they may – he thought that the responsibility of the Minister of Justice was to crush them like Scorpions" (Edib 2012a [1935], 27).[443] Selim Pasha is not only a defendant of the Ottoman order but also takes a determined stance against Westernisation. His imperial 'Eastern' masculinity, however, is threatened by the encompassing effects of modernity, the gradual decline of empire and, in his eyes, destabilising political forces within the imperial realms—processes allowing for new masculinities to emerge. Selim Pasha's masculinity can be described with what Müge Özoğlu (2016, 83) refers to as "hegemonic Ottoman masculinity," a term that "mainly refers to Turkish-speaking Muslim men […] who were aware of 'the danger of imprudent influence of the West.'" As a representative of this paternal manliness, Selim Pasha aims at protecting the established order from the perils of modernisation and Westernisation: "[t]he pasha was completely a man of the old times [*eski zaman adamı*]… sincere and according to his own standards honourable"[444] (Edib 2007 [1936], 45). The quote indicates that his male characteristics might have been the desirable social standard in the past but are now at risk of getting superseded by new standards.

Although Edib seems to have sympathy for Selim Pasha, it becomes clear that not only his political orientation (see Chapter 6.3.2.) but also his form of masculinity is outdated. After

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[439] "Gözler gök ela, uzun burnunun yukarısı muntazam, fakat aşağı doğru çarpılarak yüzüne birk artal haybeti veriyordu. Bu yüz bazân çok haşin ve dürüst, bazân da mülayim dost, hattâ rakik bile görünürdü."

[440] "karısından çok genç görünüyordu." Interestingly, in the English original, the description of his appearance is less imposing and rather implies morbid decay: "Selim Pasha's already lean face had become almost cadaverous. The bones of his eagle-like head stood out in sharp lines. His skin had assumed a greenish hue, and two hectic spots burned on his high cheek-bones" (Edib 1935a, 190).

[441] "O, iyi bir aile babası, ve bilhassa karısına merbuttur."

[442] "hem müşkül hem de nazikti."

[443] "Saltanatı ilâhî bir hak diye tanır ve padişaha muhalif olanı – kim olursa olsun – akrep gibi ezmeyi, zaptiye nazırının vazifesi telakki ederdi."

[444] "Paşa, tamamen eski zaman adamı… Samimî ve kendi ölçülerine göre nâmuskâr."

having exiled his son, his family life crumbles, eventually leading to the dissolution of the *konak*. Edib here employs a common literary motif: The disintegration of the patriarchal late Ottoman *konak* is a frequent literary theme in late Ottoman literature, pars pro toto symbolising the collapse of the empire as a whole. Selim Pasha's relentless grip on power cannot prevent the socio-political upheavals of his time. With the empire crumbling, the established male-dominated hierarchies are also at stake.

Hilmi, in turn, is part of the transformative intellectual and political forces Selim Pasha is eager to supress and that eventually lead to the sultan's disposal in 1909. As of his "physical weakness" and Western orientation, Hilmi is not the 'male heir' the pasha has wished for. Hilmi's "lean" (*nahif*), "frail" (*çelimsiz*) and "lisping" (*peltek*) appearance (ibid., 43) does not conform to the conventional, patriarchal image of masculinity his father stands for. Similar to Rabia's father Tevfik, Hilmi does not embody the ideals of masculinity the pasha epitomises. Hilmi is an educated, Europeanised upper-class individual, who is highly critical of Abdülhamid's despotic rule and his father's function within the imperial system. His political activities in the revolutionary underground movement of the Young Turks finally urge his father to send him into exile. Hilmi's disappointment with Ottoman rule and his admiration for everything European causes him to denigrate whatever he associates with the society in which he lives. His masculinity, depreciated by his father, is distinguished from the standards of the hegemonic 'Ottoman masculinity.' The parameters of this new manhood, however, remain vague—in contrast to hegemonic male 'inner qualities' such as strong self-assertation and sincerity, the new masculinity of Hilmi and his friends is defined alongside external characteristics resembling the modern dandy. Against the backdrop of the increasing popularity of *alafranga* fashion in late Ottoman Istanbul, the "dandification of appearance" inspired novelists to create satirical portrayals of these new Ottoman toffs and their "powdered and lotioned" moustaches (Boyar and Fleet 2010, 303). Referred to as "züppe" (see Chapter 4.2.1.) by the narrator of the novel, Hilmi and his friends speak French, listen to European music and embrace "Frankish" (*Frenkçe*) fashion ideals: "In addition to that, his [Hilmi's] friends were quite strange, they were quite dandy [*züppe*] youths. Some of them had long hair, some of them always spoke Frankish[445]…" (Edib 2007 [1936], 45).[446]

The generational conflict between Hilmi and Selim Pasha becomes hence not only visible in their discussions about civilisational belonging (see Chapter 6.3.2.) but is also accentuated by

[445] This term refers to European languages with an emphasis on the French language.

[446] "Fazla olarak, arkadaşları pek garip, pek züppe gençlerdi. Kiminin saçı uzun, kimi hep Frenkçe konuşur…"

their outward appearance and behaviour. With her emphasis on their different styles of facial hair, Edib revives a debate and motif of late Ottoman society and its literature. Sabiha Hanım refers to her husband as "the bearded" (*sakallı*) and calls her son "the moustached" (*bıyıklı*) (ibid., 42).[447] Since hair is social (see Hallpike 1969) and "imbued with power and positionality" (Holton 2020, 557), the different shapes of facial hair reveal different political and cultural positionalities. In the Hamidian period, full facial hair became the standard of official masculinity, probably following the example of the sultan himself. As an identity marker, the 'authentically Eastern' beard was increasingly contrasted with "light-headed Europeanization and cultural disorientation ascribed to the mustache" (Wishnitzer 2018, 306).[448] In that period, the moustache thus became one of the more visible characteristics of the *züppe* as the overly Westernised late Ottoman dandy.

Over the course of the narration, *bıyıklı* Hilmi transforms from a somewhat ridiculous, "docile and harmless" (*uslu ve zararsız*) (Edib 2007 [1936], 43) youth into a serious political dissident. Although not mentioned explicitly in the novel, it is implied that Hilmi might return to Istanbul after the revolution of 1908, when "the old regime's exiles have begun to come back by ships and ships," as the last chapter of the novel puts it (ibid., 470).[449] Upon such a return, Hilmi would likely be celebrated as a revolutionary hero and could become part of the ruling Young Turk political elites. In what Wishnitzer (2018, 290f) describes as a time of transformation between the "bearded empire and the clean-shaven early republic," there was a period "in which the mustache ruled." Whereas Selim Pasha represents the old order both in terms of Empire and masculinity, Hilmi can be considered a representative of the transitory time at the turn of the century when "the mustache was an expression of a generational identification and a related self-consciously modern masculinity that defined itself against the bearded, Hamidian order" (ibid., 291). The moustache also symbolises the political potential of the Young Turk movement that would eventually rise to power after the 1908 revolution. Considering that hair is a "highly visible cultural and political signifier or difference" (Holton 2020, 558), Hilmi's moustache culturally stands for the orientation towards European civilisation and politically pushes for the removal of the old imperial system. Edib problematises not only Selim Pasha's but also Hilmi's

[447] Beards and moustaches are two different types of facial hair: a beard is the "hair growing on the lower parts of a man's face," "on his chin and cheeks" (Collins 2021), and a moustache is "the hair growing on the human upper lip" (*Merriam-Webster* 2022i).

[448] See, for instance, the *züppe* Hulusi Efendi in Ahmed Mithat's *Only Seventeen Years Old* (*Henuz On Yedi Yaşında*, 1882-3), or Bihruz Bey in Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (see Chapter 4.2.1.). Hulusi Efendi and his friend Ahmed in *Henuz On Yedi Yaşında* are, like Selim Pasha and Hilmi, referred to as, respectively, "the moustached" and "the bearded" (see Wishnitzer 2018, 306).

[449] "Ve eski rejim sürgünleri vapur vapur gelmeye başladılar."

masculinity. Although Edib shows sympathy for Hilmi's critical stance towards the old regime, she criticises the way he neglects the heritage of his ancestors and how he uncritically accepts the parameters of European modernity. For her heroine Rabia, neither the patriarchal old nor the Westernised new masculinity seems to be suitable; she rejects both the wooing of one of Hilmi's Westernised friends and the courting of the gardener's son, who aspires to become like the pasha. Instead, she decides for the 'Western original' Peregrini, who himself values her 'Eastern originality.' As discussed above, it is because of their union on an equal footing that their relationship succeeds.

Just like Rabia, her beloved father Tevfik is an 'original.' Quite different from Hilmi, Tevfik does not conform with the standards of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity in his own way. Nicknamed "girl(*kız*)-Tevfik" (Edib 2007 [1936], 5) because of his role as the *zenne*[450] in the *orta oyunu* (see above), it "touched the honour" of other men (*haysiyetlerine dokunuyordu*) (ibid., 18) that "someone like him" could grow up among them in the *mahalle*. Although biologically masculine, Tevfik's social gender can be described as fluid as he combines both typically masculine and feminine markers: he is tall and "long-legged" (*uzun bacaklı*) with a "sturdy" (*gürbüz*) physical build; his "chestnut-coloured eyes are sweet like a girl's" (*kestane rengi gözleri bir kız çocuğu gibi tatlı*), and his "red lips are constantly talking" (*kırmızı dudakları durmadan söyler*) (ibid., 17). For his performances, there is "a painted mole on his face" (*yüzüne lâdenden ben koyup kaşına rastık*), his eyebrows are pencilled, "his eyes decorated with eyeshadow" (*gözüne sürme çekip kırıtması*) (ibid., 18). A book review published in *Son Posta* ([n.n.] 1936, 11) described Tevfik as "soft" (*yumuşak*), "sensitive" (*hassas*) and "loyal" (*sadık*).

In Tevfik's performances, the distance between him and other men (including Selim Pasha) from the *mahalle* is overcome through humour and laughter: "However, even the most serious man burst out laughing at his folly" (Edib 2007 [1936], 18f).[451] With "the clown" Tevfik, Edib proposes a "thirdspace masculinity" that transcends dichotomous oppositions such as "old/new," "man/woman" or "child/adult" (see Soja 1996; Chovanec 2016; Haug 2021). With his child-like spirit and his fascination for women's clothes, he blurs set boundaries regarding

[450] The *zenne* was a common theatre figure in the Ottoman Empire embodying a male belly dancer (see Szulc and Smets 2015). In recent years, as Joanna Mansbridge (2017, 33), among others, has argued, the *zenne* has experienced a revival: Mehmet Binay and Caner Alper's film "Zenne Dancer" brought "large-scale attention to the zenne and turned him into something of a Turkish queer icon."

[451] "Fakat en ciddisi bile onun maskaralığına gülmekten kırıldı."

gender and age. His artistry and genius are described as unfolding beyond these socially drawn boundaries:

> The nimbleness, the skill of Tevfik's hands, giving life to pieces of paper, that *his voice could become now a man, now a woman, now a child, in fact a woman, man, child of every type and social class,* bewitched her [Rabia]. But the thing that most astonished her was the admiration of all the spectators for the almost savage harmony in Tevfik's voice, though he knew nothing of music (Edib 2012a [1935]), 95f; emphasis added).[452]

With Tevfik, Edib stands up for artists whose professions were tightly regulated in early republican Turkey; she emphasises how important it is for a society to welcome and appreciate all those who do not fit with established classifications or categories. Generally speaking, both *orta oyunu* and *karagöz* plays in the Ottoman Empire regularly included themes such as gender, cross-dressing practices, gender fluidity and same-sex relations (Schlick 2004, 93f; see Mansbridge 2017). Tevfik's original artistry, his performances and his own positionality reveal the fluidity and social construction of gender norms, anticipating the post-modern deconstruction of dichotomous gender boundaries. Nevertheless, as the description of Tevfik's behaviour in his marriage with Emine reveals, his masculinity or gender identity is also not "ideal." Although his character traits are delightful in the context of his profession and heart-warming in how he fathers Rabia, he is not portrayed as a good family man. With his "laziness," "indecent behaviour" and the inability to have his finances under control, Edib sees his role in society as an artist rather than as a husband.

Although *Sinekli Bakkal* displays different types of masculinity—from hegemonic Ottoman to modernised and artistic—neither is presented as an aspiring ideal. While "[t]he manhood ideal of the first prominent Turkish novels is stereotypical: the manly hero is unfailingly perfect, and the dandy is corrupt and ridiculous" (Yüce 2018, 88), Edib's portrayal is more ambivalent. Whereas her ideas of ideal womanhood are gradually changing but overall quite elaborate in her novels, no image of ideal manhood in the 'Eastern context' comes to the fore. On a metaphorical level, however, the marriage between the Eastern Rabia and the Western Peregrini symbolises Edib's ideal of cooperation between East and West. Although Western dominance over the East stands at the centre of Edib's assessment of the political realities in early republican Turkey discussed in the next section, her novel reverses this narrative. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, the female East and the male West, both quipped with different but equally valuable features, coalesce on equal footing—but on Eastern grounds.

[452] "Tevfik'in kâğıt parçalarına can veren ellerinin çevikliği, ustalığı sesinin bazân bir erkek, bazân bir kadın, bazân bir çocuk, hattâ her cinsten ve içtimaî örnekten kadın, erkek, çocuk olması onu tehsir ediyordu" (Edib 2007 [1936], 124).

6.4. The Making of Modern Turkey: Self and Other in Edib's Non-Literary Writings

During her time away from Istanbul, Edib published two books about Turkey's relations with the West and the premises of its modernity. Based on her lecture series in the United States and India, both *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin* (1930)[453] and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935b)[454] are illuminating from an imagological perspective as they provide insights into Edib's perspective on the making of the 'Turkish national character.' By means of comparisons, analogies and contrast, the reader learns in what ways Turkey and 'the Turks' are thought to be similar or different from Western and Eastern 'civilisations' alike.

Frontispiece of Halide Edib in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935b)

Addressed to a US-American readership, one of Edib's motivations behind *Turkey Faces West* arguably was to provide an overview of Turkey's current state of affairs from what is presented as an internal perspective. Edib repeatedly shows her discontent with how the Ottoman Empire as well as Turkey and 'the Turks' are represented in foreign media articles and academic publications. In the same vein, Edward Earle (1930, x), the writer of the book's preface, underlines the importance of Edib's work:

> [T]he picture of the Ottoman Empire presented to the American reader has been almost invariably incomplete and hence misleading. Prejudice, unenlightenment, and malevolence have been conspicuous characteristics of much that has passed as authoritative writing on the Near East during the past century in the United States.

Against the backdrop of the negative imaginary prevalent in Western countries about 'the East' in general and Turkey in particular, Earle (ibid.) suggests a re-examination of "our hoary opinions concerning the Turks." One of the book's key objectives hence was to depict the history of the Ottoman Empire and the formation of Turkey as well as its relationship with the West from an explicitly non-Western perspective set to challenge the American reader's prejudices and stereotypes. It is with this aim in mind that Edib approaches the history of the "Turkish people" through 12 chapters, from "The Coming of the Turks" and "The Decline of

[453] *Turkey Faces West* was published during one of Edib's visits to New York, United States, and had a strong focus on its reception in the American public.

[454] According to its preface (Ansari 1935, i), the book was an extension of the lecture series Edib held at the Jamia Millia Islamia University in India between January and February 1934.

the Ottomans" to "The Beginning of Westernization" and, finally, "The Turkish Republic." Edib's credibility as a writer and intellectual is emphasised in the preface with reference to her American education in Istanbul. As the school's "first Moslem Turkish graduate" and given her "distinguished career as a teacher, journalist, author, statesman, social worker, and soldier," Edib is presented as "a just cause for pride on the part of that outpost of American education" (ibid., x–xi).

Conflict of East and West in Turkey, in turn, was primarily intended for an Indian readership.[455] Edib's fame as a political activist in Turkey's national liberation movement made her an inspiring public figure in India, notably with regard to the goal of political independence from Britain. Anirudha Dhanawade and Şima İmsir's (2021) recent analysis of Edib's reception in colonial India demonstrates how her biography and work appealed to Indian intellectuals: "Edib struck Indian observers too as the embodiment of a nation which had recently (and successfully) asserted its independence in the face of European aggression. Both Edib and the Turkish Republic served as a screen for many of the desires and dreams of Indian nationalist" (Dhanawade and İmsir 2021, 96f). Some of Edib's literary works were translated[456] and published by an Indian publishing house, and Edib was invited to hold a lecture series at Jamia Millia Islamia University, which then led to the textualisation of *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. Published in 1935 and thus in the same year as *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* reads more like a speech and is comprised of the eight lectures Edib held at the university. The book covers similar topics to *Turkey Faces West*: It provides an overview of the Ottoman past (the first chapter being "Ottoman Turks as State-builders") and entails a strong focus on the national liberation movement ("Revolution and War"), two chapters on "Literature and Culture" as well as Edib's thoughts on "Turkish Women." With their focus on Turkish nationalism, the lecture and subsequent book were most likely intended for a predominantly non-Turkish, non-Western audience and readership:

> [a treatise] which presents the histories of India and Turkey as mirror of one another, which suggests how non-European pasts might be reconceptualized in order to build or imagine a

[455] The book, however, also attracted attention in Great Britain. A review ("A Turk on India") by the Irish correspondent of the *Guardian* in India, who previously worked as a British civil servant in India, John Tudor Gwynn, notes that regardless of some tiresome passages, "the book has unique value because it is written from the standpoint of an Asiatic Moslem who is not an Indian" (Gwynn 1937, 5). Gwynn (ibid.) also emphasises that Edib was warmly welcomed in India: "Her nationality, her religion, her sex, her achievements, and her personality secured her a ready welcome everywhere and the services of the most useful and intelligent guides."

[456] For a detailed account of the interesting translation process of *Ateşten Gömlek* and its adaption to the political context of India, see Dhanawade and İmsir (2021, 97f).

> postcolonial future, and which questions rather than affirms the right of western civilization to a proprietary claim upon the nature of the modern (Dhanawade and İmsir 2021, 100).

There are significant parallels in how the two books—*Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*—approach questions of im_mobility, form_content, past_future and male_female. My comparative analysis, however, also reveals a major difference that reflects the books' diverging publication contexts and intended readerships: whereas *Turkey Faces West* (written for a US-American audience) underlines Turkey's national uniqueness but subtly places it within the Western civilisational context, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (addressing a primarily Indian audience) discusses Turkey's national awaking as one of the first in the East. While cautiously formulated similarities between the West and Turkey form the argumentative basis of *Turkey Faces West*, it is the shared belonging to Eastern civilisation and shared experiences of Western hegemony that inform the argument of *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. In line with the above analyses of Edib's autobiography (Chapter 6.1.) and *Sinekli Bakkal*, (Chapter 6.3.), this section examines *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* with reference to the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens in order to complement the literary analysis with insights from Edib's non-literary writings. A particular focus is directed at how Edib engages with Turkey's complicated positionality between what is imagined as East and West and the context-specific suggestions she puts forward.

6.4.1. Spatiality: Overcoming Superficial Immobility

"Turkey was the country in which reform movements started soonest"

With regard to im_mobilities across social and cultural space, the main argument in *Turkey Faces West* concerns the national awakening of 'the Turks' from the Ottoman period of stasis and their disentanglement from both Western and Eastern influences. Edib propounds the nationalist theory that the Ottomans—with their multinational approach to imperial affairs—adopted customs and practices from both the East and the West that led to a turning away from the original 'Turkish character.' She claims that for centuries, the Turks' radius of action had been shrinking gradually and that 'the Turk' as a national character had been "lost behind the colorful and forceful Ottoman façade" (Edib 1930, 47f). Deprived of development opportunities, activism and the possibility to move *forward*, Edib suggests that Turks in Ottoman times were stuck in a system that favoured external influences from East and West alike: "the Turk was more passive than active" (ibid., 48). She frames the so-called national awakening and liberation struggle, understood as the time period between 1908 and 1923, as a process from passiveness to activeness, from stagnation to movement. It is through the decay

and eventually the downfall of the Ottoman imperial order that the national character of 'the Turk' was able to unfold: "The New Turkey was in the throes of birth while the dead shell, the Ottoman Empire, was in its agony" (ibid., 111).

In line with common negatively connotated hetero-images of the East in Europe, Edib accepts that, from the outside, the "Moslem Turkish society" in Ottoman times appeared "immobile and stagnant as the other Islamic societies" (ibid., 77). She identifies Islamic law as a key obstacle to achieving progress and development, which, immobile by nature, "did not permit change" (ibid.): "The most static aspect of life in Islam is law" (ibid., 78). Edib argues, however, that this stagnancy was not deep-rooted in society but only a formal and largely superficial barrier to moving forward: "Hence superficially, the creative and critical faculties of the Turk seemed far behind those of western peoples" (ibid., 77). According to this argument, the restricting factor of Islamic law concealed the active and mobile potential of Turks. The perceived (formal) inferiority vis-à-vis Western countries could therefore be easily eliminated through the abolishment of sharia. Similar to her approach to feminism (see below), Edib suggests that the solution lies in Turks' "pre-Islamic state." In a vaguely imagined pre-Ottoman social order, Turks "had been accustomed to be ruled by man-made laws" (ibid., 79). Taking ancient Turkish history as a model for legal positivism, Edib refuses to accept European law as a standard and instead evokes a democratic Turkish past that is to be retrieved for the sake of progress. With this argument, she distances herself not only from the dominance of Western legal positivism, but also from the "immobile and stagnant […] other Islamic societies" in the East:

> As soon as we penetrate beneath the *surface immobility*, and observe how he [the Turk] freed himself from the rigid Arab rationalism of the Islamic Middle Ages, and how he threw off the tyranny of the Persian spirit which had tied him down to the repetition of ancient and uncongenial forms of thought, *we see clearly the difference between the Moslem Turk and the other Moslems in the world* (ibid., 78; emphasis added).

Whereas the Turks' alleged immobility is only externally imposed, superficial and in fact contradicting their vital and mobile inner nature, Arab and Persian stagnation is perceived as self-chosen and deep-rooted. Edib further discusses the nomadic origins of 'the Turks' to prove her claim about their intrinsically mobile character (ibid., 4f). With this image, Edib argues that Turks actually fit well within the Western civilisational context, which is embraced as a mobile and active role model for progress.

In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (intended for an Indian readership), in turn, the argument about the 'nomadic Turkish character' is slightly different and appears as a rather ambivalent

feature: Edib criticises that "Western historians" used the term 'Turk' derogatorily to "dismiss the Ottoman Empire as that of simple nomads." Edib (1935b, 12) accepts the nomadic character as one of the Turks' "simple virtues" but revaluates it as a core strength of the Ottomans' state-building capacities (ibid., 19). It is especially the nomads' resilience and ability to deal with or adapt to "the ever-changing challenge of nature" (ibid., 12) that becomes a key asset in the management of large territories. Edib argues, however, that the early Ottoman Turks' "vitality and activity" (ibid., 13) were confronted with "passive Eastern masses" (ibid., 12 and 18) that eventually effaced Ottoman dynamism. Edib's main criticism of Ottoman rulers and the intelligentsia of 'the East' is their inability to reform their countries from within. She criticises their approach of superficially imitating and adapting to the "mechanical civilisation" (ibid., 240) of the West instead of setting new reforms in motion that correspond to the inner needs of Eastern societies:

> For a long time in the East, therefore, the intelligentsia have been divided between the fanatical and the ignorant and apish imitators who believe that a wholesale adoption of the mechanical civilisation will give the indispensable inner organisation, the strength and the stability to the *passive and inert Eastern masses*. The result has been that the Eastern masses have remained devoid of all new thought or idealism, and enslaved by foreign powers or by their own despotic rulers (ibid., 240f; emphasis added).

On this point, Edib deviates significantly from *Turkey Faces West*, which focuses on Turkish emancipation from the Ottoman yoke for a Western readership. *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* positions Turkey and the Ottoman Empire in the wider context of Eastern countries that all face similar challenges against the backdrop of the Occidentalist condition. According to Edib, Eastern societies have widely remained stagnant and hence fall prey to either local despots or Western imperialism. While embracing the Orientalist stereotype of a stagnant East, Edib (ibid., 34) reassesses "decline" as "the recuperation time, the rest-cure of nations." The image of the passively sleeping East is reproduced and confronted with the necessity of reform and national revival: "In the homes of older Eastern civilisations, where peoples seemed fast asleep to the naked eye, in China, India and the Near East there are now signs of awakening. May it be a good morning to them all!" (ibid.).

In front of the Indian audience, Turkey is introduced as a role model in this regard, as the first country to enter the road of reform. Edib embraces the ideal of progress, arguing that Turkey has moved from a passive past to an active present with a promising dynamic future, thus being "the country in which reform movements started soonest" (ibid., 241). Approximating Western modernity, however, poses fundamental questions about what to take on from the West in order to reach the same level of intellectual dynamism, political reformism and economic prosperity

without losing one's inner Self. Edib's solution to the dilemma is to adopt the principles and the organisation of Western economic and political life. Furthermore, she argues for far-reaching educational reforms modelled on the European example to address the widespread 'intellectual stasis' in the East, a key reason for why "the masses remained stagnant" (ibid., 43f). In the cultural realm, however, Eastern countries should embrace their own, often transnationally shared, heritage and traditions.

6.4.2. Civilisation: Matter or Spirit

"The supreme ill of which the East is suffering is due to a lack of proportion between the material and the spiritual nature of man"

Overall, the two books discussed in this section reveal Edib's dichotomous approach to the question of civilisation. Trying to answer the question "What is East and what is West?" on the very first page of *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, the East seems to span the Asiatic continent from the 'Near East' to China in the 'Far East.' Most of the time, however, when Edib refers to 'East' she seems to have the (Islamic) Near East in mind, which she describes as the cradle of development for both Eastern and Western civilisations: the Near East is "an area that has bred typically Eastern and Western nations and civilisations, arid has been the contending ground of all philosophical, cultural, political ideas and ideologies and human forces" (Edib 1935b, 1). Turkey is geographically, historically and ideationally located in the in-between space of the Near East, uniting aspects of Eastern and Western civilisations alike: "Therefore Turkey is an ideal cross-section of the human world, the very best laboratory in which a student of history can make his researches [*sic*] on the conflict of East and West" (ibid.). Europe, on the other hand, represents the West for Edib. Addressing her Indian readership, she approaches Europe-as-the-West in a critical vein, as a small continent exploiting resources from the rest of the world: "Huge continents and the millions living on them are there only to fetch and carry for the little continent of Europe on which lives the man of the West" (ibid., 7).

On a more detailed level, however, Edib's stance on Turkey's belonging to East and/or West is more complicated, and as already alluded to above, Edib's two books also diverge with regard to questions of civilisational belonging. Overall, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* rather highlights Turkey's affiliation with the Eastern, whereas *Turkey Faces West* rather emphasises its parallels with Western civilisation. Both books, from slightly different perspectives, engage with the 'Turkish nation's' relations with East and West alike. Imagologically speaking, *Turkey Faces West* is an almost prototypical treatise of national character. The book provides answers

to questions such as "who and what the Turk" is as well as "what the Turk believe[s] himself to be" (Edib 1930, 1). For her Western audiences, Edib sets out to point out common (negative) Western images of Turkey or 'the Turks,' which she then strives to adjust or replace. For Edib, 'The Turk' is a category on its own, for Turkishness neither comes along with a broader notion of belonging to 'the East' nor with a clear-cut affiliation with 'the West.' She also distinguishes Turkishness from what she evokes as the decayed Ottoman civilisation. As the analysis of her *Memoirs* has revealed (see Chapter 6.1.), however, Edib is inclined to understand Turkey as being at least formally part of the Western hemisphere. This tendency is proven by the circumstance that in *Turkey Faces West,* Edib is eager to confront English-speaking readers with a vision of Turkey that positions the country on an equal footing with Western nations. While the significant differences between the Ottoman Empire and the European Powers could not be bridged in the past, a self-confident cultural nationalism is suggested as a solution to pull Turkey out of its perceived inferiority in relation to Europe. Although opposing political nationalism, Edib here takes the view that cultural nationalism is a necessary aspect for a successful nation-building process. Earle (1930, xi) rightly argues that Edib's "fundamental interests are not in politics, but in the cultural heritage of the Turkish nation." Through a focus on the authentic content of what is evoked as national Turkish culture, Edib claims that Turkey is set to formally participate in Western civilisation with an original voice of its own. As already discussed above with regard to her *Memoirs* (see Chapter 6.1.2.), Edib nationalises whatever she regards as a suitable trait of the (Ottoman) past for the (republican) present.

As she argues in depth in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, "dramatic art among the Turks" is a matter of particular concern to her (Edib 1935b, 185). Most notably, Edib (ibid., 185f) mentions the story-teller *meddah*[457] as a particularly original, namely the first, expression of theatre in 'Turkish culture'—the latter she refers to as "the soul of the people" (ibid., 124). Admitting that "[t]his was also common among the Arabs and the Persians," Edib (ibid.) euphorically notes that the *meddah* is an "artist who tells stories, impersonates the characters in the story," having "both an entertaining and a moral quality." She explains (ibid.) that the *meddah* was popular across all social strata: "[t]he artists entertained the sultans as well as the people in the coffee-houses or in market-places and fairs." Her book (ibid., 189) yet again also refers to *karagöz* as a "primitive" but "original" form of theatre and hence as a necessary part of the national culture, which differed from the "modern theatre" that was introduced during

[457] Edib's account is confirmed by Agnieszka Kaim (2018, 160), who notes that from the 11th to the 20th century "[s]torytellers not only entertained people, but also educated them and provided the continuation of lore. The storyteller, in the process of creating the story, always had to be a multi-skilled narrator."

the Tanzimat. In line with Edib's account in *Sinekli Bakkal*, the European-inspired theatre "lacked the originality and the genuine art of the simpler popular theatre" (ibid., 190).[458] Although all these forms of artistic expression struggle with the dominance and popularity of Western forms, she points out that they still live on to a certain extent in early republican Turkey. In the "history of Turkish theatre," she claims that this struggle is evident:

> one sees the conflict of East and West as in politics and literature. But fortunately in this sphere the native soul has not been exterminated. Though the Turks now study the technique of the Western theatre which they should, their dramatic art is still struggling to express itself in its own way (ibid., 192).

Edib describes (cultural) Turkish nationalism as an almost inevitable outcome of the general political climate in Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Explaining how the Ottoman Empire had been a political plaything for European Powers, Edib argues that nationalism eventually became the only way for the "Turkish people" to achieve political independence.

As a highly politicised text directed at a Western audience, *Turkey Faces West* does not show the signs of melancholy and nostalgia that the novel *Sinekli Bakkal*, her *Memoirs* and partially even *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* display. This ambiguity may partly be explained by the fact that Edib was a pragmatic writer whose politically engaged texts responded to what she perceived as the political realities and necessities of the time, paying particular attention to what she believed her respective audience should hear in order to strengthen Turkey's international position. Edib recognised the necessity of spreading a new image of Turkey to the Western world, distinct from the old image of the Ottoman Empire as the sick man of Europe. Edib's clear dissociation from the Ottoman trajectory is arguably a part of her attempt to convince the Western readership of the modern, developed character of the newly founded nation-state. In line with the ideological strategy of the Kemalists, Edib hence strived to detach the "Ottoman Turk" from the "Turk"—a rather artificial division that is completely missing in *Sinekli Bakkal* (and for the lack of which she was even criticised by nationalists, see Baltacıoğlu 1942).[459]

[458] It is interesting to note that Edib here refers to the broad Eastern origins of *karagöz* as a cultural institution. She, however, emphasises the peculiarity of the Turkish *karagöz*, which lacked the religious connotations of "Arab karagöz" (Edib 1935b, 188).

[459] Nevertheless, *Turkey Faces West* still reveals Edib's fascination with the Ottoman Empire as an overarching political frame, vivid multicultural melting pot and, in her eyes, rather successful administrative umbrella for different ethnicities (see Edib 1930, 19f).[459] In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, Edib's approach to the Ottoman Empire is overall significantly milder. Although she also distinguishes Ottoman Turkish history from Turkish history, the distinction is not as sharply drawn as in *Turkey Faces West*. A detailed differentiation between the imperial character of the Ottoman Turk and the national character of the Turk, as formulated in *Turkey Faces West*, is completely missing.

To do so, Edib uses comparisons with specific 'Eastern'—notably Arab and Persian—Others to demarcate the particularities of Turkish identity for her Western readership. While Turkish religiosity, for instance, is described as "all heart," the "Persian is all spirit and the Arab is all mind in religion" (Edib 1930, 9). Based on the Turks' "childlike simplicity of religion," it is further a "tenderness for man and the world that surround him" (ibid.) combined with natural "realism and reason" (ibid.) that distinguish the Turk from the Persian. Edib argues that while these traits were particularly visible in the Turks' "earlier stages of development" in pre-[460] and early Ottoman times, they altered considerably with the empire's decline from the 17th century onwards. Edib identifies both the "gradual penetration of western culture and civilisation" (ibid., 10) and the Ottomans' "adoption of Near Eastern civilization" (ibid., 30) as the key reasons for the gradual change of the original Turkish character. True Turkish civilisation must hence be retrieved from the concealing layers of the recent Ottoman past and should be distilled from both Western and Eastern influences.

In order to disentangle the Turk from Eastern civilisation, Edib distinguishes the "Imperialist (Ottoman) Turk" from "the (simple) Turk." She claims that, starting in the late 17th century, the "Ottoman Turks" adopted "a civilization alien to their nature, who amalgamated languages and cultures with supreme technique and no originality" and hence contributed to the alteration of "its social life to an unrecognizable degree" (ibid., 34). The originality of the "Turkish nation" vanished gradually against the backdrop of Ottoman degeneration. Edib identifies language and literature as particularly alienating aspects of the empire: Turkish language grew into Ottoman language, described as a synthetic amalgam of Arabic, Persian and Turkish terms, grammar and syntax (ibid., 31f). This *artificial form* was complemented by *artificial content*: "If the form was conscious and artificial, the choice of subject and the style were still more so. [...]. The individual, everyday life, simple nature, and especially women, all of them favorite subjects of the common Turk, disappeared from Ottoman literature - the former as unworthy of literature, the last as indecent" (ibid., 32). What Ottoman literature hence lacked, according to Edib, was originality.[461] As a result, Edib proposes a "return" to the simplicity of the Turkish language and a renewed focus on originally Turkish subjects and stories in order to detach the Turks' cultural heritage from negative Eastern influences.

[460] For Edib's account of "Turanian" history beginning in the 13th century, see her chapter "The Coming of the Turks" (Edib 1930).

[461] In the fields of music and architecture, however, Edib concedes that the Ottomans—despite copying from and imitating the Arabs and Byzantine heritage—managed to create "something entirely original" (Edib 1930, 33).

Apart from literature, language and theatre, Edib also strives to include other arts in her vision of a national Turkish culture that she introduces as distinctly different from Ottoman and Eastern customs, repeatedly emphasising their Turkish character: "The arts in Turkey, such as carpet making, wood carving, tile making, bookbinding, illuminations, furniture design, and domestic architecture belong to the Turk rather than to the Ottoman. The Turks have produced masterpieces in all these lines" (ibid., 45). Instead of copying Persian or Arab forms, Turkish art imitates only "nature's colors" (ibid.). Also, "music of the Turk was […] very different from that of the Ottoman" (ibid.). As key characteristics of Turkish music, Edib mentions a pleasant gaiety combined with a nostalgic current.

In contrast to *Turkey Faces West*, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, with its Indian audience, rather seeks to underline general tendencies of commonality and, to some extent, solidarity between countries of the East. Western hegemony and its negative effects on non-Western politics and economics are repeatedly mentioned as shared experiences across Eastern countries. In stark contrast to her clear demarcation between Turkey and 'the culture' of the Near East in *Turkey Faces West*, which she makes for her Western readers, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* draws upon cultural similarities and a shared heritage: in her overview of (the history of) dramatic art in Turkey, for instance, she mentions the art of storytelling as performed by the *meddah*, a practice "also common among the Arabs and the Persians" (Edib 1935b, 186). Regarding *karagöz*, which in other publications she characterises as a specifically Turkish art form, Edib (ibid., 189) hypothesises "that the Ottoman Turks learnt the art from the Arabs and the Persians, or that it developed simultaneously in all the three nations in the Near East." With regard to language and literature, Edib (ibid., 181) contradicts herself even more by stating: "It is not desirable for us to disown the Persian and Arabic influences in our culture; we have neither been Persianised nor Arabicised by them. We are Moslems, and ours is the common culture of all Islamic peoples." More specifically, Edib (ibid., 182) doubts the success and reasonableness of language purification policies, which appear to her to be rather artificial then natural, "for language is a living thing."

In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, the main shared trait across Eastern civilisation is the cultural and social "emphasis on the spirit throughout all Eastern cultures, Hindu, Moslem, Persian" (ibid., 236). The division between content and form—or, as Edib puts it, between spirit and matter—stands at the centre of the book's general argument. Edib suggests that the conflict between East and West in general and in Turkey in particular can be traced back to the West's emphasis on matter and the East's emphasis on spirit. The argument of the West's over-

emphasis on materialism and the East's over-emphasis on spirituality runs like a thread through the book. While Edib regards both approaches as problematic and even destructive, she perceives the Easterner's focus on the mind as superior from a moral point of view: "The individual of the East is the possessor of a marked and unique personality. More so than the individual of the West. How has he managed it? Simply by detaching his mind from material and worldly realities" (ibid., 3). Despite the fact that the emphasis on "spiritual values" is closer to the "true essence of life" and can be regarded as more honourable and morally superior, Edib (ibid., 4) criticises the one-sided focus on spirituality and remarks that men are not "merely disembodied spirits." According to Edib, this singular focus has weakened Eastern populations:

> [The underestimation of] material values has made of man a subject for exploitation, first by his own rulers, later by the more materialist West. The East seems to have existed only for the sake of providing cheap labour, riches arid markets to the world. Such being the case, we must admit that all is not right in the East. Reduced to its simplest expression, *the supreme ill of which the East is suffering is due to a lack of proportion between the material and the spiritual nature of man* (ibid., 4; emphasis added).

In *Turkey Faces West*, in turn, Edib approaches the problematic impact of the West on Turkey from a different angle, namely by claiming that Westernisation has had a disastrous effect on the "original Turk" (Edib 1930, 35). Although the Ottomans had embraced Eastern civilisation, the "face of the Ottomans turned toward the West from the earliest times" (ibid.). This "west-ward urge" first manifested itself in the Ottomans' conquests on the European continent and remained unaffected by their decreasing ability to geographically advance (ibid.). Edib identifies the roots of the Ottoman Empire's unsuccessful orientation towards the West against the backdrop of this historical juncture: "It is from the moment of his failure and decadence that we see him [the Ottoman] earnestly striving to accept western civilization at a very high cost" (ibid.).

Edib's argument appears to be as follows: the "Ottoman Turks" have distanced themselves from their original Turkish core and—out of this position of alienation and inauthenticity—have tried to, almost desperately, adopt Western civilisational markers. Somewhat counterintuitively, however, Edib highlights that the "initial traits" of the "original Turk" had "more in common with the West than with the East" (ibid.). By means of characteristics such as "a grim realism and objectivity" (ibid., 1), an "objective and experimental" mind ibid., 31) as well as "the ruling passion" of "empire-building" (ibid., 2), Edib underlines similarities in character between Turks and Western "extroverts" (ibid.) such as the Anglo-Saxons. Despite their expansionist vision, however, Edibs describes the Turks as pacific and praises their "peaceful attitude of mind," a "confirmed fact" that "might seem contradictory to the ordinary western reader who thinks of

the Turk only as a fighter" (ibid.,49). This non-violent approach results from the Turks' "lack of hatred" (ibid., 41), a tendency Edib traces back to the spiritual influence of dervish lodges.[462]

Overall, the matter of civilisational originality is an important theme in both *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. Whereas the former (speaking to a Western audience) narrows down the question of civilisational belonging to the Turks' national character, distancing it from Eastern and Western influences alike, the latter (addressing an Indian audience) does not single out Turkey in that way and instead seeks to underline commonalities with 'other' Eastern contexts. In *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, the above-mentioned argument about the West's over-emphasis on materialism openly reveals Edib's criticism (1935b, 6f) of its globalising capitalist practices: she convincingly argues that the West's system of worldwide governance has led to globalised inequalities playing out in local relations such as capitalist vs. worker or the more general contrast between a rich West versus a poor East:

> Yet this source of blessing for man in the West has a seamy side. *The one-sided and purely material progress has given the West an unlimited power over the rest of the world*. In a few centuries, directly or indirectly, the West has laid its hands on the world. *Huge continents and the millions living on them are there only to fetch and carry for the little continent of Europe on which lives the man of the West* (ibid., 7; emphasis added).

Far from the conciliatory approach in *Turkey Faces West*, where Edib explicitly embraces Turkey's links with Western civilisation, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* suggests that Western material dominance (matter/form) has been reached at the expense of not only other parts of the world but also spiritual progress (spirit/content) more generally, the lack of which is likely to ultimately lead to the West's decline. Edib turns around the stereotype of a backward, superficial and imitative East by describing the West as an amalgam of different influences, lacking originality. Referring to the Roman Empire as the "first expression of Western civilisation," Edib (ibid., 5) argues that the Romans "did not possess a single original idea": "It [the West] has produced none of the seven wonders of the world. Both the men and the civilisation of the West are late arrivals."

[462] In *Sinekli Bakkal*, it is Rabia's teacher Vehbi Dede who represents the peacefulness and non-violence Edib supports as an ideal character trait of individuals and national communities.

6.4.3. Temporality: The Real Roots

"It passed away in 1918"

As post-imperial accounts, both *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* aim at coming to terms with the Ottoman Empire's complicated legacies. As Edib (1935b, 28) puts it, the Ottoman Empire "passed away in 1918," making it clear that this political form is gone with no possibility of return. With regard to questions of temporality, a key argument of both texts is that whatever is commonly accepted as the core features of Western modernity (such as democracy, gender equality, progress, rationality or individualism) was already there in the (Ottoman-)Turkish context: displaying a rather Turkifying focus on the past, *Turkey Faces West*, presents these achievements or attributes as intrinsic parts of the (concealed) Turkish national character. *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, in turn, argues that their origins can be found in an Eastern—i.e., early or pre-Ottoman—past. As alluded to above, Edib's two books diverge significantly in how they approach the imperial past and its potential role in the present or future. Generally speaking, Edib's historical analysis in both accounts centres around the Ottoman decline beginning in the 17th century. Both identify the European Powers' approach towards the militarily weakened empire as a key reason for the empire's demise. Edib (ibid., 48f), for example, criticises the empire's status as an "appetising piece" for Europe "whose possession and property had to be divided among the Western Powers." Similarly, in *Turkey Faces West*, Edib (1930, 55) is critical of "the Great Powers of the West constantly discussing methods of disposing of the 'Sick Man's' goods."

Although both works include the eponymous chapter "The Decline of the Ottomans," Edib's argument of an Ottoman demise must be evaluated differently in the two cases. On the first page of *Turkey Faces West*, Edib (ibid., 1) already points to the necessity of accepting the origins of a nation as constitutive aspects of its present and future: "Although things and beings are constantly acquiring characteristics by new contacts and influences, their origins also continue to affect them. In the recent changes in Turkey, a great many intellectuals believe that there is a tendency to return to our origins." What is retrieved as significant from the past, however, is selective and tailor-made for what is perceived as the necessities of today. Whereas Edib (ibid., 35f) argues that links between the pre-Ottoman early Turk and the new national Turk should be rejuvenated, the decadent Ottoman Turk should remain part of the past: "The Imperialist Ottoman as a class has disappeared; and as an individual he is no longer a force. The second type, the Turk, has survived. As he is the creator and the keeper in future of the

Turkish Republic, one has to understand the kind of man he became in the Near Eastern boiling pot."

Edib's approach to the Ottoman past is noticeably less dismissive and less aggressive in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. The early Ottoman period, for instance, is described as a time characterised by freedom, equality and justice: "In the early Broussa period [the first capital of the Ottomans], everything was very much in keeping with their love of freedom and the sense of social justice they derived from Islam" (Edib 1935b, 15). Through this reading of early Ottoman history, key pillars of Western modernity are integrated into what is imagined as one's own (nationalised imperial) past. Edib even understands the downfall of the empire as a chance to discuss aspects of Empire in a more objective way, since history has always been biased "in favour of or against the Ottomans" (ibid., 28): "Now that the Ottoman State is buried in the past and can neither hurt nor benefit anyone, its history can be studied with a fair and objective standard by any historian or a body of historians." Also in this respect, Edib contradicts her earlier argument in *Turkey Faces West* with its ideologically loaded image of Empire, predominantly used as a negative foil for the national character of the Turks that had been buried underneath Ottoman decadence, degeneration and decline. Most importantly, however, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*—similar to Edib's 1926 memoir—explicitly underlines the importance of the past and its heritage for the present and the future.

Despite all the ambiguities and contradictions across her different works, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* seems to present a quintessential 'Edibian' approach to and interpretation of the Ottoman Empire, its downfall, the national present and Turkey's relations with the West. Speaking highly of Sultan Selim III, Sultan Mahmoud, Sultan Abdülmecid and partially of Sultan Abdülaziz, as well as of the reform periods connected with their reigns, Edib (ibid., 60) evokes an idealised imperial past characterised by moderate change: "In conclusion, the conflict of East and West in this reform period (1774-1876) may be summed up in this way. The New West had entered the Ottoman world as a method in thought. Institutions were changing, but in accordance with the spirit of the old tradition." The Tanzimat period is idealised as a time when necessary political reforms were implemented according to practical European standards without interfering in the empire's grown cultural and spiritual structures, its 'soul.' The Tanzimat reformists, Edib praises, shied away from superficially and uncritically imitating Western civilisation in all respects and, instead, aimed for a natural and organic blend in accordance with Turkey's geographical positionality between East and West:

> Thus one by one new Western ideas and forms were interpreted, assimilated and incorporated in what Turkey had inherited from the old East, without the old or the new upsetting the balance in its favour. Indeed, like the state-building of the Ottoman, the Tanzimat movement might have resulted in a new blend of East and West - but for Abdul Hamid II (ibid., 60).

Sultan Abdülhamid II's reign, under which Edib grew up, is introduced as the lamentable and unfortunate historical break that undermined the Ottoman Empire's development along the above-mentioned lines of moderate, thoughtful reform, an argument that is also implicitly conveyed in *Sinekli Bakkal*. Edib's post-imperial melancholic stance towards this period of the past, which she herself had not experienced, is illuminating. Her revisionist "what if…" approach reveals that her actual political ideal would have been a constitutional monarchy, the logical consequence of the 1879 constitution:

> The Tanzimat had prepared the way for a steady and unsubversive change from a despotic to a constitutional form of government. The mind of the Turk, in this period of transition, had a well-balanced pose, his tradition arid culture were [*sic*] the basis for the infiltration of the new Western ideas and institutions. […] *The monarchy might have developed into a constitutional one and the Sultan might have been a unifying and stabilising force of the political and social system*. But Abdul Hamid destroyed the chances of such a peaceful evolution (ibid., 68).

Edib suggests that the democratisation of the empire and the modernisation of its political institution could have paved the way for the Ottoman Empire to survive as a multinational framework of belonging before the destructive forces of political nationalism could proliferate. Instead, Edib (ibid.) argues, the "balance between what is the root of a people's culture and the outside ideas was now gone." Throughout the chapters of *Conflict of East and West in Turkey,* Edib (ibid.) describes how this uprooting was further accelerated by the political forces in power after 1908—represented by the character of Hilmi in *Sinekli Bakkal*—who were "bound to adopt its [the West's] ideas and methods wholesale." One of the key arguments in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* is, hence, that the conflict between East and West in Turkey was decided in favour of the West. Mourning the possibility of a more natural synthesis in an imagined Tanzimat climate, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* reveals Edib's post-imperial grief and the lost attachment to a past that was organically informed by both Eastern and Western influences. An imagined well-balanced past is confronted with the negative image of a merely Western-oriented—or rather imitatively Westernising—present and the outlook of an even more alienated future.

The chapters on "Literature and Culture" in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* further illustrate this argumentation. Critical of the avant-garde literary movement *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* ("New

Literature," 1896–1901) and its "anti-past feeling," Edib (ibid., 164) complains[463] about how literature has contributed to both the neglect of the Ottoman heritage and the adoption of Western standards. She criticises the writers' uncritical glorification of everything Western as "perfect and good" instead of selecting certain aspects of Western civilisation to praise, like political institutions. Despite appreciating the quality of their literary technique, she describes *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* writers as rootless in their "disregard" or "wholesale hatred of the past," an approach she finds destructive and unhelpful for the present (ibid., 164f).

Overall, then, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* provides the intellectual backdrop for *Sinekli Bakkal*, where Edib leads her readers back to an Ottoman *mahalle*, where spiritual (Eastern) values are emphasised over (Western) materialism (see Chapter 6.3.). As discussed above, the novel evokes a predominantly positive image of Empire and particularly its culture, despite the negative implications of Abdülhamid's reign. By celebrating a lost time that was forcefully cut off from the present, Edib highlights the past as the key for an authentic present and a confident standing in relation to the West: "Lastly, it is by no means desirable to cut adrift the coming generations from the Ottoman past. Our real roots are in the Ottoman culture. Without them we will be second-hand Europeans" (ibid., 181).

6.4.4. Gender: Eastern and Western Feminism

"Women are all one nation"

Turkey Faces West and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* also diverge in how they approach matters of gender equality. In the former, Edib (1930, 46) claims that, as in other areas, Ottoman decadence and eventually "degeneration" were responsible for the structural inequality and social disadvantages of women. In contrast to Ottoman indifference towards women's rights, the original 'Turkish character'—prior to its exposure to external influences (see above)—naturally supported the equality of men and women. Edib adopts Ziya Gökalp's argument that women's inferiority in relation to men was a result of Byzantine, Persian and orthodox Islamic interferences in various Ottoman life spheres. In *Türk Medeniyeti Tarihi* ("A History of Turkish Civilisation," 1925) and *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (*The Principles of Turkism*, 1920), Gökalp offers an explanatory theory for women's contemporary misery by tracing the origins of gender

[463] As Petr Kučera (2017a, 20) has noted, "*Edebiyat-ı cedideciler*—the members of the movement—were denounced by literary critics for their alleged elitist aestheticism and mimicking of Western models, for the derivative character of their works and blatant disregard for Ottoman-Islamic realities." Kučera notes, however, that "these authors succeeded […] in creating a unique, Istanbul version of the realistic novel." Kučera discusses Recâizâde Mahmut Ekrem's novel *Araba Sevdası* (see Chapter 4) as introducing "a new esthetics through the prism of which the following generation of authors would observe cultural and existential questions accompanying the transformation of their society."

imbalances back to the Ottomans' adoption of foreign practices and traditions: "While Muslims were borrowing such customs as the harem, selamlik (male quarters of a Muslim household) and veil from Christian Byzantium and Zoroastrian Persia, Western European women were participating in social life" (Gökalp 1968 [1920], 43). By accepting or implementing such practices, Ottoman Turks deviated from their own customs, which as Gökalp (ibid., 104) claims, were based on democracy and equality: "The ancient Turks were not only the world's most democratic ethnic group but also its most feminist. Feminism is, essentially, a manifestation of democracy or equality as regards women."[464] It is important to mention, however, that despite advocating for female education, Gökalp saw the role and responsibility of women predominantly in the domestic sphere (see Doğramacı 1978, 218). Supporting Gökalp's general argument about the negative impact of externalities, Edib notes that "[i]t really required centuries of Persian and Byzantine influence to change the condition of women and those who were not submitted to these influences in their cultures did not change much" (Edib 1930, 6). Irrespective of historical accuracy, Edib follows Gökalp in projecting a well-functioning, equal political and social utopia onto pre- and early Ottoman times: "The greatest alteration through the influence of the Byzantines - for the worse - took place in the attitude of mind toward the family and woman, an attitude which had constituted the sanest and the strongest point in the early Ottoman and Turkish society" (ibid., 33f). Edib's nationalist-feminist perspective demands a return to the Turkish and early Ottoman past instead of orientating towards the feminism of the West. Instead of copying, imitating or adapting to ideas of contemporary Western feminism, Edib promotes a return to a Turkic past that is imagined as democratic and having reached gender equality. Not only are the politics and social aspects of those past societies imagined as feminist but Edib also emphasises the impact of women on original "Turkish culture": "The Turks have produced masterpieces in all these lines. Carpets and embroidery, a woman's art, show a sense of color and design, both quaint and original" (ibid., 45).

The tone in *Conflict of East and West* in Turkey, again, is more inclusive. Since "women are all one nation" (Edib 1935b, 193), their challenges are similar across the world. Edib evokes the image of the mother as the nucleus of the family and, pars pro toto, for the nation as a whole. Perceiving women as the smallest cell in the larger framework of society, Edib attaches value to their duties in the process of civilisation. The mother not only "created the family as the unit of human society" but also "starts agriculture and industry to feed and to clothe her young"

[464] See also the sub-chapter on "Turkish feminism," pp. 111–113.

(ibid.). Edib's (ibid., 195) belief in the necessity of progress—outlined above—is also revealed by how she perceives the role of women in a society: women are thought of as the driving forces in the development of a nation's civilisation, they are "nature's means of producing life and preventing its stagnation." In both East and West, however, not enough tribute is paid to women's contributions to the microcosm of the family and society as a whole. Edib identifies economic inequality as the root of gender imbalances in the West, whereas it is the practice of polygamy that is at the heart of problematic gender relations in the East: "While women in the Christian world suffered from lack of economic equality, the women of the Moslem East never became full partners of their husbands in that basic unit of human society, the family" (ibid., 202).

Although Edib's analysis of Western and Eastern feminism reveals problems in both civilisational contexts, she emphasises the superiority of a general feminist structure in the East that is validated on religious grounds. Referring to how Christianity negatively changed society in the Middle Ages, Edib criticises the inferior position women took in the West as they were blamed for the original sin of humankind (ibid., 199). Whereas the argument in *Turkey Faces West* mainly builds on the image of a gender balanced pre- and early Ottoman society with a strong focus on the 'feminist' Turkish character, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* emphasises the feminist undercurrent of Islam itself and hence of the Islamic East as a whole. As an important reference point in Eastern countries, suras from the Quran are quoted in order to prove that gender equality can and should also be rooted in Islam (ibid., 199–202). Apart from this more general approach to a shared Eastern feminism based on the interpretation of the Quran and in line with her previously discussed argument on the successful reform period in the Ottoman Empire, Edib also praises Selim II, "the great reformer," as "the first feminist" (ibid., 214). Regarding the question of equality as a matter of civilisational progress, Edib appreciates the attempts of Sultan Selim III and his sister Hatice Sultan to "awaken women and make them aware of the progress the world had made" (ibid., 214). The early republican reforms are evaluated positively with regard to the question of increasing gender equality and seen as a "natural consequence of the changes which have been going on very slowly since the Tanzimat period and a little more swiftly since 1908" (ibid., 223).

6.5. In a Nutshell: Edib's Take on Self and Other

With a focus on the post-imperial novel *Sinekli Bakkal* (Edib 2007 [1936]), this chapter has set out to investigate positionalities of belonging in Halide Edib's oeuvre. The literary close-reading has been contextualised through her autobiography (Edib 1926) and complemented by a comparative in-depth analysis of her two non-literary accounts on the East-West question in Turkey (Edib 1930 and Edib 1935b). The main goal of this analysis has been to examine how Occidentalist parameters of modernity—spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender—are reflected in the constitution of auto- and hetero-images in Edib's immediate post-imperial narratives. Edib's works display her complicated and sometimes contradictory approaches towards Western-dominated modernity and its premises in a historical period of fundamental transformation. Her own evolving political agenda and the different geographical as well as historical settings of political and social engagements complicate the possibility of making generalised statements about her thinking. Despite noticeable shifts in focus and underlying ambiguities, however, her literary and non-literary post-imperial works allow for the identification of certain patterns. This concluding section first provides a general overview of the key findings and then addresses central aspects of Edib's works analysed through the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens.

Overall, Edib's texts reveal her dichotomous approach towards a world she describes as divided into two hemispheres. With its geographical position and its shared history as well as cultural ties with both East and West, Turkey is described as being located somewhere between these spheres, which are imagined as distinctly different from each other. In most of her texts, Turkey has a tendency to lean towards 'Eastern civilisation' in terms of shared cultural and religious ties. Despite an imagined broader affiliation with the East, however, Turkish peculiarities are singled out in order to also distinguish Turkey from 'other' Eastern contexts, most notably Arab countries and Iran. Turkey's allegedly more advanced—i.e., more Western—civilisational status is pointed out in order to distinguish the awakened Turkish national Self from the 'Eastern masses' that have remained stagnant. *Turkey Faces West*, as a text intended for American or English readers, introduces the Turkish national character as progressive, active and rational, hence promoting Turkey as a serious and credible member of the developed Western hemisphere.

Taken together, all texts discussed in this chapter indicate that Edib remains highly critical of the radical Westernisation processes implemented by the Kemalists in the cultural and social spheres. While she accepts the necessity of progress as such, Edib suggests that progress should

not be reached through a hasty and imitative top-down adoption of European standards but through a combination of political as well as economic reforms and local cultural revival. Despite their focus on local heritage and belonging, Edib's texts underline the importance of cooperation between East and West. Critical of Western imperialism, Edib argues that if the exchange between *Şark* and *Garp* unfolds on an equal footing, the West can profit from the East's 'warm' spiritual climate, whereas the East can benefit from the West's more advanced economic and institutional structures. *Sinekli Bakkal* reverses the popular—at least during Edib's time—narrative of necessary Westernisation and instead proposes Easternisation as a possible foundation for a liaison between East and West. Eastern spirituality is seen as superior to the overly scientific, cold and individualist materialism of the West. Based on this underlying assumption, and symbolised by Peregrini moving to Rabia's world, cooperation can—and maybe also should—play out on Eastern grounds.

What emerges from the analysis is that Edib's approach towards national Turkey seems to be rather pragmatic. Passages in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* indicate that a reformed constitutional monarchy based on an organic blend of Eastern culture (content) and Western institutions (form) would have been her actual political ideal. In the face of the Ottomans' loss of territories, Sultan Abdülhamid's destructive reign and the interferences of European powers, Edib presents nationalism as an inevitable necessity. She proposes to root the present in the Ottoman-Turkish past in order to maintain temporal continuity and preserve an originally Eastern and/or Turkish character vis-à-vis the West. Edib also suggests the maintenance of one's cultural ties with the past as the necessary pre-condition for cooperation with the West on equal terms. Reviewing Sultan Abdülhamid's reign in a very negative light and (indirectly) expressing disappointment with the Kemalist regime, Edib's image of an ideal societal template is sought in either the Turkified pre- and early Ottoman past or the late imperial reform period, evoked as a time of well-balanced Eastern and Western influences.

Similarly, Edib's feminism keeps rhetorical distance from Western feminism. Instead, the ideal template of an (gender-) equal society is projected onto (a certain interpretation of) the past or described as retrievable from Islam and its values. With her protagonist Rabia, Edib creates the image of ideal womanhood that is rooted in (Eastern) tradition, religion and customs as well as independent and self-determined. While the image of a 'new Eastern masculinity' is lacking, the desired form of Western masculinity, embodied by Peregrini, is based on the principles of non-interference, artistic genius, adaptivity, rationalism, wealth and tolerance.

Looking at the category of spatiality in more detail, questions of im_mobility are clearly gendered and politicised in the texts discussed in this chapter. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Edib (1926) introduces early and arranged marriage as a factor that limits and restricts women in their professional and private lives. Male polygamy in the East and female economic inequality in the West are mentioned as key factors standing in the way of gender equality. The clear separation of masculine and feminine social spaces pushes women inside the limited framework of the household while facilitating a more mobile life for men outside the home, hence restricting the equal development of men and women across different spheres of life. Edib identifies the need to address gender inequalities at both structural and personal levels: while societal structures and especially education should be reformed in order to improve women's living conditions, women are also called upon to actively fight for their mobility instead of passively contributing to their confinement. As Edib's analysis in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* reveals, (female) mobility is further understood as part of the necessary national 'awakening' from 'stagnancy' in order to reach civilisational progress. The need for wider social, institutional and legal reforms notwithstanding, women are requested to proactively emancipate themselves from their passive roles as uneducated housewives and mothers in order to contribute to the progress of the Turkish nation so that, eventually, it will be accepted as a fully-fledged member of the Western world.

This pragmatic political approach is contrasted with the literary utopia of *Sinekli Bakkal*, where Peregrini, epitomising the image of an uprooted, restlessly wandering West, moves to the East. His movement, however, is not a conquest or another type of interfering practice: Peregrini remains loyal to his own profession as a musician but learns Turkish and increasingly blends into Istanbul society, gradually adapting to the premises of the Eastern world and finally transitioning completely by becoming a Muslim, changing his name and living in the Fatih *mahalle*. Through Peregrini, Edib revalues the Occidentalist ideal of forward-moving progress as a potentially isolating uprootedness. Described as somewhat homeless and without grounding, Peregrini's constant movement-as-change reveals the potentially negative impact of rupture at the heart of the Occidentalist condition. Practices of replacement and rapid transformation come to stand for Western individualism and its damaging effects on communitarian structures, such as the Fatih *mahalle* Sinekli Bakkal. The bustling trade and exchange in Rabia's grocery stands for successful traditional economic and social practices in a traditional local context, where 'the clown' Tevfik's *karagöz* and *orta oyunu* performances symbolise original cultural dynamism. Confronted with Rabia and her lifeworld, Peregrini's quest for the novel decreases. Reassessing the Occidentalist image of an immobile, stagnant

non-West, constancy and permanence are introduced as the key parameters of individual and collective happiness.

Within the stability of the *mahalle*—which comes to stand as a place of resistance not only against the globalising practices of Occidentalism but also against the Westernising reforms of the Kemalists—(female) productivity and mobility unfold. Rabia's relationship with Peregrini symbolises the ideal marriage that does not restrict women in their development but rather supports them in their professional and spiritual development. Rabia does not give up on her professional activity, even when married and pregnant. While Peregrini—as a Western character—does not interfere with Rabia's endeavours and thus enables a free marriage on equal footing, 'Eastern men' supportive of female mobility seem out of sight.

Edib's overall positive image of cultural and social aspects connected to the Ottoman past is challenged through her assessment of politically reinforced im_mobilities. From the 'golden cage' of the palace—where princes and concubines languish in decadence and escapist games—to the displacement and exile of unwelcome artists and dissidents, the image of the late imperial political order is largely painted in negative terms. Yet, the memory of the empire's cultural life seems to mostly outbalance Edib's critical assessment of the political situation. Her engagement with cultural issues also shows how questions of mobility are interrelated with the complex field of temporality and melancholy. The break with the past, visible in the change of the Arabic script and various other Westernising reforms, prevents a wholehearted subscription to the future-oriented modernist idea of progress. Melancholy is evoked here as a paralysing feeling that makes an active move towards the future impossible. Instead, post-imperial melancholy rather supports a perceived stagnation in the present or leads to an (active) return to the past. As the analysis of Edib's (1926) autobiography has shown, individual phases of melancholic depression and physical inactivity are described as an obstacle to a self-determined and active life. With melancholy as an emotion connected to the past, meaningful progress (and with it an explicit move towards the future) seems to require a rootedness in the past. The feeling of loss, in turn, increases the focus on the past and provides the impetus for a backward move as an attempt to retreat from what is perceived as a threatening future.

Turning to the issue of civilisation, Edib's texts reveal her rather dichotomous stance towards the question of civilisational belonging. Her non-literary texts, broadly speaking, point to two partially overlapping and partially diverging narratives of belonging: whereas *Turkey Faces West* (1930) focuses on national Turkey's cultural singularities and simultaneous formal belonging to the Western world, *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935b) positions Turkey

next to India among Eastern countries. With the 'non-Western' Indian audience in mind, the latter work is critical of Western dominance, hegemony and interference in other parts of the world and advances notions of Eastern solidarity and mutual support. Addressing a US-American readership, *Turkey Faces West*, in turn, underlines Turkey's commonalities with the West while carving out differences vis-à-vis the stagnant East. Here, Ottoman decadence, degeneration and artificiality are evoked as developments supressing the 'objective and rational' original Turkish character that needs to be retrieved. Both accounts accept the necessity to reform Eastern societies and their institutions in order to catch up with Western modernity; by referring to the Tanzimat period and other reform projects, however, Turkey is singled out as the only successfully reformed and hence 'awakened' country. Overall, both *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*—despite more critical overtones in the latter—display Edib's wish to be included into Western civilisation while remaining true to Turkish heritage. As the inclusion into the West also requires that Westerners are convinced of Turkey's modern character, *Turkey Faces West* repeatedly emphasises the civilisational difference between 'the Turk' and 'the Ottoman Turk,' the latter as a representative of the dead 'sick man of Europe.'

The most obvious finding to emerge from the comparative study of Edib's texts with regard to the matter of civilisation is that, overall, Edib is supportive of a primarily formal belonging to Western civilisation while cultivating Eastern content. The Western form includes a well-working economic system as the foundation for national wealth as well as democracy and functioning political institutions. With regard to Eastern content, Edib most notably evokes the arts and religious practices of Sufism as suitable components to be retrieved from the past and made part of the national presence and future. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Rabia's music and religious chants as well as Tevfik's *karagöz* and *orta oyunu* embody the lived Eastern tradition that brings joy to people across social classes. Edib (1935b) identifies the Western focus on materialism and the Eastern focus on spirituality, respectively, as key challenges for both civilisations. The Eastern focus on spirituality is morally superior, but the reform of institutions following the Western model are needed to enable material progress. The nostalgic tone in *Sinekli Bakkal* results from the fact that this envisioned ideal balance does not conform with political realities in early republican Turkey. Edib (ibid.) acknowledges that the Kemalist "wholesale" adoption of Western civilisation has contributed to a global "West won over East" narrative. This political insight is melancholically reversed in *Sinekli Bakkal*, with the West adapting to the East, and contrasted with Edib's hope directed at a future fusion of Eastern and Western elements:

> At the moment the West seems triumphant on the surface. But the East is still there all the same in the soul of the Turk as an undercurrent, and its force is undeniable. It has been so whipped that only the finest and purest essence of it is left. When this Eastern element in the Turkish soul develops freely, the future blend of East and West in the Near East might present a model solution for turning what has so far been a conflict into co-operation (ibid., 224).

According to Edib, the unsettling conflict between East and West in Turkey can only be solved by reaching a balance between Eastern content and Western form, an equilibrium that can provide the ground for both the national Self and international cooperation. Excessive Westernisation and the artificial imitation of a Western lifestyle, in turn, are perceived as threats to the authentic Turkish and/or Eastern culture. In her autobiography, Edib presents her auto-fictional younger Self as the heroine struggling with and resisting the dangers of the exaggerated Westernisation she detects in clothes, toys, literary texts and dramatic arts as well as the general uncritical admiration of anything Western. Edib observes aspects of this change not only within her family but also in society as a whole. In theatre and literature, for instance, she argues that indigenous themes should be prioritised over 'foreign' subjects. Developments in the cultural realms, in particular, are regarded as signs of the perceived false path of modernisation. By portraying the rich but diminishing cultural life of the Ottoman Empire, Edib criticises how influences from Europe are increasingly prioritised over autochthonous traditions portrayed as artistic reflections of the true Self.

Together with excessive Westernisation, Edib criticises how materialism has entered local structures as ideology and practice. While quarters like Beyoğlu are described as decadent and materialist, the Fatih *mahalle* Sinekli Bakkal stands for local originality. With Rabia, Edib introduces an idealised character immune to shallow luxury and material goods. Edib's negative stance towards materialism as the key feature of Western society also entails a general critique of inequalities at the heart of what she describes as a global conflict between East and West. She understands materialism as a sign of degeneration and decadence and expects the decline of those who embrace it.

Turning to the issue of temporality, Edib's memoirs and *Sinekli Bakkal* reveal ambivalences regarding the relationship between the imperial past and the national future. While Edib (1926) melancholically evokes the peaceful cohabitation of different peoples in the Ottoman Empire as well as its vivid cultural scene, she also contributes to the vision of a nationalised Turkish future by introducing aspects of the past, such as *karagöz*, *orta oyunu* or the storytelling of the *meddah* as specifically Turkish and not as Ottoman. Her works display different pasts, some of which are portrayed in a rather positive manner, others in a more negative light. The vaguely

defined pre- and early Ottoman periods, for instance, are evoked as ideal pasts with democratic and feminist societies. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Peregrini's name change to 'Osman' may be regarded as a subtle reference to Edib's affinity with the early days of the Ottomans, when the 'Turkish character' dominated the state machinery. Sultan Abdülhamid's reign, in turn, is described in exclusively negative terms, especially because his actions made it impossible for the empire to transition from an absolutist to a constitutional monarchy. Although *Sinekli Bakkal* and Edib's memoirs perceive this historical period as politically destructive, both texts display post-imperial melancholia regarding the empire's cultural life and social composition. The multinational and multicultural past with its polyglot peoples is evoked as a time of frictionless fusion and natural coexistence. Edib's memoirs, in particular, depict late Ottoman Istanbul in colourful terms; the green and motley city with its diverse population stands in stark contrast to the rapidly transforming urban space of the 20th century. The Ottoman *konaks* of her childhood, decaying symbols of a past that is set to fall into oblivion, serve as a reminder of the former social cohesion that slowly gives way to Western individualism.

In *Sinekli Bakkal*, the Fatih *mahalle* is evoked as a space that seems to have fallen out of time. Untouched by Westernisation processes, past and present are still naturally interconnected, allowing times gone by to inform the future. In Beyoğlu, on the other hand, shallow amusement and materialism—signs of artificial Westernisation—have severed the past from the present. Edib's memoirs reveal her personal experiences on the Grande Rue of Pera in Beyoğlu, where she lived for some time with her husband: "the noise, the vulgar amusement, and the bustle of the whole place threw me further into my inner shell" (Edib 1926, 219). Fatih, in contrast, where she also lived for some time, is referred to as the "center of great theological colleges (medresses), [which] was always opposed to westernization" (ibid., 276). Overall, *Sinekli Bakkal* and Edib's non-literary texts present Westernisation as a threat to temporal integrity.

Returning to the subject of gender, Edib critically examines the gendered patterns of dependence and inequality in late imperial times and hence draws attention to the blind spot of many post-imperial narratives—including those by Safa (Chapter 5) and Tanpınar (Chapter 7)—that are usually written from a male perspective. Narrated in retrospect, nostalgic accounts of the lost empire tend to focus on aspects such as lost power, influence and glamour (Orhan Pamuk), the diminishing importance of the Ottoman cultural heritage or the inaccessibility of written imperial documents (Tanpınar and Safa) but largely leave out a critical engagement with gender and other social inequalities. In contrast, gender relations are a central concern in all of Edib's texts. Her memoirs are critical of the situation of girls and women in the late

empire. Most notably, girls' short childhoods, lacking education, the marriages they are forced into as well as their early veiling are listed as aspects restricting girls in their development. Men are criticised for regarding women as their property, for making their wives, sisters and daughters dependent on their male relatives as well as for polygamy and its negative impact on women.

Sinekli Bakkal addresses these issues by narrating Rabia's childhood, youth and young adulthood as a story of emancipation. Gradually freeing herself from her grandfather's restrictive environment, Rabia develops into a self-determined and financially independent young woman who ends up choosing a risky marriage of love over the social conventions of the time. Through Rabia, Edib not only narrates a story of female emancipation but also outlines the main pillars of ideal Eastern womanhood: "Which history tells us about a girl who was born in a poor back street like Sinekli Bakkal and yet had become so famous?!" (Edib 2007 [1936]), 311).[465] Rabia adheres to the manners and customs related to her cultural rooting in the East, and her ascetic spirituality prevents her from falling victim to Western materialism. By choosing the path of modesty, Rabia's womanhood is distinguished from imitative *alafranga* Turkish women, whose open and less decent style of dress is portrayed as a superficial adoption of European women's clothing. In many ways, Rabia is supposed to embody the authenticity and originality of the East: as a human, as an artist and as a woman.

Overall, *Sinekli Bakkal* celebrates the local—with its liveliness, its communal structures, peculiarities and its individual stories of success. As Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1942, 2) notes in his review of the novel: "the most beautiful and great aspect of the book is that it is local."[466] With her commitment to local traditions and female emancipation as well as a longing for (certain interpretations of specific parts of) the Ottoman past, Edib's works coalesce around an account where the Turkish Self—explicitly facing its multiple Others—embraces evolving combinations of Eastern and Western elements.

[465] "Sinekli Bakkal gibi zavallı bir arka sokakta doğup da bu kadar meşhur olan bir kızı hangi tarih yazmış!"

[466] "fakat kitabın asıl güzel ve büyük tarafı yerli olması."

7. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar: Between *Huzur* and *Hüzün*

The previous two chapters have illustrated that, building on the themes of the late imperial novel (see Chapter 4), early republican literature continued to focus on East-West questions that stand at the centre of the Occidentalist condition. However, contrary to the socio-political context in which late 19th-century novelists and intellectuals embraced Ottomanism as an overarching framework of belonging, the Ottoman Empire in early republican Turkey had become a culturally ambivalent and politically outmoded historical reference. Therefore, authors in this period navigated through challenging terrain. While the political, social, cultural and hence also symbolic collapse of the empire left behind a complex mesh of individual and collective memories, violence, cultural references and traditions, it was unclear to what extent, in what ways and if at all the past legacies should or could play a role in the present and future.

> Ne içindeyim zamanın, / Neither am I inside time
> Ne de büsbütün dışında; / nor am I entirely outside of it
>
> Yekpâre, geniş bir ânın / In the unbreakable stream
> Parçalanmaz akışında. / of a complete, wide moment.[467]

In the poem "Ne İçindeyim Zamanın" ("Neither Am I Inside Time"), Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's (1976, 17) lyrical "I" describes the harmony of an all-embracing, endless moment. Steadily but softly rooted in the present, the lyrical Self is peacefully embedded in the stream of time's 'now.' The first four lines of the poem are representative of the key themes in the intellectual's outstanding oeuvre: By trying to bridge the gaps not only between time (past and future) but also in space (Europe and Turkey), the writer, poet, journalist, literature professor and parliamentarian Tanpınar (1901–1962) explores possible sources of belonging in the early republican present. His literary works, most notably the novel *Huzur* (2022 [1949]), which is at the centre of this chapter, focus on questions of what Tanpınar refers to as "fragments of time" (*zaman kırıntıları*) (1976, 71) that can be harmonised and brought together and how a cut-off past could be reconciled with an uprooted, disconnected present. Tanpınar's oeuvre conveys a mood of post-imperial melancholy (*hüzün*), a gloomy condition related to unease and unrest about Turkey's severed ties with the Ottoman legacy. In secondary literature, Tanpınar is often described as an author who was 'at home' in European as well as in Ottoman/Turkish traditions, a poet of intellectual floating and in-betweenness (Lerch 2008, 557). His novels and essays

[467] In this chapter, apart from the citations taken from *A Mind at Peace* and *Five Cities*, all translations of Tanpınar's writings are the author's own. In some cases (noted in the footnotes), the author has opted to use her own translations from the Turkish instead of the English versions of the novels.

reflect the drastic socio-political changes in the first half of the 20th century and are deeply influenced by the famous poet Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884–1958). For both authors, visions of the nation are supposed to be rooted in tradition; their critique of top-down forced modernisation and radical reforms centres on the lack of continuity with the past. As a political and cultural rupture, the downfall of the Ottoman Empire is an important theme in Tanpınar's writings, often melancholically aestheticized as an irretrievably lost past. The echoes of empire reverberate in Tanpınar's novels as a melancholic "phantom pain" and are intertwined with questions of national identity (Rentzsch and Şahin 2018, 11).[468]

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar in 1940 (*Haber* [n.n.] 1940)

During his childhood, Tanpınar became familiar with the Ottoman Empire's peripheries and centres. Because of his father's work as an Ottoman government official, Tanpınar moved throughout the imperial realms as a child, living in places like Kirkuk and Mosul (Mitler 1988, 240). As a young adult, inspired by Yahya Kemal, Tanpınar studied literature in Istanbul and graduated in 1923, the year in which the Republic of Turkey was founded and Ankara became the new capital city. He first worked as a teacher at schools in Erzurum, Konya and Ankara and then became a professor of literary studies in the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University in 1939. Together with Bursa, these cities would feature prominently in his collection of essays *Beş Şehir* (*Five Cities,* 1946). Tanpınar was not only a teacher, scholar, poet and author but was also politically active. He was selected as a deputy for the Kemalist Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) in 1942 and served in the Grand National Assembly as a representative of the province of Maraş. Tanpınar's political orientation has been a cause of debate (see Sezer 2010). As the writer Elif Shafak (2014, 20) has remarked, "[d]uring Tanpınar's lifetime he was misunderstood and underestimated by both the Left and Right; today, decades after his death, he is adulated in Turkey almost to the point of worship." Despite being politically affiliated with the CHP, Tanpınar (quoted in Enginün and Kerman 2007, 40) positioned himself in the political middle ground:

> The truth is that I am new to the Turkish language. But I am not new in the world… Rightists only talk about Turkey, and a blind, unchallenged and past Turkish history, only domestic

[468] "*Huzur, Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* ve diğer bazı eserlerinde hep batmış imparatorluğun yankısını ve kaybolan kimlik işaretlerinin fantom ağrısını duyuyoruz" (Rentzsch and Şahin 2018, 11).

> politics and propaganda. The Left says that there is no Turkey and there is no need for it anyway […]. I am, on the other hand, in pursuit of a Turkey in the world, open to the future, and coming to terms with the past. This is my position in the country.[469]

Similar to Peyami Safa (see Chapter 5) and Halide Edib (see Chapter 6), Tanpınar to a certain degree subscribed to the modern dictum of progress. He was, however, critical of the radicality of Westernisation and modernisation processes taking place since the Tanzimat period and instead explored possibilities of continuity with the past for the sake of a national rootedness in (a Turkified) imperial tradition and heritage. After his political engagement as a parliamentarian, Tanpınar returned to academia and continued working as a professor until his death in 1962 (Günay-Erkol 2009, 103). Overall, as pointed out by Lerch (2008, 555), Tanpınar lived through four important phases of Turkish history: He was born and spent his youth in late-Ottoman times and then witnessed the formation of the Republic of Turkey and the Kemalist reforms in the 1920s and 30s. He saw first-hand the consolidation of the authoritarian Kemalist regime, which was led by Atatürk's successor Ismet Inönü, and then the transformation of the state into a more pluralistic party system in the 1950s. Throughout his professional career, and in addition to his academic work, Tanpınar published novels, poetry, short stories and essays. Most of his narrations are set in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital.

It was in the late 1930s that Tanpınar became well-known as a public intellectual; his literary texts were published in serialised form in major newspapers.[470] He was, alongside Peyami Safa and others, a prominent literary critic[471] and wrote about other literature- or art-related[472] themes. Despite his public standing as an intellectual, professor and politician, critics have remarked that his novels did not receive the attention and acclaim they would have deserved upon their publication, with Tanpınar being "recognized as a significant novelist only posthumously" (Günay-Erkol 2009, 85; see also Atiş 1983). In a similar vein, Elif Shafak (2014, 20) has argued in a review of Tanpınar's work that although "Tanpınar was a novelist, poet, historian, essayist, academic and literary critic," he "nonetheless lived on the periphery of

[469] "Hakikat bu ki ben Türkçede yeniyim. Fakat dünyada yeni değilim… Sağcılar yalnız Türkiye, gözü kapalı, ezberde almış ve geçmiş bir Türk tarihi, yalnız iç politika ve propaganda diyor. Sol Türkiye yoktur ve olmasına da lüzum yoktur diyor […]. Ben ise dünya içinde, ileriye açık, mazi ile hesabını gören bir Türkiye'nin peşindeyim. İşte memleket içindeki vaziyetim."

[470] *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları*, for instance, was published in instalments in *Tasvir-i Efkar* in 1941; *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* was serialised in *Yeni İstanbul* in 1950. *Ağaç* regularly printed Tanpınar's poetry as well as short stories such as his novella "Geçmiş Zaman Elbiseleri," which was printed in instalments beginning on 18 July 1936 (see Tanpınar 1936).

[471] *Tasvir-i Efkar*, for example, published Tanpınar's 1941 review of Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar's brilliant novel *Fahim Bey ve Biz*. Tanpınar also reviewed Halide Edib's novel *Sinekli Bakkal* (see Tanpınar 1942) as discussed in Chapter 6.2.1.

[472] In 1939, Tanpınar had a column in *Cumhuriyet* discussing "Today's Artists" ("Bugünün San'atkârları"), focusing on painters like Zeki Faik İzer (1905–1988) (see Tanpınar 1939b) or sculptors like Heykeltıraş Zühtü Müridoğlu (1906–1962) (see Tanpınar 1939a).

Turkish cultural life, of which he didn't think too highly. And the Turkish-speaking intelligentsia in turn largely overlooked his work." Amid the political turmoil in the late 1960s, Çimen Günay-Erkol (2009, 85) remarks, "Tanpınar was then discovered to be a significant author dealing with the realities of failed social change, lost souls, and troubled personas seeking connection." Today, the novels *Huzur* (*A Mind at Peace*, 1949), *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*, 1961) and *Mahur Beste* ("Composition in the *Mahur* Mode," unfinished, 1975); the above-mentioned collection of essays *Beş Şehir* (*Five Cities*, 1946); the biography of his famous teacher and mentor *Yahya Kemal* (1946); and the yet untranslated story collection *Abdullah Efendi'nin Rüyaları* ("Abdullah Efendi's Dreams," 1942) are considered his most influential works. Regarding his academic contributions, the literary and intellectual history *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* ("History of Nineteenth Century Turkish Literature," 1939) is still an important reference work in Turkish literary studies. According to Günay-Erkol (2009, 85), Tanpınar's novels imagine the heritage of the Ottoman Empire and its importance within Turkish modernity: "They chronicle the dramatic cultural change that accompanied the transformation of the Islamic Ottoman Empire into the secular Republic of Turkey and resulted in an instability of identities." With regard to Tanpınar's reception in Turkey, Rentzsch and Şahin (2018, 11) even speak of "Tanpınarology" as a lens to view the country, its history and culture.[473] Although Tanpınar was a well-known and celebrated author in Turkey at the end of the 20th century, he received little attention from European literary critics until after Orhan Pamuk won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2006. Some of Tanpınar's novels were translated and then became increasingly known to English-, French- and German-speaking readers. In his biographical city portrayal *İstanbul - Hatıralar ve Şehir* (*Istanbul: Memories and the City*, 2003), Orhan Pamuk introduces Tanpınar as one of his main literary role models and one of "four melancholic and lonely authors"[474] within Turkish literature (see Pamuk 2014 [2003], Ch. 12). When Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* was translated into German by Christoph Neumann (2008) and into English by Erdağ Göknar (2008), Pamuk referred to *Huzur* as "[t]he greatest novel ever written about Istanbul," a quote that was printed on the back cover of Göknar's 2008 English translation.

This chapter conducts an imagological close reading of Tanpınar's post-imperial novel *Huzur* through the Occidentalist Lens, exploring how images of Self and Other unfold with regard to

[473] "Türkiye'de […] Tanpınaroloji'den söz etmek mümkündür."

[474] "Dört Hüzünlü Yalnız Yazar" is the title of Chapter 11. The other three "*hüzünlü*" authors are Yahya Kemal, Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar and Reşat Ekrem Koçu.

questions of spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender.[475] In a second step, an in-depth analysis of selected articles from the *Yaşadığım Gibi* ("As I Lived," 1970) compilation and the essay collection *Beş Şehir* will complement the literary analysis with further insights into Tanpınar's intellectual cosmos.

7.1. Approaching *Huzur*

7.1.1. Formal Aspects and Reception

"With his poems, stories, novels and articles, Tanpınar tries to build a new world"

Among Tanpınar's works, the novel *Huzur* stands out in many ways. Capturing a society caught up in radical transformation, it can be regarded as a post-imperial narrative par excellence. Before being published as a book in 1949, *Huzur* was released in 1948 through regular instalments in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. Although secondary literature agrees on Tanpınar's comparatively late discovery as an author (see above), a thorough examination of historical records reveals that the novel did receive positive if not euphoric media attention upon its publication as a book in 1949. It seems to be the serial rather than the novel that was not well received. Cahit Tanyol notes as early as 1949 that the literary quality of *Huzur* might not have been brought to the fore ideally in the serialised form. The formal and substantive focus of the novel, including long passages with trains of thoughts, memories and digressions, indeed may not have met the expectations of the typical newspaper reader, who expected an entertaining *tefrika romanı* (serialised novel). Interestingly, Tanyol (1949, 6) notes how remarkable it was that in times in which "botched translations and copyright regulations reduce the literary rate day by day," a reputable newspaper like *Cumhuriyet* would print such a heavy intellectual and philosophical work as a serial. The newspaper's evading of capitalistic mechanisms that began to affect the literary market as well is, he concludes, "an event to be remembered with gratitude in the name of thought and art."[476] Tanyol (ibid.) argues that since "dense and continuous considerations make the pace of the novel cumbersome," readers "who are accustomed to mechanical movement [*mekanik hareket*]" may have found the novel in its serialised form "boring" (*can sıkıcı*). One might argue that the novel itself with its 'slow pace' can be regarded

[475] When quoting from the novels that have been translated into English, I include quotes from both the Turkish original (e.g., Tanpınar 2022 [1949]) in the footnotes and the English translation (e.g., Tanpınar 2008 [1949]) in the text.

[476] Full quote: "Hemen söyleyeyim ki çırpıştırma tercümelerin, âdi teliflerin okuyucu seviyesini günden güne düşürdüğü bir zamanda Cumhuriyet gibi bir müessesenin böyle ağır bir esere sütunlarını açık tutması, fikir ve sanat adına şükranla anılacak bir hâdisedir."

as a resistance to the speed of mechanical modernity. When asked by Necet Evliyagil (1950)[477] in an interview about whether the pace of his novel was a specific technique, however, Tanpınar responded as follows:

> I do not believe that the novel can have a particular technique. Over the last fifty years, this art has changed a lot. If I am telling you about my intentions, I am explaining how I understand the technique of the novel. First of all, I want the novel to go together with poetry and thought. It is albeit possible to show our thoughts in motion [*hareket halinde*], perhaps it is even preferable. But then it costs character, loses its essence, and the substance becomes individual. I wanted to discuss matters. That's the way it is in psychological analysis.[478]

Hence, for Tanpınar a slow narrative technique allows for a philosophical, poetic and thus deeper understanding of the major challenges of the time that are more general than individual stories with 'more action.'

Cevdet Perin's (1950) sympathetic review, in turn, begins with the statement that there were books whose influence on its readers must not be underestimated. According to Perin (ibid.) this is particularly the case when literary works tell us about ourselves, capturing all the feelings and thoughts we cannot express.[479] Following Perin (ibid.), "Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* is one of these books."[480] Similar to the reception of Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* (see Chapter 5) as a "psychological novel" (*ruhi roman*), *Huzur* was received upon publication as a literary text capturing the individual and collective questions of time in outstanding ways. With its intense focus on the internal life of the main protagonist, Mümtaz, Perin (ibid.) argues that *Huzur* can be partially considered also as a "psychological novel" (*psikolojik bir roman*) as Mümtaz's inner struggles are representative of the modern Turkish intellectual. According to Perin (ibid.), the character Mümtaz is emblematic of wider questions representing "the Turkish intellectual who can find himself in his being."[481] It is Mümtaz's swaying between elements of 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultures that Perin (ibid.) regards as representative of the contemporaneous intellectual's challenges: "Who is this torn young man, who, while wandering in the streets of Istanbul, on the one hand getting carried away with the Mahur composition and mumbling

[477] "Huzur'un tekniği beni çok düşündürdü. Fikre çok yer vermiş gibisiniz. Sonra vaka hem var, hem yok gibi. Bir takım ikinci derecede şahıslar ve vakalar üzerinde ısrar ediyor, sonra bırakıyorsunuz."

[478] "Romanın muayyen bir tekniği olabileceğine inanmıyorum. Elli seneden beri bu sanat çok değişti. […]. Size niyetlerimi anlatıyorsam roman tekniğini nasıl anladığımı izah etmiş olurum. Evvelâ romanın şiir ve düşünce ile beraber yürümesini isterim. Vakıâ düşüncelerimizi hareket halinde göstermek mümkün, belki de müreccahtır. Fakat o zaman karaktere malolur, mahiyetini kaybeder, hulâsa ferdileşir. Ben ise meselelerin münakaşasını istiyordum. Psikolojik tahlillerde böyle."

[479] "Bu kitaplar bize kendimizden bahseden, ifade edemediğimiz nice duygu ve düşünceleri mükemmel bir üslupta ifade eden eserleridir."

[480] "Tanpınar'ın *Huzur*'u işte bunlardan biridir."

[481] "Hayır, sadece Mümtaz değil, onun varlığında kendisini bulan Türk münevveri."

Baudelaire's verses on the other, mixes Eastern and Western cultures in an exceptional way?"[482] For Perin (ibid.), the novel's strongest feature, however, is its "lyricism" (*lirizm*)—asserting that the novel was "written by a poet" (*Bir şairin kaleminden çıkan bir roman*). Perin further observes the storyline's oscillation between realistic and imaginative, between rational and emotional aspects. Perin's assessment is confirmed by Tanpınar himself, who in the above-mentioned interview with Evliyagil (1950, 2) about *Huzur* notes that he "wanted the novel to go along with poetry and thought."[483]

In a similar vein, Tanyol's (1949, 6) review refers to Tanpınar as a "poet of dreams" (*Tanpınar bir rüya şairidir*): "With his poems, stories, novels and articles, he tries to build a new world for himself…"[484] Tanyol (ibid.) quickly emphasises that this does not mean to imply that Tanpınar wastes his time with "fantasies and useless dreams" (*fanteziler ve gereksiz hayaller*) but that he rather tries to reconstruct "a set of our real values [*gerçek kıymetlerimiz*] with the help of dreams."[485] Tanpınar (cited in Kerman 2001 [n.d.], 315) himself notes in a letter to a student of his, "[g]radually, I have become a man of dreams."[486] This imaginative aspect of Tanpınar's work is also emphasised in contemporary secondary literature. Mehmet Erdoğan (2018, 80), for example, has recently discussed how Tanpınar creates a "world of dreams" (*rüya âlemi*), which is, however, aways rooted in real-life challenges.

For Tanpınar, these issues and struggles are features of Turkey's specific post-imperial and modern condition. As a poet, philosopher and novelist, Tanpınar explores beyond the post-imperial condition's indistinctness, uncertainty and forced reorientation. He instead looks at the possibilities, hopes, changes and disappointments of a post-imperial society uprooted by the fundamental experience of contingency (see Chapter 4). At the heart of the novel is the search for values and meaning in an unsettled present that is shaped by both the modern and the post-imperial in a city obliged to come to an arrangement with its perceived glorious past, neglected legacies and general insignificance. The male intellectual's imagining of values, meaningfulness and continuity in a traumatised city during the early republican period, his hopes, anxieties and failure stand at the centre of the narration. Tanyol (1949, 6) implies that Tanpınar's literary endeavours are connected to his nationalist political ambition to distil those

[482] "İstanbul sokaklarında dolaşırken, bir taraftan Mahur beste ile kendinden geçen, diğer taraftan Baudelaire'in mısralarını mırıldanan, şark ve garp kültürlerini harikulade bir şekilde mezceden bu iki cepheli genç adam kim?"

[483] "romanın şiir ve düşünce ile beraber yürümesini istedim."

[484] "Şiirleriyle, hikâye, roman ve makaleleriyle kendisine yeni bir dünya kurmaya çalışıyor…"

[485] "bir takım gerçek kıymetlerimizi, rüyanın yardımıyla yeniden inşaya çalışmaktadır."

[486] "Yavaş yavaş bir hülya adamı oldum."

values from history that have held the "Turkish nation" together for centuries.[487] Based on these insights Tanyol (ibid.) concludes that it is because of the poet's imaginative rather than realist approach that "we come into contact with our own truths" in works like *Huzur* or *Beş Şehir*.[488] These works, according to Tanyol (ibid.), "show us the lively and dynamic landscapes of our lives, which have remained in the condition of dead events and histories."[489] Material traces and fragmentary personal memories of the past that have been neglected, suppressed or buried in the present are evoked in the narration. Severed lines between what once was and the status quo are aestheticized and melancholically patched, disclosing the wounds and anxieties of a shattered modernity.

In addition to Tanpınar's poetic capturing of the modern post-imperial condition, Tanyol (ibid.) highlights two more central characteristics of the novel. First, Tanpınar "brought thought and philosophy to the Turkish novel,"[490] merging philosophy and literature in a unique way. According to Tanyol (ibid.), *Huzur*'s central question is nothing less than "[w]hat is this human life?" (*Nedir bu insan hayatı?*). Furthermore, he asserts that individual struggles are not to be defeated by life's "intrinsic illogicality" (*gayrı mantıkilik*). Dealing with the key complexities of the time, the novel is set to provide major contributions or "new thought material" (*yeni düşünce malzemesi*) for both philosophy and psychology. Second, Tanyol (ibid.) highlights that in *Huzur*, "Istanbul is revealed to us with its whole inner beauty,"[491] shedding new light on its history and thoughts, its *Gewordensein* in time and space. Tanpınar's Istanbul, for Tanyol, speaks to us "in our own voice": the Bosporus, second-hand bookstores and flea markets tell us about individuals' inner lives and the city in the flow of time, with both ruptures and continuities.

Due to the novel's "slow pace," Tanyol (ibid.) writes that he is not sure whether *Huzur* will indeed receive the "profit and peace" (*kâr ve huzur*) it deserves—for "in this matter, the success of Turkish literature has become substantial."[492] In any case, Tanpınar himself seemed to be content with his novel. When he is asked by Evliyagil (1950, 2) whether he was satisfied with the book, Tanpınar answers, "I was very happy while working. Now it is the reader's right to

[487] "Türk milletini yüzyıllar içerisinde diri tutan bu kıymetlerin neler olduğunu araştırıyor."

[488] "Bundan dolayı olsa gerek ki, bu rüya şairinin eserlerinde realist iddialardan fazla, kendi hakikatlerimizle temasa geliyoruz."

[489] "Bu eserler bize ölü vakalar ve tarihler halinde kalan hayatımızın canlı ve dinamik manzaralarını, [teferruattan sıyrılmış bir şekilde] veriyor."

[490] "Tanpınar Türk romanına düşünceyi ve felsefeyi getirdi."

[491] "Eserde ikinci önemli nokta İstanbul'u bütün iç güzelliği ile bize vermesindedir."

[492] "Fakat bu işte Türk edebiyatının kârı büyük olmuştur."

answer this question."[493] There is, however, a clear aim he wishes to achieve with his novel. Tanpınar wants to shake up his readers, ignite them to start thinking, to emancipate themselves from an intellectual lethargy that for Tanpınar is a key feature of post-imperial Turkey: "He [Tanpınar] stopped for a moment, looked around; then he continued: Since you asked, let me tell you: There is a mental laziness in our country […] If the book helps to erase this laziness, I will be content."[494]

7.1.2. Content

"Mümtaz is under the influence of three people: İhsan, Nuran, Suad…"

Tanpınar's novel *Huzur* is set in post-imperial Istanbul in the late 1930s, while the outbreak of World War II was intensively discussed among Turkish intellectuals. The novel consists of four main chapters that are named after the four protagonists: Mümtaz, Nuran, İhsan and Suad. The story is told by a heterodiegetic narrator who describes the lifeworlds of the protagonists without being part of them. Among these four key characters, Mümtaz is the main protagonist and focalizer as it is his perspective through which the story is told. Or, in Tanpınar's words, "Mümtaz is under the influence of three people: İhsan, Nuran, Suad…" (Evliyagil 1950, 2).[495] The original Turkish title *Huzur* is translated into English as *A Mind at Peace* and into German as *Seelenfrieden*. In modern Turkish, *huzur* refers to inner peace or composure as well as presence. These meanings are reflected in the etymological derivation of the term. In Arabic, *huzur* has three connotations: Firstly, "quiet, calm, or peace" (*rahat*), secondly, "present or available" (*hazır*, *mevcut*), and thirdly, "deep-rooted" (*yerleşik*) (*Etimoloji Türkçe* n.d.). Many protagonists in Tanpınar's novel are characterised by *huzursuzluk*—the absence of *huzur*, i.e., unrest and unease. Tanpınar explains that all his characters are involuntarily both "victims" (*mağdur*) and "tyrants" (*zalim*) (Evliyagil 1950, 2). In this field of tension between discord and the need for harmony, Mümtaz seeks inner peace in the present.

The novel begins with 26-year-old Mümtaz trying to find a nurse for his mentor and relative, İhsan, who has fallen alarmingly sick. The story line further develops through flashbacks that inform the reader about the main protagonist's childhood in an Anatolian town. The novel then focuses on the dramatic love story between Mümtaz and Nuran in Istanbul, which is already

[493] "Çalışırken çok memnundum. Şimdi bu suale cevab vermek artık okuyucunun hakkıdır."

[494] "Kitabınızdan memnun musunuz? 'Çalışırken çok memnundum. Şimdi bu suale cevab vermek artık okuyucunun hakkıdır. Bir lahza durdu, etrafına bakındı; sonra devam etti: Mademki sordunuz söyleyeyim: Memleketimizde zihnî bir tenbellik var […]. Eğer kitab bu tenbelliği silmeğe yardım ederse mesud olurum.'"

[495] "Mümtaz üç kişinin tesirine maruzdur. İhsan, Nuran, Suad…"

part of the past at the time of narration. When his parents die during the Turkish War of Independence, the 11-year-old Mümtaz is sent to live with his relative İhsan in Istanbul. İhsan takes on the role of Mümtaz's father, elder brother and teacher. Mümtaz spends much time in İhsan's library, reading books from both European and Ottoman collections. At the age of 17, Mümtaz has become something like İhsan's intellectual companion, helping him with his writings and engaging in discussions about world politics and literature. Throughout the novel, Mümtaz and İhsan discuss topics such as Turkey's future and the question of Turkey's cultural identity in relation to European identities. Of primary imagological interest are two intertwined Self/Other dichotomies negotiated between the protagonists. The first one relates to the new national Self versus the past imperial Other; the second deals with Turkey's position(ing) in the East/West debate.

While strolling through Istanbul in order to find a nurse for İhsan, 26-year-old Mümtaz melancholically remembers where he used to be with Nuran and thus tells the story of their love, which begins shortly after he finishes his doctoral thesis. He first meets Nuran and her daughter on a ferry to the Princes' Islands. After a failed marriage, Nuran is taking care of her daughter alone. Mümtaz idealises Nuran and often compares her with famous paintings and the beauty of the Bosporus. Throughout the novel, his descriptions and admiration of Nuran often get blurred with his fascination for Istanbul. Both Nuran and Istanbul seem to open doors to a lost past for Mümtaz. When their relationship evolves, however, Mümtaz is increasingly afraid of losing Nuran. This fear manifests itself when Suad, who is also in love with Nuran, appears as Mümtaz's rival. Mümtaz is haunted by the idea that he will lose Nuran to his antagonist.[496] Ultimately, it is Suad's suicide that destroys Mümtaz's relationship with Nuran: Suad finds the key to the couple's flat and hangs himself there. The reader witnesses Mümtaz's increasingly dubious state of mental health, İhsan's death and learns that Nuran has reconciled with her ex-husband.

[496] While Günay-Erkol (2009, 97) traces this tension back to a fragile masculinity and unstable self-image, the rivalry between Mümtaz and Suad can also be explained by the characters' oppositional intellectual positions: Whereas İhsan takes views similar to those of Tanpınar's mentor Yahya Kemal, Suad is a nihilist, supportive of war and violence, and ready to cut all ties with the past in order to create a new future.

7.2. *Huzur* through the Occidentalist Lens

7.2.1. Spatiality: Roaming and Losing the City

"Forlorn, he wandered the streets of Istanbul like a ghost ship"

Huzur's first sentence opens up questions of im_mobility in the context of health and illness and hence the (im)possibilities of movement: "Mümtaz had not set out on a long walk since his paternal cousin İhsan, a brother to him, had succumbed to illness" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 9).[497] The narration begins on a "late August morning" (ibid., 20)[498] in 1939 when Mümtaz is caught up in worries about his cousin İhsan's state of health, trying to find a nurse who can take care of him. Mümtaz's loving cousin is confined to his sickbed, "establishing a sultanate over the household, a psychology of devastation through fear, dread, rue, and endless goodwill scarcely absent from lips or glances" (ibid., 9).[499] The physical reduction of movement concerns not only İhsan but also the other family members who take care of him. The "Island of İhsan," a restricted but harmonious space of togetherness, nevertheless allows for mental mobility, openness and freedom: "On the Island of İhsan, whatever one did was tolerated; each phantasy, each curiosity was met, if not with a chuckle then with a smirk" (ibid., 14).[500] It is in this context in which İhsan's immobility affects his surroundings as well that of Mümtaz, who sets out to find a nurse.

As I have argued in Chapters 2 and 3, inscribed in Western-dominated modernity is the complementary dichotomy of an immobile East and mobile West. Both poles entail normative judgements—while the dynamic Europe, i.e., West, advances incrementally, the lethargic Asia, i.e., East, is predetermined to stagnate. In early republican Turkey, the implications of the Occidentalist condition are intertwined with and further aggravated by the consequences of a post-imperial order that has painfully revealed the contingency and fragility of order (see Magerski 2018, 30 and 33; Chovanec 2021). It is on the second page of the book that Tanpınar connects matters of im_mobility more explicitly with the question of civilisation: his protagonist Mümtaz evokes the Occidentalist image of a 'traditional' East rigidly caught up in the past, unable to move with the speed of modernity (see Hobson 2004, 16). Pondering the

[497] "Mümtaz, ağabeyi dediği amcasının oğlu İhsan'ın hastalandığından beri doğru dürüst sokağa çıkmamıştı" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 11).

[498] "Ağustos sonu sabahı" (ibid., 22).

[499] "evin içinde korkudan, telaştan, üzüntüden, bir türlü ağızlardan düşmiyen ve bakışlardan eksilmiyen temennilerden saltanatını, o yıkım psikolojisini kurmuştu" (ibid., 11).

[500] "Zaten İhsan Bey Adasında herkesin yaptığı hoş görünür, her fantezi, her merak, kahkaha ile değilse bile tebessümle karşılanırdı" (ibid., 16).

difficulty of finding a nurse for İhsan, Mümtaz says to himself, "Doubtless, the East was the place to sit and wait" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 10).[501] In a similar vein, Mümtaz states in a conversation with Nuran that the "Orient" was a "lethargic world loath to change … all but embalmed within its traditions" (ibid., 196).[502] Resonating with İhsan's immobile condition, this lethargy connects with Oriental dreaminess and spiritual dispositions. According to Mümtaz, the East "discovered one secret of significance … the secret of being able to see oneself and all existence as constituting a single entity. Maybe because the East sensed future agonies, it came up with this panacea" (ibid.).[503] He goes on to highlight that "the Orient lived on the peripheries of reality. Needlessness to say, I don't find this worldview appealing; it strikes me as plodding and tiresome, like a journey by camel caravan…" (ibid.).[504] The "Western images of camels as metaphorical renderings of Oriental exoticism" (Nobis 2018, 726) are here reproduced to signify the slow and—in relation to motorised modernity—reverse motion of the East.

Mümtaz's attempts to leave the allegedly slow-moving and peripheral Eastern condition behind are epitomised by his encounters with Nuran. They first meet at a point when Mümtaz's life is moving at a dynamic pace: he has just finished his dissertation and "his pleasure mounted as he mused, because from now on he was free, he could wander and roam about at will, and he could read whatever struck his fancy" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 90).[505] Nuran and Mümtaz meet while on the move; they "had made each other's acquaintance on the ferry to the Princes' Islands one morning last May" (ibid., 85).[506] For Mümtaz, his outings and walks through Istanbul—when he veers into streets and alleyways—allow him to connect with the (past of the) city. He explores the urban space around him as a *flâneur*, i.e., "the embodied mobile person" (Coates 2017, 28) and thus "an icon of modernity" (Wrigley 2014, 1) strolling through urban spaces. Mümtaz meets Nuran when she herself is roaming through post-imperial Istanbul with her daughter *without* male company. As Janet Wolff (1985, 41) has noted with regard to the 19th century urban life in European cities, the *flâneur*'s experience "is that of a freedom to move about in the city," a typically modern but also initially male activity. As the example of the

[501] "Şark oturup beklemenin yeridir" (ibid., 12).

[502] "Tembel, değişmekten hoşlanmaz, geleneklerinde adeta mumyalanmış bir dünya" (ibid., 180).

[503] "Kendisini ve bütün alemi tek bir varlık halinde görebilmenin sırrını. Belki de gelecek ıstıraplarını hissettiği için bu panzehiri bulmuş" (ibid., 180f).

[504] "Yarı şiir bir hülyada, realitenin sınırlarında yaşamış. Maamafih bu hali benim hoşuma gitmiyor, deve kervanı ile seyahat gibi ağır ve yorucu geliyor..." (ibid., 181).

[505] "Artık hür olduğunu, istediği gibi gezip tozacağını, istediği şeyleri okuyacağını düşündükçe sevinci artıyordu" (ibid., 84).

[506] "Mümtaz'la, Nuran bir sene evvel, bir mayıs sabahı Ada vapurunda tanışmışlardı" (ibid., 79).

writer George Sand (1804–1876) shows, "exposure to the public eye is risky" for women (Jurgrau 1991, 8), which is why Sand cross-dressed as a man to experience 1831 Paris as a *flâneuse* in the disguise of a *flâneur* (see Sand 1855, 106f).[507] Tanpınar himself notes in *Beş Şehir*'s Istanbul chapter how in the 19th century "Moslem women could not take a pleasure trip by boat unaccompanied" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 205).[508] Through Nuran, Tanpınar illustrates the increased mobility of women in early republican Turkey. At the same time, he shows that his *flâneuse* Nuran, although inhabiting the public space more self-confidently and safely than women in imperial times in contrast to Mümtaz, nevertheless must be careful about where, how and when she is seen with others (see Chapter 7.2.4.). As *flâneur* and *flâneuse*, Mümtaz and Nuran together immerse in "idly walking in the city, with no specific destination, taking pleasure in the act of walking while making observations on urban life" (Coates 2017, 28; see Richards 2003).

In retrospect, strolling through Istanbul's Fatih neighbourhood with his feet in motion, Mümtaz muses "about the previous summer, how perhaps on one such day, he'd wandered these very streets with his beloved Nuran, strolling through the Koca Mustafa Pasha and Hekim Ali Pasha neighbourhoods" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 21).[509] Without Nuran, however, Mümtaz's mobility loses its fascination. The *flâneur*'s idle walking turns into restlessness:

> Intermittently, his life consisted only of avoidances. Forlorn, he wandered the streets of Istanbul like a ghost ship. Shortly after arriving at some destination where he'd longed to be, a gale rising from within drove him onward; involuntarily, anchors were weighed, sails billowed, and he sailed ahead (ibid., 69).[510]

Many of *Huzur*'s protagonists struggle with the existential contingency of life. The breakdown of the social, political and cultural order of Empire has led to insecurities in a fragmented present. Mümtaz faces anxiety and melancholy, which have a petrifying effect on how he

[507] As George Sand (1855, 106f) notes in her autobiography, roaming from one end of Paris to the other in her elaborate disguise, no one paid attention to her: "Je me fis donc faire une *redingote-guérite* en gros drap gris, pantalon et gilet pareils. Avec un chapeau gris et une grosse cravate de laine, j'étais absolument un petit étudiant de première année. Je ne peux pas dire quel plaisir me firent mes bottes: j'aurais volontiers dormi avec, comme fit mon frère dans son jeune âge, quand il chaussa la première paire. Avec ces petits talons ferrés, j'étais solide sur le trottoir. Je voltigeais d'un bout de Paris à l'autre. Il me semblait que j'aurais fait le tour du monde. Et puis, mes vêtemens ne craignaient rien. Je courais par tous les temps, je revenais à toutes les heures, j'allais au parterre de tous les théâtres. Personne ne faisait attention à moi et ne se doutait de mon déguisement."

[508] "çünkü Müslüman kadınları bu devirde yalnız başlarına eğlenmek için sandala binemezlerdi" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 200).

[509] "Mümtaz, bir yaz evvel bu sokaklarda, belki bugünkülerden birinde, Nuran'la dolaştığını, Kocamustafapaşa'yı, Hekimalipaşa'yı gezdiklerini düşünüyordu" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 23).

[510] "Zaman olurdu ki bütün hayatı sadece kaçışlardan ibaret kalırdı. Zavallı Mümtaz, İstanbul sokaklarında bir nevi hayalet gemi gibi yaşıyordu. Her özlediği yerden biraz sonra kendi içindeki rüzgar onu kovuyor, haberi olmadan lengerler alınıyor, yelkenler şişiyor ve uzaklaşıyordu" (ibid., 67f).

experiences his emotional and social being in the world. At an intellectual level, however, Mümtaz formulates a proactive call for the fight against immobile lethargy. Although "breakdown" (*bozulma*) and "disorganisation" (*düzensizlik*) (Tanpınar 2022 [1949] 47) confront each individual with the contingency of life and social organisation, Mümtaz argues against nihilism and "abnegation" (*inkâr*) (ibid.). In line with Tanpınar's essays (see below), Mümtaz holds that *inkâr* leads to inactive resignation as well as the loss of Self. Instead, he highlights the need to "change the conditions in which we find ourselves" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 48):[511]

> Of course, there are countries and citizens more content than us; of course, we feel in our lives—rather, in our flesh and blood—the vast fallout of two centuries of disintegration and collapse, of being the remnants of an empire and still unable to establish our own norms and idioms. Allowing this suffering to drive us to nihilistic *inkâr*, in effect, would be to accept even greater catastrophe, would it not? (ibid., 48).[512]

However, despite this intellectual plea, Mümtaz himself is repeatedly faced with an inability to move forward, both emotionally and physically. This is particularly the case when he dives into the world of the past (see below), managing with difficulty to come back to the present. After browsing through Ottoman manuscripts in an antique bookstore, he finds it challenging to return to the world around him. Sitting in the bookstore, "[h]e knew he couldn't stay here any longer. But he couldn't stand either. All he could do was gaze about as if asking whether a more excruciating form of this torment was to come" (ibid., 57).[513] Time and again, an overflow of emotions makes him pause in his everyday activities: "His distress forced him to lean against one of leprous walls of the houses" (ibid., 71).[514]

Because of Mümtaz's "twinned nature" (*ikiz yaratılış*) (Tanpınar 2022 [1949] 68), melancholic states of yearning and desperation alternate with moments in which "from the outside, of only at whiles, he appeared to be more or less powerful and productive" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 69).[515] It is the desolate post-imperial condition of society on the verge of another war that emphasises the proximity to death, enforcing a general feeling of melancholic passivity and inactivity. For Mümtaz, life unfolds with regard to two key forces, mobilising Eros and

[511] "bizi kendimizi inkara değil, şartları değiştirmeğe götürmelidir" (ibid., 47).

[512] "Elbette ki bizden mesut memleketler ve vatandaşları vardır; elbette ki iki asırlık hezimetlerin, çöküntülerin, henüz kendi şartlarını bulamamış bir imparatorluk artığı olmamızın bir yığın neticesini hayatımızda, hatta etimizde duyacağız. Fakat bu ıstırabın bizi inkara götürmesi, daha büyük bir hezimeti kabul değil midir?" (ibid., 47f).

[513] "Artık duramayacağını anladı. Fakat yerinden de kalkamıyordu. Sadece ötesi, bu azabın daha keskini var mı? gibi etrafa bakınıyordu" (ibid., 56).

[514] "Halsizliği yüzünden bu cüzama tutulmuş, yer yer onun tarafından yenmiş evlerden birinin duvarına dayanmağa mecbur oldu" (ibid., 69).

[515] "dış tarafında zaman zaman olsa bile az çok kuvvetli ve velut görünüyordu" (ibid., 68).

decelerating Thanatos: "In the end, Eros, like Thanatos, was one of the formative forces of life" (ibid., 161).[516] Whereas melancholy and anxiety relate to death, his love for Nuran seems to be a cure for Mümtaz, a synthesising medicine for his soul—at least at the beginning of their relationship. When they become intimate, Mümtaz feels himself to be in a "state of shock or a new order and harmony" (ibid., 150).[517] Whenever he is with Nuran, he feels active, mobile and "content" (*mesut*); when they separate, a petrifying "melancholy [*hüzün*] descended over him" (ibid.).[518]

His love for Nuran slowly transforms into a generalised melancholy in which fantasy is over-emphasised in relation to reality. His escapism into the worlds of the past (see below) leads to the feeling of paralysis in the present. For Mümtaz, this swaying between two poles represents the general dichotomy of life and death (see Chapter 7.2.3). In a conversation with Nuran, he argues that despair is related to death:

> [Despair] is the consciousness of death, or rather the way death affects us… the array of snares it sets in our lives… the teeth of a vise that constricts our every move. Every act, regardless of type, is a result of despair. Particularly in this period of open fear that won't scab over… One by one, our continual rejection of cherished things (ibid., 145).[519]

Nuran, in turn, feels differently about the world. She underlines that she is "not in a state of despair" (ibid., 147),[520] and that she does not want to be pulled into Mümtaz's destructive vortex (see below). Tanpınar's main protagonist finds himself increasingly isolated in his immobility, feeling separated from the world around him and succumbing to his melancholic anxiety. While for İhsan it is a physical restriction that makes movement almost impossible, it is Mümtaz's gradual mental collapse that restricts his mobility more and more.

7.2.2. Civilisation: Creating Turkey from the Ruins of Empire

"The Orient couldn't be authentic anywhere, even in its grave"

Huzur's protagonists are confronted with the perceived meaninglessness emerging from the intersection of post-imperiality and Western-dominated modernity. For Tanpınar, the modernisation processes of the Tanzimat and the early republic have shattered people's notions

[516] "Nihayet aşk da ölüm gibi, insan hayatının belli başlı merhalelerinden biriydi" (ibid., 149).

[517] "şaşkınlığı veya yeni bir nizam ve ahengin içinde kendisini bulması" (ibid., 139).

[518] "uzaklaşınca içine hüzün çöküyor" (ibid., 139).

[519] "Ümitsizlik, ölümün şuuru, yahut bizdeki terbiyesi... Onun hayatımızdaki bir yığın kıskacı... Dört tarafımızı saran mengene dişleri, ne bileyim. Her hareket, cinsi ne olursa olsun, onun neticesidir. Hatta şu devrimizde olduğu yerde kabuklaşmadan korku var ya... Sevilen şeylerin birbiri peşinden inkarı" (ibid., 134).

[520] "Hiçbir ümitsizlik içinde değilim" (ibid., 136).

of belonging to a certain socio-cultural space joined by a set of shared values. Turkey's post-imperiality—i.e., the nation-state's forced detachment from what Tanpınar evokes as a previous civilisation, its practices, customs and culture—has accelerated this loss of significance. With regard to the small neighbourhoods in Fatih where Mümtaz and Nuran were born, Mümtaz muses that the inhabitants there are "all orphans of a civilizational collapse" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 219).[521] As Tanyol (1949, 6) has argued in his book review, one of Tanpınar's central concerns is to "capture our values" (*kıymetlerimizi yakalamak*) in order to find ways to "live life authentically [or literally: from the inside out]" (*hayatı içten yaşayış*) in an uprooted age. According to Tanyol, however, Tanpınar does not devote himself to the limiting psychological concept of "introspection," entailing the idea that one can find one's true being in an intensive confrontation only with oneself. Rather, for Tanpınar, the sincere life is also to be found in engaging with others so that living authentically becomes a social negotiation process. Tanpınar masterfully embeds the individual's struggles for belonging in a broader societal context in which questions of belonging—notably between East and West—are yet to be answered.

Similar to the cultural significance ascribed to the *mahalle* in Peyami Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* or Halide Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal*, Tanpınar also identifies the poor neighbourhoods in Istanbul's historical peninsula as places where, for example, traditional old songs collectively sung by the younger generation melancholically echo through the streets (see e.g., Tanpınar 2008 [1949], Pt. 1 Ch. IV). Although Tanpınar, in contrast to Safa, does not bluntly criticise places like Beyoğlu in *Huzur*, for him the original but decaying aura of a civilisation past could only be found in these declining contexts. As we will see in Chapter 7.3.3., however, his essay collection *Beş Şehir* explicitly criticises how Beyoğlu engages with the modern condition, in contrast to that celebrating the old neighbourhoods as lost places of communal exchange and authentic spirit. In his autobiographical city portrayal *Istanbul* (2003), Orhan Pamuk discusses how Tanpınar himself set out for long walks "through Istanbul's poorest neighbourhoods" in an "attempt to accustom himself to the fact of living in an impoverished country, in a city that no longer mattered in the eyes of the world" (Pamuk 2008 [2003], 221).[522] The local *mahalle*, with its deteriorating *konaks* and ruins, melancholically radiates the lost grandeur of a past civilisation and metaphorically underlines the peripheralized status of post-imperial Turkey as a whole. As Pamuk (ibid.) notes in line with the general argument of his book about *hüzün* being the dominant collective feeling of all *Istanbullu*s (see Kučera and Chovanec 2022),

[521] "Hepsi bir medeniyet çöküntüsünün yetimleridir" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 202).

[522] "İstanbul'un fakir semtleri" (2014 [2003], 231).

exploring the old neighbourhoods meant to "address the reality that Istanbul and Turkey were themselves poor neighbourhoods" in a global scale (ibid.).[523] Pamuk, however, notes in a critical vein that this image of a lost civilisation being a constitutive part of one's (actual) Self was Turkified in Tanpınar's thinking, like the Kemalist state forgetting "the Greeks, the Armenians, the Jews, the Kurds and many other minorities" (Pamuk 2008 [2003], 225).[524]

Tanpınar fathoms different approaches to questions of civilisational belonging and national identity in the post-imperial time by means of conversations between Mümtaz and his friends.[525] When Mümtaz, İhsan, Suad and their friends Nuri and Fahri talk about the books they are currently reading, a discussion about East and West unfolds. Suad wonders "whether everyone reads as much as we do" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 105), and Fahri answers, "Europe reads much more than we do. And a number of languages at once."[526] Fahri thus implies that "Europe" is intellectually advanced compared to "us." İhsan then replies that when "we" read about "ourselves," meaning when they read what Europeans write about Turks, it becomes obvious "that we're wandering on the peripheries of life."[527] According to İhsan, the Westerner (or from the Westerner's perspective) satisfies "us"—the Turks—only when "we" remind "ourselves" that "we" are world citizens,[528] suggesting that Turks tend to forget about their global belonging due to feelings of marginalisation. İhsan argues that "some of us read as if embarking on a voyage, as if escaping our own identities" (ibid., 105).[529]

Questions about the complex identity they want to escape from are answered differently by all characters, showing the plurality of conceptions of both individual and collective Selves. Suad wants to escape Turkey's in-betweenness by getting rid of both European and Ottoman traditions: "Indeed, with one leap to shake and cast out the old, the new, and everything else" (ibid.).[530] By "the old," he refers to the Ottoman heritage, and with "the new" he points to the (Western) trends and customs that have been influencing the region since the 19th century. Suad's concept of the Self remains in abeyance, and its solution is projected into a utopian

[523] "kenar mahalleler gitmek değil, Türkiye ve İstanbul'un dünyada fakir ve ücra bir yer olmasına ruhsal bir hazırlık da vardır" (ibid.).

[524] "[Tanpınar ve Yahya Kemal] Rumları, Ermeniler, Yahudiler, Kürtleri ve diğer azınlıkları Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'yle birlikte unutmaya hevesle hazırdılar" (ibid., 235).

[525] The following paragraphs of this section (Chapter 7.2.2.) build on and were partially published in Chovanec (2022, 190f).

[526] "Avrupa bizden çok fazla okuyor. Birkaç dilde birden okuyor" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 97).

[527] "Kendimizi okuduğumuz zaman hayatın hâşiyesinde dolaştığımızı biliyoruz" (ibid.).

[528] "Garplı, bizi, ancak dünya vatandaşı olduğumuzu hatırladığımız zaman tatmin ediyor" (ibid.).

[529] "Hulâsa, çoğumuz seyahat eder gibi, benliğimizden kaçar gibi okuyoruz" (ibid.).

[530] "Evet, bir adımda eski yeni ne varsa hepsini silkip, fırlatmak" (ibid., 98).

future ("He [the New Man] has yet to be born," ibid., 107).[531] For the sake of a completely new civilisation, Suad is in favour of war and violence as they would inevitably destroy the past and the present, giving way to an allegedly completely new future. When İhsan argues that war would ruin civilisation, Suat confirms, "this is exactly what I want" (ibid., 108).[532]

İhsan takes a different stance: "To cut our ties with the past and to close ourselves off from the West! Never! What do you think we are? We're the essence of Easterners of taste and pleasure. Everything yearns for our persistence and continuity" (ibid., 107). In the Turkish original, İhsan uses the term *millet*, highlighting that of all the nations of the East, "we" are the one with the most classic taste.[533] He identifies Turkey as an Eastern country that is perceived by the European Other as rich in traditions and heritage. For İhsan, the assumed Western gaze—the meta-image (see Leerssen 2016, 24)—is a crucial factor in his commitment to maintaining the connection with the Ottoman past. Imagined as educated, progressive, and advanced while also rich in tradition, İhsan presumes that Europe expects a similar continuity or synthesis between the legacies of the past and the requirements of a modern present from Turkey. However, according to İhsan, only certain aspects of the Ottoman tradition should be selected for this new national Self in order to be on an equal footing with the West: "We'll cast out our dead roots; we'll engage in a new enterprise and foster new people and society…" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 107).[534] This resonates with the Kemalist approach: in order to create a new, modern society, people have to be educated and change in order to fit into the image of a progressive nation.

Whereas Suad is oriented towards a disruptive future and İhsan is engaged with the challenges of the present, Mümtaz is occupied and sometimes even obsessed with the 'past civilisation.' He wanders around Istanbul, lingering in covered markets and stumbling over remnants of Ottoman lifeworlds such as "a small shop that had landed here like a splash from the old Egyptian spice market [and that] displayed a petite, pitiful vestige of the old, opulent Orient and of a vast tradition whose roots extended deep into oblivion leading to long-dead civilizations [*ölmüş medeniyetler*]" (ibid., 51).[535] In a similar vein, Nuran introduces him to another past world through Ottoman music: "In [Ottoman] music, he found one of the purest

[531] "[. . .] bu yeni insanı daha doğmadı. Fakat doğacak, eminim…" (ibid., 100).

[532] "Işte ben de bunu istiyorum" (ibid., 100).

[533] "Hele mazi ile bağlarımızı kesmek, garba kendimizi kapatmak! Asla! Biz şarkın en klasik zevkli milletiyiz. Her şey bizden devam istiyor" (ibid., 99).

[534] "Ölü kökleri atacağız; yeni bir istihsale gireceğiz: Onun insanını yetiştireceğiz…" (ibid., 99).

[535] "daha kapıda eski Mısırçarşısından sıçramış bir damla gibi küçük bir dükkan, eski zengin şarkın, kökü kimbilir nereye dayanan, hangi ölmüş medeniyetlere çıkan bir yığın geleneğin küçük ve sefil bir hulasası" (ibid., 50f).

and most rejuvenating wellsprings of the human soul" (ibid., 193).[536] When Nuran asks him why they are so bound to Ottoman tradition, Mümtaz argues that "whether we like it or not, we belong to it" (ibid., 197).[537] For Mümtaz, music is the key to this civilisation to which he feels intrinsically related. Ottoman music embraces Istanbul and the history of "their" civilisation, with both glorious and filthy parts and its evolving decay. Mümtaz contrasts his immediate emotional connection with the inability of the Westerner to fathom "their" music—a deficiency which makes the Westerner a stranger (ibid., 170).

Sezer (2010, 434) argues that "the major crux of Tanpınar's thought" centres around "how to reconcile the ideals of European modernity with a restored cultural tradition." According to Sezer (ibid.), Tanpınar suggests that "the way to European modernity passes through the creation of an authentic cultural narrative and an aesthetic, communitarian background to the Turkish modernisation process." In *Huzur*, identities are shattered because of the impossibility to situate oneself within the cultural and historical *Gewordensein* of Istanbul and the society the protagonists find themselves living in. Sezer's reading of Tanpınar highlights that "humanistic values of European modernity" should be "complemented by the artistic and literary narratives of Turkish culture" (ibid., 435). While Sezer fails to acknowledge the essentialising dimension of this notion of 'Turkish culture' and underestimates the nationalist impetus behind an endeavour that promotes certain aspects of post-Ottoman realities while neglecting others, Hemmat (2019) suggests that the ways in which Tanpınar depicts Mümtaz display a self-orientalising attitude. By objectifying the Ottoman past, Hemmat (2019, 110) argues, Tanpınar "confers on it a mystical, magical nature, which is similar to orientalist conceptions of the East as a place of spirituality and mysticism." Failing to come to terms with the implications of modernity, Mümtaz ends up approaching the 'Eastern past' through the 'Western gaze' (ibid., 119), as an idealised version of historically complex formations.

For Tanpınar, a sincere life seems to require continuity. By strolling through Istanbul's poor neighbourhoods or diving into the material worlds of the bazaar as we will see below, Tanpınar's restless protagonist Mümtaz almost obsessively seeks to re-establish ties with Eastern traditions in order to strengthen a shattered collective core. Authenticity in Republican Turkey, then, can only be found through a certain level of continuation with what is evoked as Ottoman civilisation. For Tanpınar's protagonists, Ottoman places and objects are a key vehicle for this quest. In a lodge built for the lover of an Ottoman sultan, for instance, Nuran watches

[536] "Şimdi [eski musikimiz] onda insan ruhunun en saf ve diriltici kaynaklarından birini buluyordu" (ibid., 178).

[537] "-Niçin eskiye bu kadar bağlıyız?... -İster istemez onların bir parçasıyız" (ibid., 181).

herself "in antique mirrors of time past […]. The peculiar redolence of the historic lingered everywhere. This, our scent within history, was so reminiscent of who we were" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 147).[538] The authentic Self is imagined as a historically embedded essence individuals can be part of and belong to. Tanpınar also evokes the metaphor of a jewel to describe the strength and beauty of these essential features. At the old covered market hall of the Grand Bazar, the *bedesten*, Mümtaz enters the auction hall, becoming aware of a piece of jewellery in one of the cases: "Within the jewel, a truth ignited and blazed in its own vast and deep essence" (ibid., 65).[539] While the idea of a rich, deep and indestructible core appeals to Mümtaz, its apparent absence or impossibility is a source of far-reaching melancholy. At the Sahaflar book market, he realises the lost cause of his essentialist vision of authenticity:

> The Orient, however, couldn't be authentic [*katıksız*, unmixed] anywhere, even in its grave. Besides these books, in open hawker's cases, were lapfuls of testimonials to our inner transformation, our desire to adapt, and our search for ourselves in new contexts and clime: pulp novels with illustrated covers, textbooks, French yearbooks with faded green bindings, and pharmaceutical formulas […]. Taken as a whole, it constituted a bizarre accretion that appeared simply to be the result of intellectual indigestion. Mümtaz realized that this omnium gatherum had been engaged in a hundred-year struggle and a continuous sloughing of skin (ibid., 52).[540]

Tanpınar suggests that, since the Tanzimat era (see Chapter 7.3.2.), Westernisation and hence shifts in (approaches to and questions of) civilisational belonging have become an intrinsic part of Ottoman and later Turkish life. The East—to which Tanpınar counts 'the Turk'—has become an amalgam of different influences with neither of them being fully embraced, leading to a superficial life and decreasing authenticity. According to Mümtaz's mentor İhsan, both civilisational content and form are in abeyance: "Because our existence still hasn't found its form [*şekil*]!" (ibid., 106).[541] Mümtaz promotes continuity with Ottoman traditions and is convinced that it is (a particular version of) the Eastern past that should serve as a framework for national identity.[542] For Tanpınar, bringing form and content into synthesis seems to be a central precondition for a peaceful, *huzurlu* mind and a harmonious society. On the collective level, it is only through synthesis with its heritage that a society can progress without losing

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[538] "eski aynalarda kendi hayalini seyrederek dolaşıyordu. Herşeyde garip bir mazi kokusu vardı. Bu, tarih içinde kendi kokumuzdu, ne kadar bizdik" (ibid., 136).

[539] "[Mücevher] Sanki bir gerçek, kendi büyük ve derin cevherinde tutuşmuş yanıyordu" (ibid., 64).

[540] "Fakat şark, hiçbir yerde hatta mezarında bile katıksız olamazdı. Bu kitapların yanıbaşında açık işportalarda, içimizdeki değişmenin, intibak arzusunun, yeni bir iklimde kendimizi aramanın kucak dolusu şahitleri, kapakları resimli romanlar, mektep kitapları, ciltlerinin yeşili atmış frenkçe salnameler, eczacı formülleri vardı […]. Böyle hep bir arada bakılınca insan sadece zihni bir hazımsızlığın eserleri gibi görülen garip bir halita. Mümtaz bu halitanın yüz senelik bir didinme, durmadan bir gömlek değiştirme içinde olduğunu biliyordu" (ibid., 51).

[541] "Hayatımızın henüz şekli yok da onun için!" (ibid., 99).

[542] "Bir hüviyet lazım. Bu hüviyeti her millet mazisinden alıyor" (ibid., 182).

itself. On the individual level, love is presented as an authentic emotion in which body and soul, form and content are brought into accordance. For Mümtaz, it is with Nuran that he experiences love for the first time: "Because it happened to be a first occurrence for him, because his body and soul had come to act in unison for the first time" (ibid., 130).[543] In a general situation shaped by disruption and discontinuity, however, love is not enough. The Kemalist nation-state's radical cultural transformations and the estrangement from Ottoman heritage, however, leave him forlorn and desperately searching for spaces of belonging. This inner imbalance finally leads to his increasingly critical state of mental health.

7.2.3. Temporality: Living in Past and Future

"Time becomes a mechanism of torment"

According to Mümtaz's philosophy of temporality, time unfolds with regard to two opposite poles: life and death. This approach to time distinguishes humans from other living beings that are more naturally embedded in the stream of time, rather than creating an artificial dichotomy in which humanity is taken captive:

> Humanity, this prisoner of time, is but desperate, trying to escape to the outside. Instead of losing itself in time, instead of lowing along with all else in a broad and continual river run, humanity tries to perceive time externally. Thus, time becomes a mechanism of torment (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 75f).[544]

Part of this temporal torment for Mümtaz is the anticipation of everything related to death, collapse or disintegration. It seems as if the deep-rooted fear of the contingency of life, triggered by the post-imperial condition and the general transience of modern life, prevents the formation of a hopeful, confident or optimistic approach towards the present and future. For the melancholic Mümtaz, the future is uncertain, connected to death and thus triggers anxiety. His 'anticipatory melancholy' (see Chovanec 2021) entails the fear of losing Nuran and a general inkling towards things developing for the worse. Death lays itself over life, the expected deterioration or end of the relationship prevents *huzur*, i.e., a mind at peace. In the dichotomous temporal framework of life/death or past/future, the present moment seems to be a temporal impossibility: Mümtaz is either triggered by anxiety for the future or melancholically drawn

[543] "mademki ilk defa teni ve ruhu beraberce harekete gelmişler, tam bir terkip" (ibid., 120f).

[544] "İnsanoğlu, zamanın bu mahpusu, onun dışına fırlamağa çalışan bir biçare idi. Onun içinde kaybolacağı geniş ve biteviye akan nehrinde herşeyle beraber akacağı yerde, onu dışarıdan seyre çalışıyordu. Onun için bir ıstırap makinesi olmuştu" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 73).

towards the past that seems to be more lively and vivid than present and future, where death lingers in the shape of Suad.

Focused on the past, Mümtaz searches for places in Istanbul that might bring him closer to the inevitably lost Ottoman history. As Özen Dolcerocca (2015, 1169; see also Dolcerocca 2017) has argued, Tanpınar's Istanbul captures the "violence of modern temporality" through a "dialectical process of glory and decay," where run-down surroundings contain glimpses of past splendour. Mümtaz enjoys going to Kapalı Çarşı—the Grand Bazaar—in the district of Fatih and laments the inexpensive wholesale products, shoddy imports and cheap imitations that are sold there. Within the labyrinth of the bazaar, he loves the *bedesten*, the old cloth merchant hall, as well as the flea market. There, he feels a connection with the past as he finds glimpses of the Ottoman Empire (Tanpınar 2008, Pt. I, Ch. 5). As Tanyol (1949, 6) has argued, *Huzur* "gives us Istanbul with all its inner beauty. After reading the novel, we rediscover Istanbul, this land of history and thoughts, and hear its voice, which is ours […]. Time, calendar, melt into the melodies of a magical prose."[545] For Mümtaz, Istanbul opens the doors to a past that is buried and neglected in the national post-imperial present. The city is like a treasure chest, revealing glimpses of different layers of its history, connecting him with the stream of time. While strolling through the Çadırcılar Street, a street market next to Kapalı Çarşı in Eminönü, for example, Mümtaz encounters pictures of old Ottoman-era Greek Orthodox patriarchs and Arabic calligraphy, accompanied by the sound of an old record being played in one of the shops (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 59). For Mümtaz, the forgotten, suppressed and ignored fragments of a shattered past are piled up disorderedly on the rummage tables and in the window displays.

Triggered by the anxious uncertainty of the future, the imaginative space of the past—materialised through antiquities, Divan literature and Ottoman soundscapes—becomes like an addiction for Mümtaz: an alternative world to escape the present and its immanent future. The *bedesten* offers an ideal place for Mümtaz to delve into the past:

> At each step, remnants of out-of-fashion entertainments and the traces of old and grand traditions, whose origins and means had been forgotten, could be found heaped together. In one of these narrow, contiguous shops, old Istanbul, veiled Anatolia, and even the last remnants of the Ottoman Empire's heritage would glimmer in the most unanticipated way. Vintage outfits that varied from town to town, tribe to tribe, and period to period; old carpets and kilims whose locale of weaving he'd be sure to forget even once reminded, yet whose motifs and colors he'd

[545] "Eserde ikinci önemli nokta İstanbul'u bütün iç güzelliği ile bize vermesindedir. Romanı okuduktan sonra İstanbul'u bu tarih ve düşünceler memleketini, [yeniden keşfediyoruz, onun cevherine katılan mânâyı] bizim olan sesini duyuyoruz [...]. Zaman, takvim, büyülü bir nesrin melodileri içinde eriyor."

> remember for days; a store of artwork from Byzantine icons to old Ottoman calligraphy panels; embroidery, decorations, all in all, caches of objets d'art; jewelery that had adorned the neck and arms of some forgotten beauty from a lost generation or two; all of it, in its humid and crepuscular world, could keep him in its thrall for hours with the allure of a by gone age and the appeal of the mysterious added in for good measure (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 46f).[546]

For Mümtaz, all this—a wide variety of objects recalling times gone by in the faint light of the old market—"represented neither the traditional nor the modern East. Perhaps it was a state of timelessness whose very clime had been exchanged for another" (ibid., 47).[547] While wandering along stalls and stores, Mümtaz also meets people that seem to belong to the past, such as Behçet Efendi, "a one-time member of the old Ottoman Council of the state" (ibid., 61)[548] who "resembled a living memento from 1909 in his outfit, necktie, and suede shoes"[549] and who seemed to have moved "far back into time, to the years when he was the fine gentlemen Behçet" (ibid., 63).[550] Tanpınar's main protagonist is not oblivious to why he feels drawn towards places, objects and people that seem to take him out of a complex present and divert his gaze away from a daunting future: "The gathering of so many antique objects on this street that played the full range of the sun's lutes was powerful enough to make him forget about actual life and experience" (ibid., 61).[551] At the Sahaflar book market, for instance, pondering how people escape situations, he wonders, "wasn't he himself escaping? Wasn't merely sitting in this shop at this hour an escape?" (ibid., 57).[552] With each passing hour in the 'crepuscular world' of times gone by, the difficulty to get back to the present seems to increase. When Mümtaz finally leaves the past-bound timelessness of the market, "he felt the inebriation of a man who'd gotten drunk on laced wine in a cellar before stepping into direct sunlight" (ibid., 47).[553]

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[546] "Adım başında modası geçmiş zevk kırıntılarına, nerede ve nasıl devam ettiği bilinmeyen büyük ve eski ananelerin son parçalarına beraberce rastlanırdı. Eski İstanbul, gizli Anadolu, hatta mirasının son döküntüleriyle imparatorluk, bu dar, içiçe dükkanların birinde en umulmadık şekilde ve birden parlardı. Kasabadan kasabaya, aşiretten aşirete, devirden devire değişen eski zaman elbiseleri, nerede dokunduğunu söyleseler bile unutacağı, fakat motiflerini ve renklerini günlerce hatırlıyacağı eski halı ve kilimler, Bizans ikonlarından eski yazı levhalarına kadar bir yığın sanat eseri, işlemeler, süsler, hulasa yığın yığın sanat eşyası, hangi geçmiş zaman güzelinin boynunu, kollarını süslediği bilinmeyen bir iki nesle ait mücevherler, bu rutubetli ve yarı karanlık dünyada hüviyetlerine eklenen uzak zaman ve bilinmezin cazibesiyle onu saatlerce tutabilirdi" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 46).

[547] "Bu eski şark değildi, yeni de değildi. Belki iklimini değiştirmiş zamansız hayattı" (ibid., 46).

[548] "eski Şura-yı Devlet azasından Behçet Beyefendi" (ibid., 60).

[549] "üstündeki elbise, boyunbağı, pödüsüetli ayakkabısıyla 1909 yılına ait canlı bir hatıraya benzeyen" (ibid., 61).

[550] "çok gerilere, kendisinin Behçet Beyefendi olduğu" (ibid., 61).

[551] "Bununla beraber bu kadar yaşanmış şeyin burada, güneşin bütün borularını üstüne yıkılacakmış gibi ayakta çalan bu sokakta toplanması, asıl hayatı, yaşananı unutturacak kadar kuvvetli bir şeydi" (ibid., 60).

[552] "kendisi kaçmıyor muydu? Sadece bu dükkanda bu saatte oturması bir kaçış değil miydi?" (ibid., 56).

[553] "Mümtaz bu hayattan Mahmutpaşa'nın çığlığı içine çıktığı zaman, bir mahzende cins bir şarapla sarhoş olduktan sonra güneşe çıkanların sarhoşluğunu duyardı" (ibid., 46).

With Mümtaz, Tanpınar not only narrates the dangers of getting lost in times gone by but also highlights why a connection with the past is a precondition for being in the present: "I'm no aesthete of decline. Maybe I'm searching for what's still alive and viable in the decline" (ibid., 198).[554] As Hemmat (2019, 107) has argued, despite Tanpınar's support for the modernisation reforms implemented by the Kemalists, "he was also invested in the idea that the past was an essential component of national identity." In his novel *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (1954/1961),[555] *The Time Regulation Institute* (2013), Tanpınar also engages with the impossibility of synchronising past and present but from a different perspective: overzealously embracing Westernisation, the Institute develops a system to monitor whether clocks keep perfect time (see Mathew 2021, 483f). People receive fines, notably if their clocks run slow, targeting what the German translation refers to as retrogression or backwardness, *Rückwärtsgewandtheit* (Tanpınar 2008 [1961], 22). For Mümtaz, in turn, past experiences can provide passed-down strategies for dealing with present and future challenges. This is of particular relevance in the face of the ever-changing modern condition and its paradigm of ongoing renewal and progress. Mümtaz argues that "our heritage not only contains miseries and sorrows but also consolations and methods of perseverance…" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 59).[556]

While Mümtaz acknowledges the "need for social progress,"[557] he claims that "our attachments to the past are also part of these social realities, because those attachments constitute one of the manifest forms our life has taken, and this persists into the present as well as the future" (ibid., 198).[558] This appraisal is superseded by a more wholehearted embrace of the future when Nuran enters Mümtaz's life. Just like Nuran enables Mümtaz to be more mobile and active, transforming his melancholy into productivity, she also affects his temporal orientation. With Nuran, the notion of "tomorrow"—for the first time—takes centre stage. Usually a reference to anxiety and fear, the future now becomes something promising and hopeful. For Mümtaz, it is love that promises to overcome the desolate post-imperiality of the present: "Tomorrow she will come… Before then, Mümtaz hadn't fully savored the magic of the word tomorrow. His

[554] "Ben bir çöküşün esteti değilim. Belki bu çöküşte yaşayan şeyler arıyorum" (ibid., 183).

[555] The novel was first serialised (1954) and then published as a book (1961).

[556] "Demek ki sade ıstıraplarımız, üzüntülerimiz değil, tesellileri, mukavemet çareleri de miraslarımızın arasında…" (ibid. 58).

[557] "sosyal kalkınma ihtiyacı var" (ibid., 182).

[558] "Fakat bu realiteler içine maziyle bağlarımız da girer. Çünkü o, hayatımızın, bugün olduğu gibi gelecek zamanda da şekillerinden biridir" (ibid., 183).

life had only passed in present days. […]. Now, the word sparkled within him: Tomorrow. […]. Tomorrow… an astounding, enchanted portal" (ibid., 152).[559]

This switch to the future, however, is accompanied by Mümtaz's growing obsession with Nuran representing "the golden key to time past" (ibid., 206).[560] Exacerbated by Mümtaz's increasing oscillation between times gone by and times yet unknown, Nuran exclaims: "Why don't you live in the present, Mümtaz? Why do you either dwell in the past or in the future? The present hour also exists" (207).[561] As *Huzur*'s translator Erdağ Göknar (2003, 648) has noted, the "tone of Tanpınar's novels might be characterised as part lament for the loss of a late-Ottoman cultural past and part anxiety about the future of Turkish national society." Mümtaz epitomises the combination of these two tendencies. His propensity to escape to spaces that promise solace from a fast-changing environment—partly a dreamy future but mostly an idealized past—prevent him from 'being in the moment' and from productively engaging with the present. According to Mathew (2021, 484), the introduction of Western notions of time had presented a considerable challenge to Ottoman society, where the "unfolding synthesis of Western (alafranga) and Ottoman (alaturka) ideas" of the time contributed to experiences of being torn between two poles. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the divided temporalities of modernity are a central part of the Occidentalist condition. Resonating with this tension between different—or "overlapping" (Mathew 2021, 484)—notions of temporality, the melancholiac Mümtaz attempts at reconciling the dichotomous poles of modern time and longs for what has become his notion of the past or a future with Nuran as the embodiment of Ottoman virtue by his side. Just as he mourns the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire, Mümtaz is afraid of losing Nuran as that who connects him to his present and has come to matter most to him. This pre-emptive fear proves to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. The post-imperial experience of loss is mirrored and repeated in his love life, making it impossible for Mümtaz to disentangle his own temporality from the new modern standard, thwarting his attempts to heal the disharmony between past, present and future.

[559] "yarın gelecek...[- düşüncesiyle uyanmış bulunuyordu.]. Mümtaz o zamana kadar bu yarın kelimesinin sihrini tatmamıştı. Onun hayatı sadece bugünlerde geçmişti. […]. Halbuki şimdi bu tek kelime, içinde bir mücevher gibi parlıyordu. Yarın... […]. Yarın... Bu acayip ve sihirli bir kapıydı" (ibid., 140f).

[560] "geçmiş zamanları açan altın anahtar" (ibid., 190).

[561] "Niçin bugünü yaşamıyorsun Mümtaz? Neden ya mazidesin, ya istikbaldesin. Bu saat de var" (ibid., 191).

7.2.4. Gender: Embracing Female Rootedness

"Why is it that men think we women are as free as them?"

Most protagonists in *Huzur* are male, including Mümtaz as the novel's main character. Questions about masculinity thus (should) have a central place in the analysis of how Tanpınar's protagonists engage with questions of positionality and belonging when faced with Western-dominated modernity: "Turkey's abrupt transition into Western modernism and the corollaries of this change are visible themes in the novel – yet these themes may also serve as a smokescreen for its message of gender conflict and identity struggle" (Günay-Erkol 2009, 101). In her reading of *Huzur*, Çimen Günay-Erkol (2009, 87) points to what she refers to as "traumatized male identity": "*A Mind at Peace* reveals a narrative of adult male desire as a complicated cultural construction. It also reveals that the novel foregrounds male anxiety about mothers, and women in general, and hence sexuality."

While male protagonists dominate *Huzur*, it is male inactivity that appears as a key feature of Tanpınar's work: "Nearly all Tanpınar's novels involve masculine gender anxieties identified by the imprudent sentimentality, lack of power and agency, and inaction of young men" (ibid., 89). According to Günay-Erkol (ibid.), Tanpınar's protagonists "fail to fulfil a hegemonic masculine role, experience a sense of failure that evokes a desperate need to escape from reality; they eventually despair, retreating into loneliness." Mümtaz tries to escape to the past and finds himself increasingly entangled in a destructive web of anxiety, jealousy and melancholy. He is unable to appreciate Nuran's realities, including her needs and limitations, and instead fantasises about her in traditional Ottoman settings, transforming her "into a mythical presence beyond Mümtaz's realm of being" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 66):[562]

> Mümtaz's imagination churned elsewhere. It cast Nuran as a beloved of old, like a favorite odalisque of the age of Sultan Murat IV. Jewelery, shawls, fabric adorned with silver embroidery, Venetian tulle, rose-peach slippers… a mound of cushions surrounding her (ibid., 147).[563]

Even in moments when the couple is happily united and he feels a direct emotional connection with Nuran, Mümtaz is overtaken by melancholic sentiment. It is the feeling of happiness itself that pushes him towards anticipating its disappearance: "Mümtaz also knew that they were

[562] "onu Mümtaz'ın aleminin dışında, efsanevi bir mevcudiyet yapmıştı" (ibid., 64).

[563] "Mümtaz'ın muhayyilesi başka türlü çalışıyordu. Nuran'ı bir geçmiş zaman dilberi, Dördüncü Murad devrinin bir ikbali gibi giydiriyordu. Mücevherler, şallar, sırmalı kumaşlar, Venedik tülleri, gül şeftali pabuçlar... Etrafında bir yığın yastık" (ibid., 136).

content therefore he feared the impending loss of delight" (ibid., 240).[564] It is this combination of escapism, inaction and melancholic depression that builds up towards Mümtaz's growing levels of desperation. As the anxious male intellectual, Mümtaz symbolises a central feature of the post-imperial era shaped by uncertainties and an underlying challenge to established social standards.

In Günay-Erkol's (2009, 93) psychoanalytical reading, not only Mümtaz's but also İhsan's masculinity is impaired. İhsan's physical defects such as a wounded leg—similar to the case of Peyami Safa's protagonist in *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu* (see Chapter 5)—highlight a limited ability to exercise power and resonate with the motif of male castration. The dark figure Suad, in turn, epitomises the opposite of Mümtaz's for Günay-Erkol (2009, 97):

> a form of masculinity wholly in contrast to Mümtaz's. He is an anarchist, a nihilist, and a lothario who continues to involve himself in adulterous affairs with young women. He exhibits a caustic demeanor and excessive sexual desire. In contrast to other male figures within the novel, Suad's allure lies in his temerity, destructiveness, and bravado.

Suad challenges Mümtaz's and İhsan's sentimentality and exaggerated intellectuality as characteristics "gained at the cost of sexual potency" (ibid., 97), offering a more brutal and 'primitive' notion of masculinity that embraces a less enduring and more active strategy to deal with modernity's potentials and pitfalls. Günay-Erkol (ibid., 99) goes as far as to characterise Mümtaz as bisexual, in love with Nuran and attracted to Suad. For Günay-Erkol, Mümtaz's final mental collapse—with which the novel ends—is a result of the "irresolvable clash between homophobia and homoeroticism" (ibid., 101): it is not the separation from Nuran but Suad's death that puts his world upside down. Together with Mümtaz, Suad epitomises the novel's *huzursuz* characters. He is described as intelligent, nihilist and suicidal (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 102f): "Actually, Suad's laughter had a force that came from the heart yet negated everything. He laughed and his face abruptly appeared to be alien and antagonistic."[565] In his letter[566] to Mümtaz (*Suat'ın Mektubu*, Tanpınar 2019 [n.d.]), Suad openly admits his depressive and

[564] "Mümtaz bunu bildiği gibi mesut olduklarını da biliyor ve onun için bu saadetin bir gün kaybolmasından korkuyordu" (ibid., 222).

[565] "Filhakika Suat'ın gülüşünde kalbden gelen herşeyi reddeden garip bir hal vardı. Sanki yüzü birdenbire herşeye yabancı ve düşman kesilmiş gibi gülüyordu" (ibid., 96).

[566] Right after the publication of *Huzur* as a book in 1950, Tanpınar announced that he would publish a short work (*küçük bir eser*) called "Suad'ın Mektubu" in the upcoming period (see İnci 2019, 9). However, Tanpınar did not publish the letter—written by Suad addressed to Mümtaz—during his lifetime, and it was only in 2017 that the incomplete fragment of the book was published by İbrahim Şahin. In 2018, Handan İnci et al. published an extended, yet incomplete critical edition of the letter. In the introduction to the edition, İnci (2019 [2018], 22) claims that Tanpınar probably wanted to give Suad more space than he had in the novel.

nihilistic leaning: "Inside me, there was a strong emptiness" (ibid., 53).[567] In the last part of *Huzur*, Suad contributes to drawing Mümtaz—who at some point is constantly reminded of "Suad's filthy hand" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 258)[568]—into states of prolonged despair.

As *Huzur*'s only central female protagonist, Nuran does not take part in most conversations and stand-offs between Mümtaz and his friends. Countering Mümtaz's melancholia, however, Nuran offers an alternative approach to engaging with the world that—beyond a longing for an idealised past or a fascination for an unlikely future—engages with the present moment. As Elizabeth Nolte (2017, 253) has pointed out, Nuran "as a divorcee, mother, and lover is tied to the present through her multifaceted female identity and attendant obligations." While sharing some of Mümtaz's fascination for Ottoman culture, "Nuran remains always attuned to her present circumstances" (ibid., 255). What Mümtaz admires most about Nuran is her ability remain resolute:

> to ply through the midst of life in a calm and nourishing manner, forever her own woman, like a river without pretension or anxiety, vast and wide – whose waters were clear enough to see all the way to the bottom (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 87).[569]

For Nuran, however, life is more complex than what Mümtaz imagines. Constantly faced with familial obligations, including not only her seven-year-old daughter Fatma but also her aging mother, Nuran perceives Mümtaz as living "like a child":[570] "What was there in his life besides a menagerie of dreams?" (ibid., 134).[571] She also connects her experience to a more general female condition in a society still dominated by the male gaze: "Why are men so selfish? Why is it that they think we women are as free as them?" (ibid., 130).[572] Having fought to emancipate herself from her family's expectations, Nuran is also wary of falling back into traditional gender patterns. When Mümtaz makes a reference to her preparing artichoke hearts in the kitchen, Nuran protests: "You mean to say that after we're married I'll be left to rot in the kitchen?" (ibid., 191).[573] For Nuran, there is a constant tension between her ability and readiness to embrace the moment, her desire to live a fulfilled and self-determined life, and her duties

[567] "İçimde garip bir boşluk vardı."

[568] "Suat'ın kirli eli" (Tanpınar 2022 [1949], 239).

[569] "hiçbir özentisiz, telaşsız, büyük ve geniş, suları, dibi görünecek kadar berrak, bir nehir gibi hayatın ortasında hep kendi kendisi olarak sakin, besleyici akmak olduğunu o gün değilse bile, o haftalar içinde öğrendi" (ibid., 81).

[570] Mümtaz also perceives himself to be childlike: "ben hala çocuk gibiyim" (ibid., 125).

[571] "Hayatında bir yığın hulyadan başka ne vardı?" (ibid., 125).

[572] "Niçin bu kadar hodbin oluyorlar? Niçin bizi kendileri gibi serbest sanıyorlar..." (ibid., 121).

[573] "Demek evlendikten sonra mutfakta unutulacağız" (ibid., 176).

towards her daughter and mother. While Mümtaz is often completely absorbed by his intellectual battles, Nuran's thoughts are more fragmented:

> [She] was incapable of relinquishing herself completely to a thought, or an idea, or a love. As soon as she entered the house, her mother's cross expression and Fatma's annoyed behaviour would make her forget everything else. Her life lay in so many fragments (ibid., 225).[574]

Caught between Mümtaz and her familial obligations, "Nuran lived two lives at once" (ibid., 240).[575] Her story and social position—notably the divorce from her ex-husband Fahir—are an integral part of how she perceives herself and her relationship with Mümtaz and how she makes sense of her place in the world:

> Others who see us together, who knows what they'll say? It's so obvious that he's inappropriately younger than me… They'll assume I've separated from Fahir to be with him. I wasn't even the one who separated from Fahir… He left (ibid., 131).[576]

Throughout their relationship, Nuran also explicitly opposes Mümtaz's attempts to orientalise her (see Hemmat 2017). Mümtaz intertwines his feelings for Nuran with his connection to Istanbul when trying to bridge the gap between the present and the irretrievably lost past. When the couple visits an Ottoman summer palace and Mümtaz's shares his orientalist fantasies about Nuran as an Ottoman harem's concubine (see above), her response is clear: "No, thanks. I'm Nuran. I live [. . .] in the year 1938 [*sic*] and I wear more or less the fashions of my day. I have no desire to change my style or identity. I'm not in a state of despair" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 147).[577]

Rarely joining male-dominated intellectual circles, Nuran usually adopts a clear and straightforward position when she gets the chance to raise her voice (see Nolte 2017, 252–253). Although it is Nuran who introduces Mümtaz to Ottoman music, she seems to naturally integrate the past into the present. In contrast to Mümtaz, she is neither stuck between an exoticized Ottoman Other and a fragile national Self, nor between images of a modern Europe and a yet unknown Turkey. In fact, as a single mother, she benefits from the more open societal structures in the Republic and criticises Mümtaz's idealisation of the Ottoman Empire. While Nuran is wary of the—mostly male-dominated—glamour of the imperial past, the traditions she

[574] "O bir düşünceye, bir fikre, bir aşka kendisini tam veremiyordu. Eve girer girmez annesinin biraz çatık yüzü, Fatma'nın dargın halleri ona herşeyi unutturuyordu. Onun hayatı parça parça idi" (ibid., 208).

[575] "Nuran iki hayatı birden yaşıyordu" (ibid., 222).

[576] "Beni onunla beraber görenler, kim bilir ne derler? Benden küçük olduğu o kadar belli ki... Onun için Fahir'den ayrıldığımı zannedecekler. Ben Fahir'den ayrılmadım... O benden ayrıldı" (ibid., 122).

[577] "Hayır istemiyorum. Ben Nuran'ım. [. . .]. 1937 senesinde yaşiyor, aşağı yukarı zamanımın elbisesini giyiyorum. Hiçbir elbise ve hüviyet değiştirmeğe hevesim yok. Hiçbir ümitsizlik içinde değilim" (ibid., 136).

embraces are those social experiences that bring ordinary people together, such as songs and games. For Nuran, these lived and evolving traditions offer established structures based on which individuals may find space to discover and unfold themselves. When Mümtaz wanders through the streets of Fatih close to where Hekimoğlu Pasha's manor once stood, he observes children singing a song and playing a game; and he imagines what Nuran would have to say about that scene:

> *What should persist is this very song, our children growing up while singing this song and playing this game, not Hekimoğlu Pasha himself or his manor or his neighbourhood. Everything is subject to transformation; we can even foster such change through our own determination. What shouldn't change are the things that structure our social life, and mark it with our own stamp* (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 22, italicised in the original).[578]

Above all, Nuran wants to be 'herself.' She wants to neither get lost in imaginations of the past nor in utopian ideas of the future but embrace her roots to live in the present. Despite her complex social position and obligations, Nuran is more stable and has a stronger emotional compass than Mümtaz. This unites her with *Huzur*'s other (minor) female characters, such as İhsan's wife Macide, their daughter Sabiha or Mümtaz's friend İclâl, who appear more at peace with themselves than their male counterparts. Compared to Mümtaz's melancholy, Nuran embodies a positive, non-melancholic counter concept. Having both feet on the ground, she does not buy into Suad's visions of a utopian future either. Nuran's natural way of being in the present also contrasts İhsan's technocratic approach, which evaluates cultural elements of the past in order to artificially form a new national narrative. As *Huzur*'s only female protagonist, Nuran thus embraces what appears as a rather nuanced, pragmatic and self-confident approach to questions of identity and belonging in early republican Turkey.

[578] "Devam etmesi lazım gelen, işte bu türküdür. Çocuklarımızın bu türküyü söyliyerek, bu oyunu oynıyarak büyümesi; ne Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın kendisi, ne konağı, hatta ne de mahallesi. Her şey değişebilir, hatta kendi irademizle değiştiririz. Değişmiyecek olan, hayata şekil veren, ona bizim damgamızı basan şeylerdir" (ibid., 23).

7.3. Tackling Crisis: Self and Other in Tanpınar's Essays

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's oeuvre as an author includes a broad spectrum of essays printed by several newspapers between the 1930s and 1950s. While most of his articles were published in *Cumhuriyet*, some texts also appeared in papers like *Ulus*, *Tasvir-i Efkar* or *Ülkü*. The majority of Tanpınar's essays was collected and published posthumously by Dergâh Yayınları such as *Yaşadığım Gibi* ("As I Lived," 1970), a compilation[579] aiming at "representing the writer's concise ideas about our national culture as a poet, storyteller, novelist and literary historian"[580] (*Dergâh Yayınları* [n.n.] 2020 [1970], 6). The collection comprises a number of Tanpınar's articles on humanity, love, literature, music, arts, history and civilisation. It also includes essays on Istanbul and Bursa that may have been the starting point for Tanpınar's book *Beş Şehir* (*Five Cities*, 1946) as well as essays on Ankara, Erzurum and Konya. Building on the in-depth analysis of *Huzur*, this section examines a selection of Tanpınar's articles—most of them from *Yaşadığım Gibi*—that focus on Turkey's modern post-imperial condition and related images of Self and Other as well as insights from essays in *Beş Şehir*.[581] All these texts reflect Tanpınar's conviction that the radical transformation of Turkish society since the Tanzimat era has led to a wide range of individual and collective challenges. Turkey's post-imperiality, as Tanpınar argues in his article "Medeniyet Değiştirmesi ve İç İnsan" ("The Shift of Civilisation and the Inner Human," 2020 [1951a], 38), is caught up in a "state of crisis" (*buhran*) that has prevailed since the 19th century.

7.3.1. Spatiality: Dynamism Meets Stasis

"Erzurum, the city of eastern commerce and luxuries that poured in from all directions"

Tanpınar's essay "Kelimeler Arasında Elli Yıl" ("Fifty Years Between Words," 2020 [1950]) begins with the opening of a newspaper. With reference to this daily habit, Tanpınar (2020 [1950], 90) evokes the general speed of modernity that is accelerated by the fact that people have become witnesses of "events" through the regular reception of printed up-to-date information:

[579] The first edition (Tanpınar 1970) includes more than 60 articles, whereas in the second edition (i.e., Tanpınar 2020) around 20 essays are added to the compilation. Both editions are structured in seven sections: "İnsan ve Cemiyet," "İnsan ve Ötesi," "Üç Şehir," "Paris Tesadüfleri," "Türk Edebiyatı," "Musikî" and "Plastik Sanatlar."

[580] "Tanpınar'ın çeşitli gazete ve dergilerde yayımlanmış yazılarından derlenen 'yaşadığım gibi' yazarın, şair, hikâyeci - romancı ve edebiyat tarihçisi olarak mill kültürümüzle ilgili özlü fikirlerini yansıtmaktadır."

[581] Apart from the references to *Beş Şehir*, all translations of Tanpınar's essays are my own.

> I opened my newspaper. Pondering that in this moment or a little earlier, millions of people will, like me, come into contact with the world through a newspaper, I look at the headlines. For 150 years, humanity has been waking up in the midst of events.[582]

Further reflecting on this transformative period, Tanpınar (ibid., 94) goes back to the 19th century, evoking the seemingly endless stability of Habsburg Austria[583] under Kaiser Franz Joseph and an industrialising Germany[584] that seemed to promise an age of security and progress. For Tanpınar (ibid., 96), retrospectively, these were "harmonious, comfortable and peaceful years" (*rahat seneler*)[585] characterised by slow but steady progress that were increasingly swallowed by the strong suction of the early 20th century and eventually ended in the "hell of 1914" (*1914'ün cehennemi*). Wondering about what words historians would use to describe the first 50 years of the century, Tanpınar (ibid., 91) concludes emphatically that it "without a doubt would be termed crisis [*buhran*]."[586]

Tanpınar traces the roots of Turkey's general societal crisis—with the downfall of the empire as its peak—back to the Tanzimat era. The crisis has led to tension between the political impetus to move forward as well as the collective and individual resistance to relinquish the old in favour of the new, contributing to social stasis. According to Tanpınar's article "Medeniyet Değiştirmesi ve İç insan" ("The Change of Civilisation and the Inner Human," Tanpınar 2020 [1951a], 38), a forced movement—namely "our transition from one civilisation to another" (*bir medeniyetten öbürüne geçmemiz*)—took place in the context of the reform era. This "movement" (*hareket*), Tanpınar (ibid., 39) argues, "must push towards the good, towards enlightenment, push us and those around us towards a completely modern consciousness."[587] Tanpınar (ibid.) warns his readers that by denying the circumstances of this imposed transformation (see below), it would become even more disturbing both individually and collectively.[588] Any form of organic development or action, he argues, had been made impossible within the forcefully modernising framework of the Tanzimat: "Indeed, for the majority of those who have grown up since the Tanzimat, almost every action ends with a loud

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[582] "gazetemi açtım. Milyonlarca insanın bu anda veya biraz evvel bir dakika sonra benim gibi bir gazete arasından dünya ile temasa gireceğini düşüne düşüne başlıklara bakıyorum. İnsanlık yüz elli seneden beri hadiselerin içinde uyanıyor."

[583] Full quote: "Avusturya hemen hemen kendi yaşında denebilecek ihtiyar imparatorun etrafında çok eski bir meşenin etrafına toplanmış bir orman gibi orta Avrupaya kök salmış duruyordu."

[584] Full quote: "Almanya yarı feodal su katılmaz şekilde militarist idaresiyle gittikçe büyüyen sanayiiyle kendi iç işlerini gürültüsüzce halletmekteki dirayetiyle istikbale emniyetin ta kendisi sanılıyordu."

[585] Full quote: "Bütün insanlığın bir bataklıkta yavaş yavaş boğulur gibi evvelden hazırlanmış çerçeveler içinde yaşadığı düşündüğü ve öldüğü rahat seneler..."

[586] "Bu şüphesiz buhran kelimesi olacaktır."

[587] "İyiye, aydınlığa, kendimizi ve etrafımızı tam muasır bir anlayışa doğru itmesi lâzım gelen bir hareket."

[588] "bizi rahatsız edecek bir realitedir."

or silent resignation, with a kind of repentance, with self-denial" (ibid., 42).[589] For Tanpınar (ibid., 43), the whole psychological state of being caught up between *alafranga* and *alaturka* has led to a debilitating impasse that makes meaningful change impossible: "Above all, this state of mind ceases to be dynamic over time, taking a static form. It is as if it has established unchangeable boundaries within us."[590]

However, as Tanpınar (2020 [1951b], 37) argues in his article "Kültür ve Sanat Yollarında Gösterdiğimiz Devamsızlık" ("Discontinuities We Display on the Road of Culture and Art"), this almost static "civilisational, cultural and internal human crisis" (*bir medeniyet, bir kültür ve iç insan buhranı*) also produces "a form of rhythm" (*bir nevi ritim*). A central aspect of that rhythm is the repetitive cycle of "giving up" (*vazgeçmek*): the careful observer of social conditions, he argues, can predict which aspects of culture and society are to be abandoned within a decade.[591] The word which, for Tanpınar (2020 [1950], 91), best describes the inner condition of people under the influence of this crisis is *huzursuzluk*, i.e., the absence of a peaceful mind: "All the mental states relating to our century find voice in this expression."[592] For Tanpınar, the post-imperial collective and individual Self is predominantly coined by this feeling of disquiet, which also affects the cultural realm. With *Huzur* (see Chapter 7.2.), Tanpınar has devoted a whole novel to this state of restlessness that ties those affected by it to the past, preventing them from moving forward. The condition of *huzursuzluk* is thus connected to a form of melancholic stasis, reproducing the dichotomy of an inactive East unable to keep the pace of a progressive West. Tanpınar (2020 [1950], 91 and 93f) connects *huzursuzluk* with the terms "civilisation" (*medeniyet*), "progress" (*terakki*) and "technology" (*teknik*), which are introduced as key words of the 20th century though they were already discussed by late-Ottoman intellectuals. In this "age of civilisation and progress" (*medeniyet ve terakki devri*) in which the speed of the West sets the pace, the "people left behind" (*geri kalmış insanlar*) in the East are trapped by the feeling of unease, while people in the West see their material living conditions improve.

In order to counter the repetitive cycle of "giving up" in the realm of culture leading to uprooted statis, Tanpınar (cited in Misikoğlu 2017 [1952)] emphasises the importance of conscious

[589] "Doğrusu istenirse, Tanzimat'tan beri yetişenlerin çoğunda hemen her hareket, gürültülü veya sessiz bir istifa, bir nevi tövbekârlık, kendi kendini inkârla sona erer."

[590] "Üstelik zamanla bu ruh hali dinamik olmaktan çıkıyor, statik bir şekil alıyor. Sanki içimizde değişmez hadler kurmuş gibi."

[591] Full quote: "O kadar ki cemiyet meselelerini tetkike alışmış dikkatli bir göz on sene sonra nelerden vazgeçeceğimizi şimdiden kestirebilir."

[592] "Asrımıza ait bütün ruh halleri onunla ifade edilir."

continuity with the past. According to his former student Ahmet Misikoğlu's notes on Tanpınar's 1952 university courses (*ders notları*), Tanpınar connects literary images of mobility with the past (Misikoğlu 2017 [1952), 50f). He notes "[w]hat we look for in literature are images of dynamism [*dinamik imaj*]"[593] in contrast to "images of stasis" (*statik imajları*). The "image of a mountain" (*dağ gibi' imajı*), he remarks, symbolises stasis. As an important "form" (*şekil*) of dynamism, however, images of the "past" (*mazi*) take centre stage. In his notes, Misikoğlu writes that to be emancipated from the petrifying forces of *huzursuzluk*—"to transition from stasis to dynamism" (*statikten dinamiğe geçmek*) as Tanpınar (ibid. 51) puts it—hence, is not only an individual and social endeavour but also the task of literature, its authors and readers. For Tanpınar, reversing the Occidentalist movement from old to new or from past to future is to move back to the past and to re-establish connections with its heritage that should form the basis for sustainable societal progress.

Questions about im_mobility also play a central role in Tanpınar's analysis of Turkish cities in *Beş Şehir*. Here, too, for Tanpınar, it seems as though Eastern progressive mobility and inventive dynamism are mostly located in the distant past, notably in the context of Ottoman grandeur. Economic dynamism, conquest, intellectual confidence and cultural ingenuity are evoked as lost aspects of previous Eastern mobility. In his essay on Ankara, for example, Tanpınar refers to Mimar Sinan—the 16th-century Ottoman architect—as one "of our ancestors [who] dominate the map of our native country," representing a culturally prosperous age:[594]

> [T]here are very few major cities that don't have a share of this genius of the Ottoman Empire. When I hear his name I immediately see, like a string of beautifully cut jewels, an endless line of buildings, large and small, that stretch from Hungary to the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Basra (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 11).[595]

It is historical Erzurum that Tanpınar describes as an economically flourishing quintessential Eastern place, a meeting point of merchants and a nodal point of caravan routes living off the movement of people and goods.

[593] "Biz, edebiyatta dinamik imajı ararız."

[594] Full quote: "Cetlerimizden iki kişi vatan haritasını benimsemişlerdir. Bunlardan birincisi Mimar Sinan'dır" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 22).

[595] "İmparatorluğun bu dehadan payını almamış pek az büyük şehri vardır. O kadar ki Sinan denilince gözümün önünde son derece nisbetli yontulmuş bir mücevher dizisine benzeyen irili ufaklı binalar, tâ Macaristan içerisinden başlayarak Akdeniz'e ve Basra körfezine kadar iner" (ibid., 11).

> Erzurum […] had established its growth on its economic stability. Iran provided more than half of the exports and imports by means of the caravan routes that linked Trebizond and Tabriz, a route that for centuries had made Erzurum a truly oriental medieval city (ibid., 23f).[596]

At the "crossroad of eastern trade routes,"[597] Erzurum, "the city of eastern commerce and luxuries that poured in from all directions,"[598] epitomised the dynamic Ottoman economy before its collapse in the wake of World War I (ibid., 24f). Based on his first visit to the city in the late days of the Ottoman Empire, Tanpınar describes Erzurum as a proud, orderly and self-confident society, shaped by the market and connected to social movements that made for relatively convivial social hierarchies (ibid., 28f). When Tanpınar visits Erzurum again in 1923, however, he finds few traces of that bustling place:

> The city I was seeing for the second time was no longer the old Erzurum, the economic centre of eastern provinces, rose of the uplands, its beauty praised in most of the folk songs of the region. War, emigration, massacres, typhus and every kind of disaster had reversed and crushed all (ibid., 21).[599]

This moment of destruction and despair, however, is framed as only one sequence of an otherwise energetic and buzzing place. Together with Ankara, Erzurum is described as a symbol of the Turkish nation fighting against immanent servitude on behalf of the East. According to Tanpınar, the mobility inherent in the constant back and forth of the historical centre of trade and migration is also the starting point for Atatürk and the Kemalist movement:

> it is again in Erzurum that the earliest foundation of National Struggle was laid. It was from this eagle's nest that the first wish to live a life freedom and independence, despite everything, took wing. Atatürk began his work in Erzurum and like previous conquerors marched from there to the Anatolian interior (ibid., 53).[600]

Tanpınar thus suggests that Turkish modernity and its nation-building process taking place in the (in many ways unsettling) post-imperial condition could be consciously related to the long trajectory of mobility (and conquest) it builds on, a dynamism that resonates with Ottoman connectivity across today's national borders. The national Turkish Self, hence, is called on to

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[596] "Erzurum, bu gelişmesini bir iktisadî denklilik üzerine kurmuştu. İran, ithalât ve ih racatının yarıdan fazlasını Trabzon - Tebriz kervan yoluyle yapıyordu. İşte bu kervan yolu, Erzurum'u asırlar […] tam bir şark ortaçağ şehri olarak kurmuştu" (ibid., 34).

[597] Full quote: "O, şarkın büyük ticaret ye transit şehirlerindendir" (ibid., 35).

[598] Full quote: "İşte eski Erzurum'un, dört yanından refah akan bu Şark ticaret şehrinin macerasını kapatan şey" (ibid.).

[599] "İkinci defa gördüğüm bu şehir, artık şark vilâyetlerinin iktisadî merkezi, yaylanın gülü, bu havalide söylenen türkülerin yarısından çoğunun güzelliğini övdüğü eski Erzurum değildi. Harp, hicret, katliamlar, tifüs, çeşit çeşit felâket, üzerinden ağır bir silindir gibi geçmiş, her şeyi ezip devirmişti" (ibid., 31).

[600] "Millî Mücadele'nin ilk temeli gene Erzurum'da atılır. Her şeye rağmen hür, müstakil yaşamak iradesi, ilkin bu kartal yuvasında kanatlanır. Atatürk, Erzurum'dan işe başlar. Tıpkı ilk fatihler gibi oradan Anadolu'nun içme doğru yürür" (ibid., 62).

emancipate from the melancholic stasis and unrest captured by the notion of *huzursuzluk* and to reconnect with past activity and movement.

Within Occidentalism (see Chapter 2), the spatial dichotomy of im_mobility is also reproduced through the contradiction between spirituality and materialism, associating a spiritual attitude with a more passive approach and a materialist focus with a more active approach to life. Ahmet Ersoy (2014, 135) has argued that Tanpınar—in contrast to "conservatives such as Peyami Safa" (see Chapter 5)—does not "embrace the stock contrast between the 'material' West and the 'spiritual' East, the former being morally decadent and hence harmful for its unsullied counterpart." While it is true that Tanpınar does not associate the 'materialist character' of the West with negative traits, he does—not only at the beginning of his work in the 1930s but also towards the end of his life—reproduce this dichotomous contrast: rather than criticising the West in line with Peyami Safa or Halide Edib, Tanpınar finds words of admiration for the West's technical development and material progress. Tanpınar (2002 [1934]) evokes the Occidentalist image of a stagnant East and progressive West by utilising the dichotomy of spirituality versus materialism not only in his 1934 article "Şark ve Garp" ("East and West")—which Ersoy (2014, 135) discusses as an example of Tanpınar's earlier thinking that he allegedly overcame later on—but in a similar vein also in his 1960 article, "Şark ile Garp Arasında Görülen Esaslı Farklar" ("The Fundamental Differences Between East and West"). In "Şark ve Garp," Tanpınar (2002 [1934], 35) states that the year 1789 (see Chapter 2.1.) should not be regarded as the start of Western progress and advancement but rather as a *result* of intrinsic Western "dynamism" (*dinamizm*). In a similar vein, Tanpınar (2020 [1960]), 26f) puts forth that the civilisational "stasis" (*statik*) of (what once was) the East is not only due to the historical conditions of the Tanzimat but also relates to features inherent to the easily satisfied and spiritual rather than materialist 'Eastern character':

> The East accepts material as it is or with the changes given to it upon the first encounter, and is content with the first peculiarity that is ascribed to it. […]. The West, on the other hand, always examines the material very carefully, keeps it in front of its mind, searches in it for several other characteristics and possibilities to improve them, exerts itself on getting the most comprehensive information about it and, due to these efforts, eventually transforms this matter into something else.[601]

[601] "Şark maddeyi olduğu gibi yahut ilk rastlayışında ona verdiği değişiklikle kabul eder telkin ettiği ilk hususiyetlerle yetinir. […]. Garp ise onu daima elinde evirir, çevirir zihninin karşısında tutar ondan bir takım başka hususiyetler ve mükemmelleşme imkânları arar, onun hakkında en etraflı bilgiye sahip olmağa çalışır ve bu gayretler sayesinde sonunda bu maddeyi başka bir şey denecek hale getirir."

For Tanpınar, the West's forward-moving outlook and the East's relative intellectual stasis can hence also be related to the Occident's curiosity and mental activity or the East's satisfaction with the material conditions it encounters. It follows that progress is possible only through productivity and transformation, both of which Tanpınar thinks are lacking in the (contemporary) East. Beyond his accounts of historical Anatolia shaped by bustling activity and economic exchange, it is the nationalist movement led by Atatürk that, for Tanpınar, embodies a Turkish promise of mobility that—through collective efforts—may be able to keep up with the West.

7.3.2. Civilisation: Individual and Collective Duality

"For us, the other, the other way, has always been present"

In Tanpınar's essays, individual social "embeddedness" is covered predominantly in relation to two forms of collective belonging—civilisational and national affiliation. Overall, Tanpınar's essays largely present East and West as two inherently different civilisations, even though each of them are not described as uniform in character. In one of his earlier articles on East-West issues, Tanpınar (2002 [1934], 31) argues that the East does not exist as "a single fixed geographical region" (*tek bir Şark mevcut olmadığı*). He rather suggests that the East can be regarded as an umbrella term for a variety of traditions that are tied together by a shared mentality or "mindset" (*zihniyet*). This space of common belonging for Tanpınar functions as Europe's most important Other. While the term 'Asia' could be used interchangeablely with the 'East,' "the 'West' extends beyond Europe" (*Garp Avrupa'dan fazla bir şeydir*). Despite their vague meaning, Tanpınar claims that East and West diverge fundamentally with regard to their respective principles: The "East-West issue" (*Şark ve Garp meselesi*), he argues in "Şark ve Garp" (Tanpınar 2002 [1934], 32; see also Tanpınar 2020 [1943]), entails aspects that cannot be solved on an intellectual basis since the "gap" (*açıklık*) between the fundamentals of these two civilisations reaches a level that even prevents thinking of "unification" (*birleşme*). The most important difference Tanpınar (2002 [1934], 32) mentions is the issue of "individual happiness" (*ferdî saadet meselesi*); for the West, he claims, individual satisfaction is of secondary importance, whereas for the East it is a fundamental matter and even the goal of life (ibid., 33). In the West, in turn, the highest meaning is given to the words "human" (*insan kelimesi*) and "human dignity" (*şerafeti*). The (linearly progressing) stages of Western civilisation's development, he argues, account for the victory of humanistic thought. The East's focus on individual happiness, in turn, loses sight of the picture and is the fundament of stasis as any form of change might violate this happiness. For Tanpınar, the Western mindset seems

to focus on human development, allowing for general social advancement, whereas the Eastern mentality, focusing on individual satisfaction rather than societal progress, is prone to stasis (see Chapter 7.3.1.) in the modern age. Because of these two opposing tendencies, a civilisational 'alliance' seems to be almost impossible. In Tanpınar's thinking, the Western civilisational form—for example, economic activity and legal reforms—and content—in the shape of humanistic values and spirit of discovery—authentically overlap. The West is not approached as a soulless "machine civilisation" (*makine medeniyeti*), as Peyami Safa put it (see Chapter 5.3.1.), but as a progressive, determined, creative and hence admirable civilisational space.

Throughout most of his essays, Tanpınar's fascination for the Western Other and his in-depth engagement with Western—notably European and more specifically French—culture is apparent. Time and again, he references Western cities, buildings, poetry and literature and often compares Ottoman and Turkish phenomena with Europe: "There are very few cities that have surrendered to a single architectural style as much as Istanbul. Those who compare Istanbul with Rome, Athens, Isfahan, Granada and Bruges are justified" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 132).[602] Istanbul's architectural worth is thus underlined with reference to mostly Western cities. Even when Tanpınar delves deep into Eastern spirituality, most notably in his city portrayal of Konya, the West remains there as an implicit or explicit reference. In his discussion of Mevlânâ, also known as Rumi, "one of the greatest poets of the East," for instance, Tanpınar (ibid., 76) writes:

> Just as we find in Dante, the Middle Ages of the West with its horror of suffering, its sense of social order or disorder, its yearning for compassion, its thirst for justice, all the wisdom of the Islamic East, its ecstasies and passion for union with God, are contained in Mevlânâ's 'Great Divan.'[603]

French authors play a particularly central role in Tanpınar's writings. In *Huzur*, it is Tanpınar's protagonist Mümtaz who admires French poets, most notably Baudelaire. In *Beş Şehir*, the recurring references to Alphonse de Lamartine, Gérard de Nerval or Théophile Gautier leave no doubt about Tanpınar's intellectual inspiration. This is also reflected in how Tanpınar experiences his journey to Europe in 1953. In their compilation of Tanpınar's diary notes and letters, Enginün and Kerman (2007, 54) note that "going to Europe was a major [source of]

[602] "Kendisini bir tek mimarî üslûbuna bu kadar teslim etmiş şehir pek azdır. Bu yönden İstanbul'u, Roma, Atina, Isfahan, Gırnata ve Brugge gibi şehirlere benzetenler haklıdır" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 133).

[603] "Nasıl Garp Ortaçağı, bütün azap korkusu, içtimaî düzen veya düzensizliği ile, rahmaniyet iştiyakı ve adalet susuzluğu ile Dante'nin eserinde toplanırsa, Müslüman Şark da bütün varlık hikmeti, Hak'la Hak olmak ihtirası ve cezbesiyle *Divan-ı Kebîr*'dedir" (ibid., 82).

happiness for Tanpınar."[604] In a letter to a friend, Tanpınar (quoted in Enginün and Kerman 2007, 54) euphorically states, "I am in Paris, do you understand my friend, in Paris."[605]

For Tanpınar, civilisation and nation are two different forms of belonging—the nation being a more specific identity framework than civilisation, the latter being made up of a variety of nations that all share a common mentality, as discussed above. According to Tanpınar, the 'Turkish spirit' was once embedded in the Eastern civilisational framework, from which it was forcefully disconnected in the context of the Tanzimat. Given the fact that a 'return' seems to be impossible, becoming part of Western civilisation, with a distinct Turkish national character based on continuity with selected aspects of the Ottoman past, seems to be his desired goal. While Tanpınar has a strong focus on 'Turkish' nationality, other ethnic or religious groups of the empire[606] hardly play a role in his work.[607]

As mentioned above, for Tanpınar (2020 [1951a]), modernity in the late Ottoman and early republican context relates to the question of "civilisational change" or "changes in civilisation" (2018 [1946], vii). Despite the Ottoman Empire's 'original' belonging to the Eastern hemisphere, Tanpınar regards its move towards the West as a "historical necessity" (*tarihî zaruret*) (2020 [1943], 45) or "fundamental historic destiny" (*asıl tarihî mukadderimiz*) (2002 [1934], 36). In two articles, Tanpınar (2002 [1934]; 2020 [1943]) implies that because of the Ottoman Empire's decline and Europe's colonial aggression, adaptation to Western modernity had become almost inevitable. However, the form-focused rather than content-oriented adoption of Western practices and the lack of a concomitant intellectual foundation in Turkey has led to a social "tragedy" (*trajedi*), as Tanpınar (2020 [1943], 45) argues in his article "Asıl Kaynak" ("The Original Source"). For Tanpınar (2020 [1951a], 39), the intellectually unprepared, forced and overall superficial shift from Eastern towards Western civilisation has brought about a general "sickness" (*hastalık*) or even "psychosis" (*psikoz*). This 'societal disease' has led to a far-reaching crisis of "duality" (*ikilik*). For Tanpınar, duality here refers to the inner rift and strife between two civilisations, neither of which can be embraced completely. This crisis of Turkey's modern duality plays out on both collective and individual levels: "At first, this duality began in public life, then it divided our society into two with regard to the

[604] "Avrupa'ya gitmek Tanpınar için büyük bir mutluluktur."

[605] "Paris'teyim, anladın mı kardeşim, Paris'te."

[606] Tanpınar (2002 [1934], 31) notes that when talking about "the East" (*Şark*) he mainly has the "Muslim East" (*Müslüman Şark*) in mind, though he acknowledges its inherent diversity.

[607] For an example of Tanpınar's take on what he refers to as the "Armenian affair," see 2018 [1946], 30–31.

mindset, and finally, by deepening its processes, settled inside us as individuals" (ibid., 38).[608] According to Tanpınar (ibid.), the duality crisis is the result of the discontinuity brought about by the Tanzimat reforms: "In fact, I said that this discontinuity governs our whole lives and that underneath it a certain mindset and inner human crisis are at work."[609] Based on the assumption that "a civilisation is whole"[610] to the extent that it offers comprehensive coherence, Tanpınar (ibid., 39) suggests that the shift in civilisational references Turkish people have experienced has shattered and fragmented the framework of belonging that once was 'complete.' The notion of loss is thus central to the societal and individual crises Tanpınar describes. What is lost, above all, is the notion of organic and natural civilisational belonging, leading to individual and collective trauma that cuts off the present from the past (see below). In what Tanpınar (ibid.) refers to the contemporary "doomsday crisis" that stems from experiences of discontinuity, "it is as if we have lost our existence and essence of history."[611]

This loss of Self results from an indissoluble tension between the civilisational form and content, playing out in a position torn between East and West. Since the Tanzimat times, "our society got used to the ideas and arts of the West, our people got to know the machine and the state became Europeanised" (ibid., 41).[612] Tanpınar (ibid.) argues that this acceptance of what he defines as Western practices and thinking is best understood as the result of the "collapse of the old" (*eskinin çökmesi*) rather than euphoria about the new. Society has adapted to new Western standards mostly on a superficial level, while 'inner' affiliations have largely remained Eastern. As a result, an authentic life—understood as the compatibility of form and content or the congruence between the inward and the outward—is made impossible. In Tanpınar's (ibid.) words, the "inner condition [or internal state]" (*iç vaziyeti*) of individuals and society at large was not reflected in outward changes and did not conform with "new life forms" (*hayat şekilleri*). For Turkish society, this torn duality has become an entrenched reality: "we have always lived divided into two" (ibid.).[613] And although Tanpınar (ibid.) regards some changes as positive—such as the increased participation of women in public life—he asserts that "we did not *believe* in most of what we did"[614] (emphasis added). For Tanpınar, the individual Self

[608] "Bu ikilik, evvelâ umumî hayatta başlamış, sonra cemiyetimizi zihniyet itibariyle ikiye ayırmış, nihayet ameliyesini derinleştirerek ferd olarak da içimize yerleşmiştir."

[609] "hakikatte bu devamsızlığın bütün hayatımızda hüküm sürdüğünü ve altında da bir zihniyet ve iç insan buhranının çalıştığını söylemiştim."

[610] "Bir medeniyet bir bütündür."

[611] "Sanki varlık ve tarih cevherimizi kaybetmişiz."

[612] "Cemiyetimiz Garp fikirlerine ve sanatına alıştı, insanımız makineyi tanıdı, devlet Avrupalılaştı."

[613] "Daima içimizden ikiye bölünmüş yaşadık."

[614] "yaptığımızın çoğuna tam inanmadık."

is in a harmonious state when its internal and external conditions are in congruence. For the modern Turkish individual, however, authenticity seems impossible: inscribed in the (Turkish) Self is always the (Western) Other, "[b]ecause for us, the Other, the Other way, has always been present" (ibid.).[615]

Whereas individual authenticity requires the realisation of a true inner essence, authentic collective identity correlates with the emergence of the modern notion of national community that suggests, among other aspects, a commonly shared origin among those who belong to what is imagined as the nation (see Chapter 2). Generally speaking, the idea of national identity, including nationalism as a related political claim, is based on "certain ontological assumptions, specifically naive realist beliefs about nations being somehow natural or objectively real" (Siromahov et al. 2020, 846). In line with the nationalist spirit of his time, Tanpınar's understanding of the authentic individual is extended to his imagination of the 'Turkish nation' centring around an alleged core. Tanpınar's (2020 [1943], 45) essentialist vision of a "Turkish soul" (*Türk ruhu*) that is torn between its old authentic and its new disjointed Self illustrates his nationalistically charged call for continuity. For Tanpınar (2020 [1951b], 33), practices of abolishment, neglect and oblivion under the Kemalist regime have particularly affected the cultural realms, undermining the ability of "national life" (*millî hayat*) to evolve based on continuity with the past.

As Joep Leerssen (2006, 559) has argued with regard to different European nationalist movements emerging in the long 19th century, "[a]ll nationalism is cultural nationalism": Within the nation-building process, it is particularly the "cultivation of culture" that "configures and articulates cultural traditions […] as 'national'" (ibid., 573). Tanpınar (2020 [1951b]) laments the failures of the late Ottoman and early republican cultural politics, which have prevented the cultivation of a national Turkish culture that, concomitantly, could have been part of modern globalising cultural spaces. For example, Tanpınar (ibid., 35) argues with regard to the fine arts that "We would now have a small modern art gallery with a thousand and one hundred paintings that would cultivate the taste of the country if we had bought ten paintings from abroad every year since the Tanzimat."[616] For Tanpınar, the cultivation of "taste" (*zevk*) based on both European classics and "authentic" (Ottoman-)Turkish heritage would provide a central step towards shared national belonging in republican Turkey. As he argues in a radio

[615] "Çünkü bizim için bir başkası, başka türlüsü daima mevcuttu ve mevcuttur."

[616] "Tanzimattan beri her sene dışarıdan on tablo satın alsaydık şimdi bin yüz tabloluk küçük fakat memleket zevkini besleyecek bir modern sanat galerimiz bulunurdu."

interview about the unfortunate scarcity of "knowledgeable amateurs" (*amatör yokluğu*), "[w]e like without selecting, we select or admire without thinking" (Tanpınar 2020 [n.d.], 71).[617] According to Tanpınar, it is through informed taste that "identity" (*hüviyet*) can be established among the Turkish public. The development of this taste, in turn, requires an in-depth engagement with what is evoked as cultural heritage.

The melancholic post-imperial condition of individual and collective fragmentation as well as a perceived lack of authenticity leads to stagnation, inactivity and, as a result of that, even a certain level of passive indifference. Consequently, Tanpınar (2020 [1951a], 39) argues that Turkish society is unable to embrace the change—or to fight it. Because of a general feeling of paralysis, "[w]e can neither show resistance nor completely surrender to the things that will change us."[618] This is how individual and collective standstill gets a totalitarian note: the inability to either return to Eastern civilisation or completely and without hesitation adopt Western civilisation constantly reproduces a crippling in-betweenness. The solution, for Tanpınar, is to focus on and embrace the uniqueness of the Turkish nation, as discussed in the conclusion below.

7.3.3. Temporality: Loss across Time and Space

"What we have lost in the years after the Tanzimat is this idea of continuity and integrity"

As put forth in Chapter 2 with reference to Friedman (2012 and 2015), modernity is a temporal concept, explicitly dividing the present and future from its ties with the past. It is in the continuous and conscious overcoming of times gone by in which the present and future take shape. In Turkey's specific *Gewordensein* at the intersection of post-imperial and post-colonial experiences, the perception of a radical break with the past is particularly pronounced and accelerated against the backdrop of top-down Westernisation reforms, implemented in the context of Western European hegemony. As indicated above, Tanpınar does not criticise change per se but takes issue with how Westernising tendencies since the Tanzimat have aimed at radically detaching the present from the past. As he notes in his article "Kültür ve Sanat Yollarında Gösterdiğimiz Devamsızlık" ("Discontinuities We Display on the Road of Culture and Art"), it is this state of temporal "discontinuity" (*devamsızlık*) that affects all spheres of

[617] "Seçmeden beğeniyor, düşünmeden seçiyor, yahut hayran oluyoruz."

[618] "Bizi değiştirecek şeylere karşı ne bir mukavemet gösterebiliyoruz, ne de ona tamamiyle teslim olabiliyoruz."

social life—industry, economics, arts and literature—on both collective and individual levels (Tanpınar 2020 [1951b], 37).

In "Medeniyet Değiştirmesi ve İç insan" ("The Change of Civilisation and the Inner Human"), Tanpınar (2020 [1951a], 39f) argues that individuals in the past were naturally embedded in temporal processes. With reference to the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the machine age in "the West" (*Garp*), he suggests that historical epochs used to evolve organically, corresponding with developments within the "civilisation" (*medeniyet*) and its "institutions" (*müesseseler*). In Seljuk times and in the era of Ottoman conquests, continuity was present in a similar way, with new generations building on what former generations had established: "All these people neither doubted themselves nor their antecedents" (ibid., 40).[619] Generational conflicts were regarded as normal and did not create an unbridgeable gap between past and future: "They did not experience a fragmented time. In their minds, present and past were interconnected" (ibid.).[620] In pre-national and pre-Tanzimat times, Tanpınar argues that 'family life' was well-functioning and naturally embedded in the stream of time. In such an intact civilisation, "[i]deas and beliefs branched out from the same roots, just as a substantial family inheritance becomes even larger in the generation of the grandchildren" (ibid.).[621] Because of this, "[a] stone placed somewhere would in any case become a building after two or three generations, and the character that it had gained by entering human time was imposed on its surroundings" (ibid., 41).[622] Cross-generational social interaction was also innately embedded in this living environment, including architecture and natural surroundings. With the Tanzimat, this natural course of time was torn apart: "What we have lost in the years after the Tanzimat is this idea of continuity and integrity" (ibid.).[623] Tanpınar's approach fits well into what secondary literatures describes as temporal claims of nationalism. Part of the ontological and essentialist ideology of nationalism is "a belief in the nation's temporal continuity," including seeing oneself "as part of a historically continuous community going back centuries" and standing in the tradition of "multiple generations as part of a single national organism" (Siromahov et al. 2020, 846). Oliver Lauenstein et al. (2015) have suggested replacing Benedict Anderson's (2006 [1983]) approach to the nation as an "imagined community" through the analytical tool of an "imagined family" or a "filial community," grasping how individuals feel

[619] "Bütün bu insanlar ne kendilerinden, ne de bir evvelkilerinden şüphe ediyorlar."

[620] "Onlar parçalanmış bir zamanı yaşamıyorlardı. Hâl ile mâzi zihinlerinde birbirine bağlıydı."

[621] "Hülâsa fikirler, imanlar büyük bir aile mirasının torunlarda genişlemesi gibi, aynı köklerden dalbudak salıyordu."

[622] "Böyle olduğu için de bir yere konan taş, iki üç nesil sonra behemehal bir bina oluyor, insan zamanına girmekle kazandığı şahsiyetini etrafına kabul ettiriyordu."

[623] "İşte Tanzimat'tan sonraki senelerde kaybettiğimiz şey bu devam ve bütünlük fikridir."

affiliated to larger social groups through (imagined) blood ties. In Tanpınar's nationalist stance towards Eastern civilisation, entailing a pronounced focused on the 'Turkish nation,' the "transgenerational chain of being" (Siromahov et al. 2020, 846) has been interrupted as well.

Large parts of Tanpınar's essays in *Beş Şehir* melancholically deal with historical developments and their present implications, notably the rise, saturation and fall of Ottoman lifeworlds. In Istanbul, the Ottoman demise and the economic, political and cultural implications of the city's exposure to the dominance of Western modernity have led to a decisive—and sometimes brutal—separation between past and present: "Perhaps the past of the Bosphorus attracts us more than anything because what we would like to find in it is no longer there" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 210).[624] Architecture, again, takes a particularly prominent place in Tanpınar's writings in *Beş Şehir*. As he argues in his essay on Bursa (ibid., 105), pre-Tanzimat architecture was less about building and more about creating, masterfully combining a 'spiritual' with a 'materialist' approach (see Chapter 7.3.1.). Whereas in modern times, the Eastern focus on spiritual aspects has led to a 'civilisationally' weaker position in relation to the West, past Ottoman ingenuity authentically brought form and content together: "Our ancestors did not just build; they worshipped. They wanted their strong religious faith to pass into the materials. In their hands, stone came to life, a portion of their soul was chiseled into shape."[625] For Tanpınar, the continuing relevance of architectural tradition allows for connections across fissures or ruptures over time. In his essay on Istanbul, Tanpınar (ibid., 132) highlights this continuity:

> [w]hen a civilization, or indeed life, moves on, much is lost and disappears, but there are also kingdoms that have domination over time. What is distinctive and fine in a culture is the way it clothes the spirit in unchanging colours. Architecture, ever since the Ottoman Conquest, has existed in Istanbul for generations. The true Turk [*asıl Türk*] finds his Istanbul in this architecture.[626]

This architectural tradition, however, is—as Tanpınar discusses in some length—no longer the defining feature of the city's evolving urban landscape. He is particularly explicit in deploring the disappearance of what used to be convivial places. For Tanpınar, the tendency to replace traditional housing with large buildings goes to the very heart of the connection between urban

[624] "Boğaz'ın mazisi belki de aradıklarımızı yerlerinde bulamadığımız için bizi öbürlerinden daha fazla çekiyor" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 205).

[625] "Cetlerimiz inşa etmiyorlar, ibadet ediyorlardı. Maddeye geçmesini ısrarla istedikleri bir ruh ve imanları vardı. Taş, ellerinde canlanıyor, bir ruh parçası kesiliyordu" (ibid., 110).

[626] "Bir medeniyetten öbürüne geçerken, yahut düpedüz yaşarken kaybolan şeylerin yanıbaşında zamana hükmeden gerçek saltanatlar da vardır. Bir kültürün asıl şerefli tarafı da onlar vasıtasıyla ruhlara değişmez renklerini giydirmesidir. İstanbul'da ta fetih günlerinden beri başlayan bir mimari nesillerle beraber yaşıyor. Asıl Türk İstanbul'u bu mimaride aramalıdır" (ibid., 132f).

spaces and a collective sense of belonging. Similar to his melancholic stance on the decaying Fatih *mahalle* where his protagonist Mümtaz wanders (see Chapter 7.2.1.), Tanpınar (ibid. 128) claims that "the very character of the neighbourhoods is lost."[627] Beyond the city's historical centres, he states that "[t]oday, the neighbourhoods are no more. Only scattered here and there through the city are some old, poverty-stricken former inhabitants. […]. Their faltering feet wander in search of past time" (ibid., 129).[628]

Critical of modernity's enlightenment ideal of individualism as a vehicle for national and global development (see Chapter 2.2.), Tanpınar puts forth how these developments also reflect and resonate with the divisive modern experience more generally: "Strangely, we too, like the neighbourhoods, have lost the ability to live and enjoy a communal life" (ibid.).[629] Late imperial and present day Beyoğlu, on the other hand, comes to stand for a different kind of communal experience based on entertainment and a flourishing "nightlife" (*gece hayatı*) (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 174). Westernised men who "got used to the French way of life" (*alafrangaya alışmış*) and have "adopted this lifestyle" (*bu hayat benimsenir*) mingle in the new hotels, cafés, theatres, European restaurants and pubs (ibid., 174f). Standing in stark contrast to what Tanpınar repeatedly refers to as the "old Istanbul" (*eski İstanbul*), "Beyoğlu, Janus-like, entered city life for better or for worse" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 178).[630] For Tanpınar, the loss of Istanbul's old and original outlook since the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) and the adoption of the 'new' in the shape of a lifestyle based on Westernisation and imitation led to a complete loss of "stability" (*istikrar*) in Istanbul (ibid., 179).[631] "Imitating Paris" (*Paris'i taklit etmek*), he argues, has brought the stability of "an age-old empire" (*asırlar görmüş imparatorluk*) and its capital, Istanbul, closer to its fate (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 176).

For Tanpınar, continuity and hence stability is thus lacking on not only the (broad) civilisational but also the national and communal levels. In his article "Asıl Kaynak," Tanpınar (2020 [1943], 46) mentions "continuity as the core aspect of the national idea."[632] On a political or institutional level, Tanpınar (ibid., 47) argues that the year 1923 marks "the end of this unequal struggle

[627] "Mahallenin kendisi de kayboldu" (ibid., 129).

[628] Full quote: "Bugün mahalle kalmadı. Yalnız şehrin şurasına burasına dağılmış eski, fakir mahalleliler var. Birbirlerinin hatırım sormak, bir kahvelerini içmek, geçmiş zamanı beraberce anmak için zaman zaman gömüldükleri köşeden çıkan, bin türlü zahmete katlanarak semt semt dolaşan ihtiyar mahalleliler..." (ibid., 129f).

[629] "İşin garibi, onlarla beraber toplu yaşamayı, toplu eğlenmeyi de kaybettik" (ibid., 130).

[630] "ve Beyoğlu, şehrin hayatına yapıcı ve yıkıcı çehreleriyle girer" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 175).

[631] "hiç bir istikrar kalmamıştı" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 176).

[632] "milliyet fikrinin esası olan 'devam'ı."

between the old and the new,"[633] since the newly founded Turkish nation-state officially identifies as part of the Western hemisphere. The post-imperial individual, however, continues to be affected by the temporal rupture. Tanpınar's modern Self is caught up between the old and the new, without being able to synthesise them. On the one hand, Tanpınar (2020 [1951a], 43) argues, "we are followers of and fighters for the new," but, on the other hand, "we are tied to the past."[634] This circumstance, however, is not what Tanpınar (ibid., 43) regards as the real problem: "It is fine if it stays that way. But it does not stay like that, it is getting more complicated."[635] Instead, it is the perpetual and restless swaying between the old and new, as well as the requirement to settle with the new through the oppression of the past, that burdens the modern individual: "In some periods of our lives, as the man of the new, we hear the force of the old; in other periods, as the man of the old, we live under the pressure of the new. This polarity reversal has ruled our lives for a century" (ibid., 43).[636]

In this state of temporal rupture, the past often appears like a "paradise" (*cennet*). Similar to *Huzur*'s protagonist Mümtaz's blissful dives into the sunken worlds of the Ottoman yesterday, Tanpınar's (ibid.) essays also refer to the past as a "treasure that preserves the wholeness of our soul" (*ruh bütünlüğümüzü saklayan bir hazine*). And even though a general neglect of the (Ottoman) past continues to hold sway, Tanpınar (2020 [1943], 47) also witnesses positive developments in Turkish society in the 1940s: "Today, a rightful respect for the past has begun to grow in every corner."[637] The melancholic approach to times gone by and worlds long lost can be regarded as an attempt to counter the Occidentalist emphasis on rupture, novelty and future going hand in hand with 'modernising' reforms in all those contexts that are framed as 'non-Western' (see Chapter 2.4.3). The aesthetisation of loss is a central feature of Tanpınar's text: it is his literary and political response to the uprooting features of the intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions.

As some of the quotes above have illustrated, it is noteworthy that Tanpınar as the advocate of the continuity paradigm nevertheless also embraces the modern idea of progress. He overall subscribes to the idea of temporal linearity in which the old is at least partially replaced by the new and mainly laments how, in the Turkish case, the course of transition has unfolded. Like

[633] Complete quote: "1923'te başlayan tasfiye, eski ile yeni arasındaki bu denksiz mücadeleye son verir."

[634] "Yeninin taraftarı ve mücadelecisiyiz, fakat eskiye bağlıyız."

[635] "İş bu kadar kalsa iyi. Fakat kalmıyor, daha karışıyor."

[636] "Hayatımızın bazı devirlerinde yeninin adamı olarak eskinin tazyikini duyuyoruz; bazı devirlerinde eskinin adamı olarak yeninin tazyiki altında yaşıyoruz. Bu kutub değiştirme bir asırdan beri hayatımıza hâkim."

[637] "Bugün her tarafta haklı bir mazi saygısı başladı."

Huzur's protagonist Mümtaz, who argues for the necessity of social progress, Tanpınar also argues that the attachments to the past should persist into the present and future as well. As discussed above, Tanpınar (2002 [1934]; 2020 [1960]) attests that the West takes a more curious and scientific approach towards the material world than the East. For Tanpınar, it is curiosity-cum-rationality that enables Western societies to progressively move forward and proactively build their futures. Actively building and maintaining harmony between past, present and future, Turkey—if emancipated from disruptive temporal restlessness—could become more agile, creative and productive and, eventually, would be able to achieve progress based on the Western model.

7.3.4 Gender: Male Gaze on the City

"The truth about Istanbul is that she is like a woman"

While women do play a (notably romantic) role in Tanpınar's literary texts, explicit references to more detailed discussions of gender and gender relations are scarce in his essays. What stands out, however, is that Tanpınar seems to embrace the fact that women have entered the public sphere as one of the rather positive effects of the Tanzimat period: "Our women have entered life" (*Kadınımız hayata girdi*) (Tanpınar 2020 [1951a], 41). Despite this affirmative appraisal, Tanpınar also highlights in the same article that the *kadın meselesi* is not backed by a broad majority within society, like many of the top-down developments induced by the Kemalist reforms. That women can be key protagonists of the worlds they live in is something Tanpınar's essays seem to largely ignore. Throughout his writings, both past and present are mostly discussed in male terms. Tanpınar's essays in *Beş Şehir*, for instance, provide detailed insights into the thinking of Ottoman and European intellectuals, engage with everyday scenes—including with "traditional young men" and "old, rich landowners" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 23)—and describe the author's encounters with the people he meets during his stays in Ankara, Erzurum, Konya, Bursa and Istanbul. Women appear only at the margins, if at all. From Rumi to Mimar Sinan, Tanpınar's version of the past is a world of men, continuously illustrated and exemplified by the numerous (male) poets, (male) musicians and (male) thinkers he mentions throughout the more than 200 pages of *Beş Şehir*.[638] It is, however, not only the glorious parts of past and present that seem to be reserved for men: decline, corruption, struggle, defeat and destruction are also predominantly male experiences in Tanpınar's writing, from Sultan

[638] For an example of a listing of an illustrious range of men, see Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 14.

Abdülaziz to the soldiers dying in Atatürk's Independence War. Maybe this is why his literary male protagonists seem to struggle most with the post-imperial condition.

Maybe unsurprisingly and in line with many other writers of his time, Tanpınar's work thus reflects a strong male gaze. Apart from casual references to social questions involving women—including that, "as in all traditional societies, the women were highly protected and were even more fanatical than the men in their concern for equality of age and social class in their marriages" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 27)—Tanpınar's essays make space for female characters mostly with regard to love and romance. In his article "Aşka Dair" ("About Love"), Tanpınar (2020 [1941], 148) claims that "[t]he woman's soul likes to be praised and appreciates it even in the most constant loves and complains about its absence because it senses an important manifestation of love in these little attentions."[639] Women also appear as objects of desire or in reference to beauty. In Konya, it is a woman's voice from inside a prison that mesmerises the young Tanpınar (2018 [1946]: 83):

> I used to wait for her voice in the evening hours. […]. Sometimes she sang the shameless dance tune that begins with 'The little dog stops anyone entering your bedroom'. I've never come across any other songs of ours that, by its rhythm and melody, comments so openly on carnal pleasure.[640]

In his essay on Istanbul, in turn, Tanpınar discusses the different abilities of "Christian women," "Moslem women" and "Armenian women" to roam around freely (see Chapter 7.2.1.), and reports how in the year 1833 the French author and statesman Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) "describes the Christian women returning from their country homes, their boats laden with baskets of flowers, just as we can see today on the Bosphorus and Island ferryboats" (ibid., 205).[641] More generally, he likens the city of Istanbul itself repeatedly to female beauty (as Mümtaz does with his lover Nuran in *Huzur*). For example, Tanpınar (ibid., 133) reveals that

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[639] "Kadın ruhunun methedilmekten hoşlanması ve en devamlı aşklarda bile buna kıymet vermesi ve yokluğundan şikayet etmesi bu küçük dikkatlerde aşkın mühim bir tezahürünü sezmesinden gelir." Tanpınar goes on to argue: "This attention and admiration should not be heard only with regard to the details that are perfect and beautiful, but even the dissonant parts should be praised in the same way. In fact, as Marcel Proust said, sometimes the points that connect us the most to the body we love are the things that are far from this perfection. These are the weak points that reinforce our sense of perestival with the corresponding feelings of compassion and mercy." ("Bu dikkat ve hayranlık sadece mükemmel ve güzel olan teferruatta duyulmaz ahenksiz olan taraflar dahi aynı suretle taziz edilir. Hatta Marcel Proust'un dediği gibi bazen sevdiğimiz vücutte bizi en çok bağlayan noktalar belki de bu mükemmeliyetten uzak olan şeylerdir. Bu zaaf noktalarıdır ki mukabili olan şefkat ve merhamet duygularıyla perestiş hislerimizi takviye ederler.")

[640] "Akşam saatlerinde onun türkü söylemesini âdeta beklerdim. […]. Bazen de 'Odasına varılmıyor köpekten' mısraıyle başlayan çok hâyâsız oyun havasını söylerdi. Bu sonuncusunun havası ve ritmi kadar ten hazlarını zalimce tefsir eden başka eserimizi tanımadım" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 90).

[641] Full quote: "Filhakika Lamartine İstanbul'da geçirdiği bu 1833 baharında Hıristiyan teb'adan hanımların sandallarının arkasına koydukları çiçek sepetleriyle, tıpkı bugün Boğaz ve Ada vapurlarında olduğu gibi sayfiye yerlerinden dönüşlerini anlatır" (ibid., 200).

"[t]he truth about Istanbul is that she is like a woman you don't love at all or like a much-loved woman whose every mood and detail you dwell on with passion."[642] In the context of arguing why in one aspect Istanbul is even "slightly superior" to cities like Rome and Athens, Tanpınar notes:

> For Istanbul is not only a city of many monuments and monumental works of art; its natural setting enhances their appearance, like beautiful women whose natural gifts are offset and enriched by ornaments and splendid garments (ibid., 132).[643]

One of the few exceptions where a female character takes centre stage in Tanpınar's essays is his account of "the magic memory of my great grandmother" (ibid., 17) dating from before the downfall of the empire.[644] Together with his family, little Ahmed Hamdi is on an 11-day journey from an Eastern province to Erzurum when his great-grandmother—whom he refers to as grandma—read stories and verses "and tried to teach me the names of the stars" (ibid.).[645] For Tanpınar, his great-grandmother provides him with a different approach to the world:

> Apart from Yemen and Mecca, places she knew in her young days, all the geographical knowledge of this woman who came from Trebizond originated in the legend of Aşık Kerem.[646] It was a knowledge more like religion than science. She regarded all streams and mountains as eternal living creatures. Poetry, religion, the yearning for one's country, the experiences of life, the remnants of belief like the successive lives that flit through our dreams, elevated mountains and streams to the rank of sacred and saintly beings. Sometimes she would summon me to her camel to tell me the name or the story, if there was one, of some eternal figure we would pass in the distance, or would soon approach, and she would recite lines from Yunus[647] and Aşık Kerem (ibid., 18).[648]

In many ways, Tanpınar's great-grandmother—a woman from modern-day Trabzon without formal education—offers alternative insights and wisdom compared to those of the men that appear elsewhere in his writings as craftsmen, leaders or intellectuals. Her spirituality is inherently connected to their natural surroundings, and her accounts have a palpable impact on

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642 "İstanbul, ya hiç sevilmez; yahut çok sevilmiş bir kadın gibi sevilir; yani her haline, her hususiyetine ayrı bir dikkatle çıldırarak" (ibid., 134).

643 "Çünkü, îstanbul sadece âbide ve âbidemsi eserlerin bol olduğu şehir değildir. Şehrin tabiatı bu eserlerin görünmesine ayrıca yardım eder. İstanbul her süsün, her kumaşın kendisine yaraştığı, ayrı ayrı hususiyetlerini açtığı o cömert yaratılışh güzellere benzer" (ibid., 133).

644 "büyülü hâtırası" (ibid., 27).

645 "bana öğretmeye çalıştığı yıldız adları" (ibid.).

646 Tanpınar refers to the love story between Kerem and Aslı as narrated in popular 16th-century Turkish-Azerbaijani poetry.

647 Here, the influential poet and Islamic Sufi mystic Yunus Emre (1238–1328) is referenced.

648 "Bu Trabzonlu kadının bütün coğrafya bilgisi memleketiyle gençliğinde gittiği Yemen, Mekke bir yana bırakılırsa, bu hikâyeden gelirdi. Bu, bilgiden ziyade dine benzeyen bir coğrafya idi. Bütün akarsulara, dağlara canlı, ebedî varlıklar gibi bakardı. Sanki şiir, din, gurbet duygusu, hayat tecrübesi, birbiri ardınca ya şanmış hayatların rüyalarımızda birbirine karışmasına çok benzeyen bir yığın inanış artığı bu dağları, dereleri onun için ilâhî varlıklar yahut veliler haline getirmişlerdi. İkide bir beni mahfesinin yanma çağırarak biraz sonra uzağından geçeceğimiz veya huzuruna varacağımız ebediyetin adını, varsa hikâyesini söyler, Yunus'tan, Âşık Kerem'den beyitler okurdu" (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 28).

her great-grandson. Tanpınar (ibid., 19) recounts his dreams on this journey, of mountain peaks and mist reminiscent of "the countenance of a primeval God," and relates them to a more general consciousness:

> my childish fancy was under an influence whose roots I guessed were deep but to this very day still unknown. In the darkness of the tent, I thought that all things were swimming in magic chemistry, washed and cleaned and made greater by the gleaming stars.[649]

These deep roots then point to a somewhat different kind of belonging than that usually presented with reference to Ottoman architecture or ancient texts: as one of the very few female characters in Tanpınar's essays, his great-grandmother seems to offer a more intuitive approach to questions of identity and connection. A similar figure is introduced in the very beginning of *Beş Şehir*'s Istanbul chapter, where Tanpınar evokes the memory of an old, wise woman whose geographical knowledge of Istanbul's "magical" water springs impressed the young Tanpınar: "When I was a child, my father and I made the acquaintance of an old woman in an Arabian city. She often fell ill, and when the fever began, she would recite the names of Istanbul's springs: Çırcır, Karakulak, Şifa, Hünkâr, Taşdelen, Sırmakes…" (ibid., 115).[650] While not independent from questions of the dwindling empire, nation-building processes and Westernisation, the old women's accounts broaden the notion of what may count for ensuring continuity between past, present and future. Although Tanpınar's discussion of his experiences with his great-grandmother and the other elderly woman hardly cover four pages in *Beş Şehir,* it provides an important and insightful addition to what women in early republican Turkish literature are or can be beyond (a male perspective on) romance, desire and beauty.

7.4. In a Nutshell: Tanpınar's Take on Self and Other

In line with the examination of work by Peyami Safa (Chapter 5) and Halide Edib (Chapter 6), this chapter has employed the Occidentalist Lens (Chapter 2) to engage with Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's oeuvre. Taken together, the analysis of *Huzur* and Tanpınar's essays—notably those from the compilations *Yaşadığım Gibi* and *Beş Şehir*—provides a rich array of insights into how the author approaches and tries to deal with Western-dominated modernity. Again, the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens offer a heuristic that allows for a cross-cutting synopsis.

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[649] "benim çocuk hayalim, bugün bile ne olduğunu bilmediğim, fakat hangi derin kaynaklardan geldiğini az çok tahmin edebildiğim bu tesirin altında idi. Çadırın karanlığında, her yanın, her şeyin sihirli bir kimya içinde yüzdüğünü, yıldız parıltılarıyle yıkanıp temizlendiğini, içten büyüdüğünü sanıyordum" (ibid., 29).

[650] "Çocukluğumda, bir Arabistan şehrinde ihtiyar bir kadın tanımıştık. Sık sık hastalanır, humma başlar başlamaz istanbul sularını sayıklardı: — Çırçır, Karakulak, Şifa suyu, Hünkâr suyu, Taşdelen, Sırmakeş..." (ibid., 116).

In terms of *spatiality* (and the spectrum centring around the binary pair of im_mobility), Tanpınar's work contains a number of themes and tropes connected to stasis and movement. Physical im_mobilities are evoked through the mobile Self as *flâneur* (and *flâneuse*), representing new experiences and possibilities of engagement in the modern public space. In *Huzur*, Mümtaz and Nuran's movement contrasts İhsan's sickness, his forced immobility that metaphorically resonates with the auto-image of an immobile East in the 'waiting room of modernity.' At the same time, Mümtaz as a melancholiac embodies the gradually immobile Self: confronted with the unsettling parameters of the post-imperial condition, Mümtaz's dreamy melancholy acts as a signifier of his increasing inactivity and mental decline.

In his essays, Tanpınar connects the general societal "crisis" (*buhran*) emerging from the hasty Tanzimat reforms with social stasis. It is the hastened attempt to engender a "change of civilisation" (*medeniyet değiştirmesi*) that has caused both the individual and collective inability to move forward. Tanpınar's auto-image strongly draws on notions of immobility and evokes the restless, melancholic male intellectual as a key figure of Turkey's post-imperiality. The psychological state of being caught up between *alafranga* and *alaturka*—often leading to the "abandoning" (*vazgeçmek*) of traditional ways of being—leads to an impasse. Against the backdrop of the speed of Western modernity, *huzursuzluk*—for Tanpınar, one of the central terms of the 20th century—captures the feeling of restlessness felt by those who are unable to move forward, connected to a form of melancholic stasis. Eastern mobility, Tanpınar claims, is mostly located in the Ottoman past, where both economic dynamism and cultural ingenuity formed the basis of flourishing societies in cities like Istanbul, Erzurum and Bursa. It is the balanced combination of materialist and spiritual approaches that made the East productive and progressive. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's nationalist movement in Anatolia is evoked as the potential starting point for a new age of mobility in the Republic of Turkey. In the recovery of past dynamism, literature also plays an important role: reversing the Occidentalist dichotomy of mobility relating to the new and stagnation relating to the old, Tanpınar argues that the literary imagination of the past is intrinsically dynamic.

With regard to *civilisation* (and the spectrum unfolding around the binary pair of form_content), Tanpınar's work presents East and West as inherently different civilisational spaces that are difficult to reconcile. With the West as agile and progressive, the East is described as somewhat belated. While Turkey joining Western civilisation is referred to as a "historical necessity," its inner affiliations remain torn. Faced with an intertwined post-imperial and post-colonial condition, Turkish society must deal with a loss of significance and feelings of

meaninglessness. Ties with the Eastern civilisational framework have been formally severed but continue to evolve under the surface of Westernisation. Amid the fragments and ruins of the past, a complex individual and collective search for authenticity unfolds. For Tanpınar, authentic life in republican Turkey requires a certain level of continuation with the Ottoman past. The incongruence between form (oriented towards the West) and content (closely connected to the East) is the main reason for melancholy and anxiety.

Tanpınar's novels and essays engage with how the West—and Western modernity, more generally—have shaped the cultural and political realms of both the late Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. At the centre of his argument stands the theory of the 'civilisational shift' from East to West that had been superficially implemented since the Tanzimat. Tanpınar does not criticise the West per se but challenges how Westernisation efforts have been implemented. In his essays, Turkey's state of in-betweenness—between (Western) modernity and (Eastern) tradition—is described as a "duality" (*ikilik*) that becomes visible in all parts of daily life. Additionally, *Huzur*'s discussions of Self and Other make recurrent reference to this dichotomy of East and West (*şark* and *garp*). The West, generally meaning Europe, is mostly referred to as an abstract, imagined space though not geographically specified. French literature and culture, however, often function as a metonym for Europe as a whole. The meta-image of Europe—what Tanpınar's protagonists think of the image Europeans allegedly have of Turkey—is one that constantly judges and evaluates. The West—or Europe—as an economically and intellectually progressive and superior space is contrasted with Turkey's still somewhat Eastern Self, which is economically underdeveloped and culturally ambivalent. Turkey's national Self remains in abeyance between the two poles. The overlapping dichotomies of present Self versus past Other, as well as Eastern Self versus Western Other, form uncertain and ambivalent auto-images. For Tanpınar, a denial of one's own civilisational heritage for the sake of progress not only leads to feelings of inferiority but also undermines any meaningful notions of advancement.

When it comes to *temporality* (and the spectrum centring around the binary pair of past_future), Tanpınar's work evokes the substantial and ongoing ruptures between an increasingly distant past and an unclear future. Both *Huzur* and Tanpınar's essays "engage with the split between past and present that affects individuals not only on a personal level but also collectively" (Chovanec 2022, 196). Melancholy (about the lost past) and anxiety (about an unknown future) are defining features of early republican Turkey. In *Huzur*, the psychological effects of this inner in-betweenness are illustrated through Mümtaz, whose anxiety and melancholy represent

his inability to find his Self in the unsettling present. Mümtaz encapsulates the notion of escapism from that challenging situation, focusing on the treasures of the past in order to evade the uncertainties of the 'now.' Similar to Orhan Pamuk's notion of *hüzün*, "described as a typically Istanbulian feeling that cannot be grasped by foreigners, the ability to connect with Ottoman music" is depicted in Tanpınar's work as one of the positive features distinguishing the Eastern Self from Western Others (ibid.). Overall, Tanpınar argues for continuity with the past and a more explicit engagement with Turkish society's "established roots" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 288). With foresight, "Tanpınar warns against the long-term effects of Kemalist state-orchestrated changes in Turkish culture, arguing that this might lead to a divided society" (Chovanec 2022, 197) in which one group is the "mangled remnant of traditional culture and the other newly settled tenants of the modern world" (Tanpınar 2008 [1949], 288).[651] Tanpınar's analysis somewhat foreshadows today's polarised political camps in Turkey that, in broad strokes, represent conservative Muslims, on the one hand, and the Kemalist secular population, on the other.

In terms of *gender* (and the spectrum unfolding around the binary of fe_male), Tanpınar's work reflects a strong occupation with the masculine Self. His essays approach history most notably through a focus on male artists, architects, authors and leaders. The downfall of Empire as well as developments relating to Western-dominated modernity, such as the reformation of Turkey's legal system, are identified as central challenges to the established patriarchal order and its social norms. The experience of contingency that rests at the heart of the post-imperial condition can be predominantly understood as based on the collapse of a male-dominated order. *Huzur*'s main protagonist Mümtaz embodies the struggles of shattered masculinity in early republican Turkey. Exaggerated male dreaminess and melancholy, for Tanpınar, lead to immobility, the inability to come to terms with the realities of the present, the loss of love and health. Beyond the emphatic account of his great-grandmother's take on questions of spirituality and belonging in *Bes Şehir*, Tanpınar's essays make space for female characters mostly with regard to love and romance or as objects of desire and references to beauty. An exception is *Huzur*'s Nuran. Nuran as the female Other is described as pragmatic and rooted in the present, and more stable than her struggling male counterparts. Tanpınar's account of Nuran as a divorced woman and single mother highlights the challenges of a female existence in a male-dominated environment—despite the entry of women into the public sphere during the Tanzimat period.

[651] "Birisi eski bir medeniyetin enkazı, öbürü yeni bir medeniyetin henüz taşınmış kiracısı olmasınlar. İkisinin arasında bir kaynaşma lazım" (ibid., 251).

As a woman who constantly needs to fight for her wellbeing and freedom, Nuran's primary goal is to be herself. While male protagonists get lost in the spaces between past and future or East and West, Nuran thus offers an alternative auto-image in early republican Turkey that pragmatically embraces the present.

Overall, according to Tanpınar's work analysed in this chapter, early republican Turkey faces the challenge of having to deal with rapid—and often violent—transformations that produce a bifurcated Self, melancholic, anxious and insecure about how to deal with Western-dominated modernity. What, then, is Tanpınar's solution to that general dilemma? By and large, Tanpınar suggests embracing the "tragedy" (*trajedi*) of "duality" (*ikilik*) as "in-betweenness" for the national cause. Being located somewhere between East and West is what makes the "Turkish nation" exceptional: "The spirit of the contemporary Turk is characterised by a peculiarity that separates itself from the nations of which it is a contemporary, a tragedy that makes it the owner of a very individual fortune" (Tanpınar 2020 [1943], 45).[652] The in-between, so to say, is due to Turkey's uniqueness and should be capitalised on, also foreshadowing notions of Turkey as a connecting bridge between Europe and the Middle East that would come to play a central role later on.

One step towards the ability to take advantage of Turkey's in-betweenness, for Tanpınar, involves increasing historical awareness across Turkish society in order to learn from the mistakes of the past, notably attempts at reform in the Tanzimat period. For Tanpınar, the "civilisational change" inaugurated by the Tanzimat was necessary, but it unfolded the wrong way. Its top-down attempts of emulating Western forms led not only to experiences of temporal discontinuity and detachment from cultural values but also to individual and collective inauthenticity, immobility and shattered notions of masculinity: "Is this a vicious cycle that we cannot exit? Of course not. But in order to find ways to get away from it, we will have to consider how it settled" (Tanpınar 2020 [1951a], 44).[653] Through historical awareness, Tanpınar posits, Turkish society can come to terms with the mistakes of the past and prepare for a better future.

This heightened awareness, Tanpınar argues, can contribute to re-establishing continuities with past—individual and collective—experiences. Continuity with the heritage and values of

[652] "Bugünkü Türk ruhunun, kendisini muasırı olduğu milletlerden ayıran bir hususiliği, onu çok ferdî bir talihin sahibi yapan bir trajedisi var."

[653] "Bu, içinden çıkamayacağımız bir fâsid daire midir? Elbette ki hayır. Fakat ondan kurtulma çarelerini arayabilmek için ve nasıl yerleştiğini mütalaa etmemiz lâzım gelecek."

Ottoman lifeworlds, in particular, are to be re-utilised in the national context: Tanpınar suggests that 'Turkish' literature, 'Turkish' music or a reappraisal of Ottoman history as Turkish history can be made use of for Turkey's national present. As Eric Hobsbawm (2000 [1983]) famously argued, cultural practices framed as national heritage in the wake of modern nation-building processes can be understood as a set of "invented traditions." They imply "continuity with a suitable historic past" (Hobsbawm (2000 [1983]), 1)—a past that links the alleged origin of the "imagined community" (Anderson 2006 [1983]) with the necessity of national unification in the present and a vision of progress in the future. Broadly in line with this reasoning, Tanpınar's nationalism wants to create the nation from (a selected set of) ruins of the past.

Finally, then, the question is how this continuity with the past should unfold in concrete, as well as individual, terms. As Tanpınar writes on the last pages of *Beş Şehir*, "The most pressing problem for all of us is, where and how shall we relate to the past?" (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 211).[654] Tanpınar's suggestion centres on "nostalgia" (*dâussıla*):

> Perhaps nostalgia is a realm of its own, and we can best explain the past with its help. To the silent melody of the *ney* our dead come to life again with their well-loved faces, and because this is the way it is, by its light we can live more deeply, more genuinely in the present" (ibid., 211f).[655]

The fate of *Huzur*'s main protagonist Mümtaz and the problematisation of 'Eastern lethargy' in relation to Western activism in a number of Tanpınar's essays, however, suggest that a nostalgic-melancholic take on the experience of loss is only one part of Tanpınar's approach. According to a 1950 interview, Tanpınar wants to awaken his readers from the intellectual lethargy that, for him, is a key feature of melancholy and depression in post-imperial Turkey: "There is a mental laziness in our country. […]. If the book [*Huzur*] helps to erase this laziness, I will be content" (Evliyagil 1950, 2).[656] Tanpınar's essay collection *Beş Şehir* ends with an emphatic plea to embrace the present moment as a path towards a better future:

> What we must do is to surrender to the winds of the present, to the lively fertilizing winds of the new. They will carry us off to a world of energy and happiness where beauty and goodness, understanding and dreams, will go hand in hand (Tanpınar 2018 [1946], 212).[657]

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[654] "En büyük meselemiz budur; mazi ile nerede ve nasıl bağlanacağız." (Tanpınar 2019 [1946], 206).

[655] "Çünkü bu dâussılanın kendisi başlıbaşına bir âlemdir. Onunla geçmiş hayatın en iyi izahını yapabiliriz; bu sessiz ney nağmesinde ölülerimiz en fazla bağlı olduğumuz yüzleriyle canlanırlar ve biraz da böyle olduğu için, onun ışığında daha içli, daha kendimiz olan bir bugünü yaşamamız kabildir" (ibid. 207).

[656] "Memleketimizde zihnî bir tenbellik var. (…). Eğer kitab bu tenbelliği silmeğe yardım ederse mesud olurum."

[657] "Bizim yapacağımız yeni, müstahsil ve canlı bugünün rüzgârına kendimizi teslim etmektir. O bizi güzelle iyinin, şuurla hulyanın el ele vereceği çalışkan ve mesut bir dünyaya götürecektir" (ibid.).

8. Conclusion: Narrating Belonging in the Early Republic

This dissertation has set out to gain a better understanding of how Self and Other are imagined in early republican Turkish literature. Intellectual debates in Turkey after the First World War were not only shaped by the momentous loss of Empire—what I have discussed as Turkey's *post-imperial condition*—but also by what I have referred to as the *Occidentalist condition,* i.e., the experience of Western-dominated modernity. Occidentalism, a post-colonial concept used to capture the globality of relative Western dominance in and through modernity, has confronted individuals and collectives across the world with specific—European—civilisational standards. To examine how literary texts engage with the often-dichotomous thought structures Occidentalism has fostered, I have introduced the *Occidentalist Lens* as a four-dimensional heuristic comprising key dimensions centring around a set of binaries, namely spatiality (im_mobility), civilisation (form_content), temporality (past_future) and gender (fe_male). Through the analysis of images of Self (*auto*) and Other (*hetero*), I have utilised and further developed imagology as a methodology rooted in comparative literature to unpack auto- and hetero-images that unfold not only with a focus on national characteristics but also with reference to broader frameworks of belonging, notably notions of East and West.

The aim of this thesis has been to examine images of Self and Other evoked in canonised novels and additional non-literary texts of prominent Turkish writers who shaped intellectual discourses in the early republican era. More specifically, I have focused on the post-imperial narrative as a form of narration dealing with the downfall of the empire and the subsequent reorganisation of a political, social and cultural order as a particularly suitable source for the study of auto- and hetero-images. Literary and non-literary post-imperial narratives by Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hami Tanpınar have been examined as paradigmatic examples for the period under scrutiny. With their influential—both modernist and conservative—views on Turkish society, the works of these three authors provide illustrative insights into a specific historical context shaped by far-reaching transformation: the modernising reforms in Kemalist Turkey were designed to position the newly founded nation-state within the civilisational framework of the West, a process that was perceived as an, at least partially, alienating endeavour by those who argued for maintaining a connectedness with the imperial past. Embracing the necessity of progress while also advocating for continuity, Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar discussed in their writings how permanence and change could be reconciled. Conceptually, I have approached their canonised novels *Fatih Harbiye* (Safa), *Sinekli Bakkal* (Edib) and *Huzur* (Tanpınar) as well as a broad variety of additional texts and

essays from an intertwined post-imperial and post-colonial perspective. Both Europe (the dominant image of Occidentalism) and the Ottoman Empire (the dominant image shaping post-imperiality) emerge from these two perspectives as key references for the Self-Other nexus in early republican Turkey.

This chapter concludes the dissertation at hand. I first highlight the central conceptual and methodological contributions (8.1.) and then address the central research question by providing a comparative synthesis of how works by Safa, Edib and Tanpınar deploy images of Self and Other in order to makes sense of belonging (8.2.). The final section (8.3.) summarises the key findings and points to potential vantage points for future research. The epilogue (9) following this chapter reflects on how insights from the immediate post-imperial narrative—stemming from those with first-hand experience of the downfall of Empire—relate to more recent literary attempts to address post-imperial realities in Turkey.

8.1. The Occidentalist Lens, Imagology and the Post-Imperial Narrative

As an interdisciplinary study at the interface of comparative literature and Turkish Studies, this dissertation contributes to debates in a number of fields. First, the central conceptual innovation of this dissertation centres around the Occidentalist Lens as a heuristic to analyse the experience of Western-dominated modernity. Chapter 2 has discussed modernity as a macro-social phenomenon shaped by processes of disruption and transformation in various fields of society, and modernism as its expressive dimension. Post-colonial theory has been introduced to challenge traditional temporalisations, localisations and conceptualisations of modernity and to stress the global impact of European imperialism. Following Hall (1996), I have argued that the post-colonial also matters for spaces that were not formally colonised in terms of direct rule but were affected by Western imperialism through other means, such as unequal economic relations. With reference to Mardin (1989), Zarakol (2011) and Ağır (2022), I have introduced the late Ottoman Empire as a space strongly affected by the premises of Western-dominated modernity. I have illustrated how the Ottoman modern experience entailing changes across social spheres—including technology, culture and gender relations—went hand in hand with an increasing marginalisation of the empire in relation to the dominant economic and cultural Western European centres of the new age, notably Paris and London. Expanding on Venn (2000), I have discussed Occidentalism as the result of an economic, political and ideological historical process constituting global Western dominance. At the heart of Occidentalism, the

dichotomy between the West (the Occident) and the East (the Orient) has (re-)produced uneven frameworks of belonging, representation and evaluation.

In order to grasp how contexts across the globe engage with the Occidentalist condition as the experience of Western-dominated modernity, I have developed the Occidentalist Lens as an analytical framework with four dimensions, each unfolding across spectra that centre around binary poles: spatiality, civilisation, temporality and gender. Instead of encouraging binary thinking, the Lens acknowledges the dominance of modernity's dual oppositions as a starting point to examine how and to what extent binaries are reproduced, challenged and/or transformed. By doing so, the Lens offers a framework for analysis that can applied to all locations and experiences affected by the dominance of Western modernity, irrespective of their specific temporal and spatial situatedness. To start with, the spatial dimension of the Occidentalist imaginary unfolds with regard to the binary set of im_mobility, positioning the mobile West in opposition to the immobile East. It reflects Occidentalism's positive emphasis on movement, its appraisal of productivity, progress and transformation, and its rejection of standstill or stagnation. The dimension of civilisation, in turn, tackles Europe becoming the West and hence the superior Standard of Civilisation. Unfolding across the binary of form_content, a focus on civilisation engages with questions of individual and collective authenticity and originality as opposed to imitation and copy, against the backdrop of the Occidentalist dictum to modernise in order to approximate the European level of social, industrial and cultural enhancement. The dimension of temporality focalises on continuous linear development and the appraisal of the new as opposed to the old. The past_future pair stands for the Occidentalist assumption of a progressive, future-oriented West as opposed to a backward East. The gender dimension, finally, stresses how identity formations along the poles of male and female are intertwined with modernity and the nation-state's demand for 'new men' and 'new women.' Within Occidentalism, the West is generally associated as dominant and male, whereas the East is portrayed as passive, female and penetrable.

Through the Occidentalist Lens, then, this dissertation's conceptual innovation contributes to modernity studies through a focus on contested belonging and complex positionalities between what is imagined as East and West. It contributes to modernism studies, in turn, by bringing the early republican Turkish literary context to the fore. It further speaks to post-colonial debates by introducing a four-dimensional heuristic for the study of modern experiences — regardless of location or time in the context of the Occidentalist condition. Establishing a qualitative framework for the study of the modern experience, this approach can prove useful in expanding

our understanding of how other contexts at different points in time have engaged with the premises of Western-dominated modernity.

Second, this dissertation has expanded the application of imagology as a methodological toolkit for the operationalisation of the Occidentalist Lens. Traditionally focusing on the analysis of (national) images of Self and Other in (literary) texts emanating from Western Europe, I have discussed how imagology can be brought in contact with post-colonial theory and with geographical contexts beyond the Occidentalist core. Building on Leerssen (2016; 2021), I have argued that the auto-image of Europe as progressive and modern has become a key reference within Western-dominated modernity, urging those contexts that are considered as part of the 'non-West' to catch up through modernisation. As the overview of European and Ottoman auto-images in relation to the respective Other has revealed, the Ottoman Empire, and then Turkey, were often perceived as positioned somewhat at the margins of Europe (and Asia alike) and played a key role in European constructions of auto-images, demarcating a civilised and advanced Self from the barbaric and backward Eastern Other. The late imperial Ottoman discourse, in turn, increasingly engaged with the question of whether Western civilisational standards were achievable for and compatible with Ottoman traditions. After the First World War, discussions surrounding the national auto-image of the Turk were disentangled from the past Ottoman Self but continued to be informed by similar questions of modernisation. I have argued that images of Self and Other in early republican Turkey were formulated both in the context of the Occidentalist condition as the global experience of Western-dominated modernity and against the backdrop of the post-imperial condition, i.e., the experience of a lost empire and the reorganisation of social, political and cultural order(s). Consequently, both images of Europe and images of Empire play a crucial role in early republican narrations of belonging that were formulated in a rapidly Westernising political framework. In the context of early republican nation-building, the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens—approached through imagological tools—help us to understand how authors engage with images of increasing levels of mobility (spatiality); correlations between local, national, imperial and civilisational affiliations (civilisation); the formulation of a Turkish identity between past and future (temporality); and the characteristics of the 'new' Turkish man or woman (gender).

More generally, this dissertation thus contributes to the development of imagology as a methodology by applying it to contexts beyond a limited set of (often European) spatial and temporal units. Centring around Western-dominated modernity and the East-West dichotomy as an important contextual factor, the analysis of auto- and hetero-images in this dissertation

also goes beyond the focus on national character(s). It suggests that imagology can be productively applied to images at different scales that are key for identity production—such as 'Eastern' and 'Western' civilisations—and provides illustrative insight into diverse images of belonging. Tackling the often-criticised Eurocentric bias of imagology, I have laid out how imagological research can be fruitfully combined with post-colonial theory in order to unpack how power relations at various levels are inscribed in textual image production. This dissertation suggests that a more detailed engagement with Turkish literature—at the threshold or interstices between East and West—provides a particularly insightful contribution to broadening the sources, languages and experiences with which imagological research has so far been concerned.

Third, I have presented the (post-)imperial narrative as a particularly insightful source for studying the Occidentalist condition through auto- and hetero-images. The imperial and post-imperial narrative—formulated in relation to existing or disintegrated empires, respectively—engage with questions of order and related visions of belonging. As the two short case studies in Chapter 4 have shown, the imperial narrative in the late Ottoman context is intrinsically intertwined with the modern experience. By means of Ahmet Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi* (1875) and Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* (1896), I have outlined key themes of the imperial novel that continued to be important reference points in the early republican period. Exaggerated consumerism and materialism, the increasing insignificance of spiritual values and the proliferating *alafranga* lifestyle, embodied by the figure of the extremely Westernised *züppe*, are indicative of imperial demise and stand for the fear of losing an original and authentic cultural Self. Building on Magerski's (2018) work on the Austrian context, I have discussed the post-imperial narrative in early republican Turkey as a literary form emerging from the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. I have suggested to refer to texts written by authors who lived in imperial realms and witnessed the decline of the imperial order first hand as *immediate* literary post-imperial narratives. *Mediate* literary post-imperial narratives, in turn, engage with Empire from the perspective of authors who have no personal memory of imperial times.

The literary and non-literary immediate post-imperial narratives by Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar have stood at the centre of this dissertation. All three authors were key representatives of early republican Turkey's literary modernism and part of a secular, yet conservative intelligentsia. Their work was formulated at a geo-historical juncture characterised by national Turkey's confrontation with the far-reaching social and cultural ramifications of the

dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire as a political order intertwined with the general context of the Occidentalist condition. The three writers' post-imperial oeuvres have proven to be a rich source for the imagological analysis of images of Self and Other. The dissertation has predominantly focused on three post-imperial novels that were early included in Turkey's national literary canon, namely Safa's *Fatih Harbiye* (1931), Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936) and Tanpınar's *Huzur* (1948). It has further included a variety of additional post-imperial narratives that have proven to be insightful from an imagological perspective: Safa's travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* (1938), his book *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar* (1938) and articles from his *Cumhuriyet* columns such as "San'at ve Edebiyat"; Edib's *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (1926) and her two books *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin* (1930) and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (1935b); Tanpınar's essay collection *Yaşadığım Gibi* (1970), his book *Beş Şehir* (1946) and other articles published in newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet*. By providing this in-depth engagement with key works of the immediate post-imperial narrative in Turkey, the dissertation contributes to the advancement of post-imperial studies from a literary perspective. While literary studies have started contributing to the post-imperial turn in the humanities, notably with reference to post-Habsburg spaces, I link this growing body of literary post-imperial studies to early republican Turkey and thus the post-Ottoman context. Differentiating between imperial as well as the immediate and mediate post-imperial narratives, I suggest a more nuanced analytical approach for literary scholars' engagement with Empire that allows for comparative analyses across time and space.

8.2. Imagining Self and Other with Safa, Edib and Tanpınar

Focusing on the question that has provided the overarching guidance for this study—*how Self and Other are imagined in the canonised post-imperial narrative in early republican Turkey*—this section provides an overview of the dissertation's key insights. I examine parallels and differences between Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's approaches to belonging and affiliation through the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens. For the context-sensitive imagological analysis of early republican literature, two images emerge as major reference points in narrations of belonging across all three authors' accounts: Europe-as-the-West emerges as a key image from the Occidentalist condition and Empire from the post-imperial condition. Within Occidentalism, Europe stands for attributes like heightened mobility, civilisational originality, future-oriented advancement and masculine dominance. Images of the Ottoman Empire as Europe's Other, in turn, relate to characteristics such as passivity, civilisational

imitativeness, past-oriented backwardness and female weakness. Adapting to European modernity in a context of European imperialism, the Ottoman Empire is confronted and engaged with these dichotomous hegemonic European auto- and hetero-images. In early republican Turkey, the Empire/Europe dichotomy remains at the centre of East/West dynamics that stand at the heart of Occidentalism and provides the backdrop for continuing ambivalence.

How, then, do (non-)literary accounts by Safa, Edib and Tanpınar as major intellectual voices in early republican Turkey relate to Europe (as the dominant West) and Empire (as the lost reference)? To what extent do the three authors take up, reproduce, challenge and/or transform the images of Europe as progress and Empire as backwardness? How Ottoman (Eastern) or European (Western) does the new Turkey appear in their accounts? While all three authors approach Turkey as a field of tension between Europe and Empire, it is often unclear where exactly the lines between Self and Other are drawn. In what follows, I provide a final and combined analysis of the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens to discuss the extent to which the images of Europe and Empire relate to constructions of Self and Other in Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's (non-)literary works.

8.2.1. Images of Spatiality: Im_Mobility between Empire and Europe

Within Occidentalism, images of im_mobility are strongly shaped by the key dichotomy of a mobile, active and dynamic Western Self positioned against a stagnant, passive and lethargic East. Although images are in motion and variable, they are also "collectively sustained" (Bal 2020, 173), meaning that they travel and resurface in different contexts at different points in history. To what extent, and how, do Safa, Edib and Tanpınar engage with images of the polarity of a mobile West and an immobile East and related normative evaluations? Is this basic polarity a reference point at all, and if yes, in what ways? Is it transcended? How does it relate to constructions of Self and Other?

Generally speaking, the dichotomy of a passive/immobile East and an active/mobile West plays a role in all texts under scrutiny in this dissertation. They reveal that the European auto-image of 'Europe-as-progress' denying the 'rest' of the world dynamism and mobility continues as a key reference from the late Ottoman Empire to the early republican period. All three authors reproduce images related to the Occidentalist opposition of a mobile West and immobile East in a dichotomous way. At the same time, however, they also recalibrate the attributions and evaluations ascribed to the two poles. Across the oeuvres of all three authors, there is also a general difference between literary and non-literary works. In their novels, images of a stagnant,

passive East and a moving, active West are projected on local dynamics situated in Istanbul. While European protagonists—with Edib's Peregrini as a notable exception—hardly play a role, images relating to im_mobility rather unfold with regard to the poles of the 'Westernised Turk' versus the 'traditional Turk,' or the 'Westernised neighbourhood' versus the 'traditional neighbourhood.' Whereas the negative passive, slow and unproductive character of Istanbul's 'Eastern' areas is to a certain extent reproduced, it is also positively revalued through notions of continuity, permanence and rootedness. Melancholy (*hüzün*) is introduced as an ambivalent individual and collective feature of those in touch with the 'Eastern heritage': on the one hand, melancholy with its impetus towards the past seems to contribute to the East's slow motion or even relative stagnation; on the other hand, the gloomy feeling stands for a close connection with one's roots. In a similar way, all accounts contribute to reproducing images of Istanbul's Westernised quarters and of individuals embracing an *alafranga* lifestyle as more dynamic; however, this dynamism is also reassessed as a shallow, artificial movement leading away from one's 'true Self.' The three authors' non-literary works, in turn, present a more global outlook on East/West im_mobilities beyond local dynamics. The binary of an active, progressive West and a passive, backward West is taken up but partially revalued. On the one hand, aspects such as the lack of reforms and/or their wrong implementation, or intrinsic Eastern passivity are discussed as internal reasons for Eastern—including Turkish—stagnation. On the other hand, the West is seen as (a major) part of the problem of Eastern stagnation. Critical of Western colonialism and imperialism, Safa and Edib, in particular, reframe European dynamism as conquest, domination, invasion and hence as the negative side of Western-dominated modernity. The three authors here build on Ottoman discourses emerging in the 18th century (see Wigen 2009) discussed in Chapter 3.2.2., which see both internal and external reasons for Ottoman stagnation, from the *Frenk* Other referred to as 'aggressive' and 'expansionist' to the Ottoman Self described as 'stagnant' and 'ignorant.'

In Safa's work, the Western Other's heightened mobility is accepted but severely criticised. In *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar*, for example, dynamism is explicitly located in Europe as the epitome of the modern Western world but contextualised against processes of military, economic, and intellectual conquest and appropriation since the 15th century. Safa argues that the disadvantageous economic situation of the Eastern Self—Turkey included—is partially due to European colonial expansion and that Western mobility was achieved at the expense of non-Western countries' excessive appropriation of Eastern material resources. The auto-image of the East is described as "motionless" (*hareketsiz*) in the face of Western expansion, with the hetero-image of the West representing the "movement of conquest" (*fetih hareketi*). Hence, the

Occidentalist image of a mobile, dynamic West is accepted but re-interpreted and made responsible for the hetero- and auto-image of a relatively stagnant East. In *Fatih Harbiye*, it is rather the imitative Europeanised Turk than the West as such that is blamed for Turkey's movement in the wrong direction.

In a similar vein, Edib confirms the image of a mobile and active West and a comparatively slower or even stagnant East. The *Memoirs of Halide Edib* point to colonial expansion as the downside of Western dynamism, stressing that the past Ottoman Self was affected by European Powers' endeavour to divide the Ottoman territory among themselves. Evoking the image of the Ottoman Empire as sick and declining, Edib argues that it was easy prey for European expansionism. *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*, addressed to an Indian readership, also problematises Western dynamism. The Turkish (previously) Ottoman Self is positioned in the wider context of Eastern spaces that are all, in similar ways, affected by Western expansionism. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, the Italian musician Peregrini—as the only European protagonist of all novels discussed in this dissertation—epitomises Western activity and the embrace of movement. His engagement with the East is, however, non-violent and non-invasive. While his dynamism entails positive aspects, such as his artistic genius, it is also reassessed as uprootedness.

Both Safa and Edib, however, highlight not only external but also internal reasons for 'Eastern stasis.' Referred to as "deep, mysterious and pensive," Safa (1970 [1938], 122) describes Asia as too passive and unable to target "Europe's ambitions for domination." This evaluation is also reflected in Safa's novel *Fatih Harbiye*, where his protagonist Şinasi is too lethargic, melancholic and passive to actively engage with the developments surrounding him, hence contributing to his own and society's stasis. Safa's wake-up call is also political: those who in his eyes represent an authentic affiliation with Eastern culture should not remain passive in the face of empty modernisation processes represented by dominant Westernised characters such as Macit. In a similar vein, Edib blames Eastern countries' alleged unwillingness and lack of internal reform for their partially self-inflicted 'stagnation.' The image of the passively sleeping East is reproduced and confronted with the necessity of reform and 'national awakening.' While at least partially endorsing the Occidentalist stereotype of a stagnant East, Edib (1935b, 34) suggests to regard "decline" as "the recuperation time, the rest-cure of nations." Turkey is introduced as a model for other Eastern countries, having emancipated itself from Eastern stasis through reforms and notably the liberation struggle prior to 1923. In her 1930 book *Turkey Faces West*, addressed to a Western readership, Turkey's national emancipation takes centre stage as a liberating movement. Mirroring the Kemalist endeavours to be accepted as part of

the ‘civilised’ world, Edib emphasises the mobile character of the national Turk in order to underline parallels with intrinsic Western dynamism. Aiming at synthesis, *Sinekli Bakkal* suggests that economic activity and authentic cultural dynamism can also take place in an autochthonous context.

Tanpınar’s work, in turn, includes only an implicit critique of Western mobility and instead emphasises Turkey’s historical necessity to modernise. Tanpınar suggests that through Europe’s economic and technological rise, Western people see their living conditions improve. People in the East, however, are increasingly lagging behind, with Turkey on the losing side of modernity’s divisions. Contrary to Safa and Edib, Tanpınar predominantly sees internal reasons as responsible for Eastern and (Ottoman-)Turkish stasis. His hetero-image of Europe is shaped by qualifiers such as progressive, curious, mentally agile and active—attributes that he claims were also central to past Eastern societies but have been widely lost. In *Beş Şehir*, economic vitality, social agility, territorial conquest, intellectual inventiveness and cultural vibrancy are evoked as aspects of lost Eastern and more specifically Anatolian mobility.

In his *Cumhuriyet* articles, Tanpınar argues that it was due to the problematic approach of the Tanzimat reforms that Ottoman society—at both individual and collective levels—ended up in a paralysing psychological impasse between *alafranga* and *alaturka* mentalities. While Tanpınar generally supports processes of modernisation, he suggests that the top-down rather than organic modernisation processes promoted by the Tanzimat led to an almost static civilisational, cultural and internal human crisis (*buhran*). The inner condition of those affected by the “civilisational change” is unrest and unease (*huzursuzluk*). Similar to Edib, Tanpınar presents the Anatolian Turkish national struggle as a potentially emancipatory movement, through which past Eastern dynamism can be revitalised in the early republican present. Similar to Safa’s protagonist Şinasi, the restless, melancholic, increasingly passive and helpless male as a key figure of Turkey’s post-imperiality is also evoked through Mümtaz in Tanpınar’s *Huzur*. While Şinasi’s and Mümtaz’s affinity with Ottoman cultural legacies is positively emphasised, their melancholic passivity is subtly problematised and reflects the authors’ call for ‘awakening.’ In Turkey’s crisis-ridden post-imperial condition, gloomy Mümtaz as a wandering *flâneur* finds temporary *huzur* in the stagnant, dead and unconnected remnants of worlds gone by, while losing the attachment to the present. Representing Turkey’s “twinned nature” (*ikiz yaratılış*) between East and West as a result of hastened Westernisation, Mümtaz’s *hüzün* regarding the past and anxiety towards the future lead to his increasing inactivity and mental decline.

The category of im_mobility is not only intertwined with questions of temporality and civilisation but also entails a strong gender component. As Peter Adey notes, "[m]obilities are reproductive of a series of social norms, values and ideas about being a man or a woman" (2017, 181) and the often closely monitored female movement provides insight into general gendered inequalities (see Young 1990). For all three writers, 'authentic Eastern' men struggle with and suffer from the speed of modernity and related processes of social change. In all three novels under consideration, female mobility takes centre stage but is evaluated in different ways. In Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, increased female mobility in national Turkey is problematised in connection with the looming danger of over-Westernisation. Through Neriman, Safa portrays movement from Fatih to Beyoğlu as encapsulating the dangers of Westernisation. At the same time, Neriman's rejection of everything Eastern as lazy, sleepy and lethargic and her embrace of the West as active, awake and productive could also be interpreted as an emancipatory movement away from her limited economic living conditions and as resistance against her patriarchal surroundings. The subversion of Neriman's emancipation attempts by her father and her fiancé as the representatives of the patriarchal order lead her to give up on taking the tram, the symbol of her mobility. In Safa's novel *Dokuzuncu Hariciye Koğuşu*, in turn, the female protagonist Nüzhet manages to move on while the male protagonist remains limited by his poor physical health—his limping—and ensuing mental challenges. In Tanpınar's *Huzur*, Nuran, a single mother, is presented as profiting from the more open social structures of Kemalist Turkey. In contrast to Safa's Neriman, Nuran remains mobile, cautiously aware of any circumstances that may restrict her living conditions. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Edib's Rabia is another example of successful female emancipation, dynamism and movement, transcending the mobile West vs. immobile East dichotomy. In contrast to Safa's Neriman, Rabia emancipates herself from patriarchal pressures to then decide on a life in the *mahalle*. Her dynamic professional career, artistic genius and vivid social life seem to illustrate that mobility can take on different forms and does not mean to move away from established and familiar cultural and social frameworks. Edib suggests that mobility does not have to go hand in hand with what Tanpınar refers to as the "cycle of giving up." Edib reassesses stagnancy as permanence, connectedness and stability; while Western movement epitomised by the detached modern wanderer Peregrini is revalued as uprooting. It is only through Rabia that Peregrini decides to establish new roots.

Questions of speed and progress—reflected in images of a progressive and fast-moving West as opposed to a backward and slow-moving East—are also explicitly discussed by all three authors. Safa and Edib, in particular, warn against the dangers of 'wrong' progress (*terakki*). Tanpınar also criticises overhasty technological development. Safa reproduces the

Occidentalist image of a progressive West as the epitome of the machine civilisation (*makine medeniyeti*) and generally accepts the modern ideal of progress as a necessity for societal advancement. Although Safa recognises Western achievements beyond the economic or technological spheres, most notably literature, the image of machine civilisation is yet again ambivalent, indicating the potential dangers of progress narrowly understood as technological advancement. For Safa, the differentiation between right progress and wrong progress takes centre stage. As discussed in his essays, technological advancement and the general increase in speed should go hand in hand with developments in the cultural and intellectual realms rooted in Eastern values and norms. Otherwise, Safa argues, progress leads to the superficial adoption of the Western 'outlook' neglecting the valuable content of the East. He warns against the dangers of a shallow, meaningless modernity leading to an imitative and superficial national collective Self. Similarly, Edib reproduces and utilises the Occidentalist image of a superior and progressive West. More emphatically than Safa, she denotes the late Ottoman Empire as backward and belated. While highlighting the considerable distance between the Ottoman Empire and Europe, she presents national Turkey as being on an equal footing with the West. Like Safa, however, she warns against the uncritical adoption of the *alafranga* lifestyle and argues that progress should not come at the expense of cultural authenticity. For Tanpınar, too, the West sets the pace of progress that relates to technology (*teknik*) and civilisation (*medeniyet*). What Tanpınar describes as *huzursuzluk* is connected with the East's inability to keep up with the speed of a progressive West. Rather than what Safa refers to as 'wrong' progress, Tanpınar criticises the rapidity and superficial character of change without blaming Western forces for it.

The three authors' novels also tackle the question of wrong or overhasty progress. *Huzur*'s protagonist Mümtaz acknowledges the need for steady social progress but emphasises the importance of continuity. It is only through a synthesis with its cultural heritage, Tanpınar suggests, that Turkish society can progress without losing itself. For Safa, the metaphor of the tram in *Fatih Harbiye*'s "car narrative" (Parla 2003) or the automobile in *Sözde Kızlar* stand for technological progress. Safa suggests that his protagonist Neriman uses new transportation means for the wrong reasons, namely to reach trivial Western-style activities and admire the decadent shop windows in Beyoğlu, representing the superficiality of Western-dominated modernity in an Eastern context. Building on features of the stereotypical literary figure of the *züppe*—such as Bihruz in Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Araba Sevdası* or Felâtun in Ahmet Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*—Safa and Edib introduce protagonists as the embodiment of development gone wrong. Pejoratively referred to as a *züppe* by Şinasi, Safa's

Neriman moves away from the authentic context of the Fatih *mahalle* by taking the tram. In *Sözde Kızlar*, Behiç drives the car while moving away from Eastern values. In a similar vein, Edib criticises the superficial understanding of progress by means of the Europeanised *züppe* Hilmi and other dandyesque figures like a Westernised prince in *Sinekli Bakkal*. For Hilmi, only economic progress—luxurious mansions and prosperous places—are indicators of a successful civilisational status. Edib also criticises the effects of overemphasising technological advancement by means of Peregrini whose Western scientific mind and belief in development make him unsteady and restless. In *Sinekli Bakkal,* Edib seems to make a more general point by challenging the notion of progress being defined as movement towards Western modernity. With Peregrini's move to Rabia and the East, she upends the directionality of modernity. With different levels of emphasis, all three authors (in Tanpınar's case at least tentatively) thus attempt to redefine the forward-directed movement of 'progress'—connoted positively within Occidentalism as a development from East to West and the endless strive for the new—as uprooting restlessness.

Intertwined with their writings, their own travel activities reveal the importance of movement for all three authors. Safa thinks of his journey to Western European countries as a way to learn more about questions of belonging, notably with regard to the alleged line separating (Turkish) Self and (European) Other. Published in instalments, Safa's travelogue reports to *Cumhuriyet* readers how the European hetero-image portrays the "new Turkey," epitomised by Ankara, as modern and progressive (in contrast to old Ottoman Turkey), highlighting underlying ambiguities. While the new Turkish Self is valued and appreciated by the Western gaze, internally it may feel as if Turkey is moving away from its authentic Self. Moving beyond his otherwise rather dichotomous approach to East and West, Safa's travel notes reveal the contingency and imaginative character of categories of belonging such as 'Europe,' blurring sharp distinctions. The travelogue shows that mobility enables the experience of difference and similarity which in turns helps to appreciate what and where the Self is located: for Safa, eventually, home means Istanbul. Safa's comparisons between the Turkish Self and European Other seem to convey a wariness about the blind admiration of the Occidentalist fantasy of 'Europe' as a perfect place. Edib's travel experience, in turn, differs from Safa's in that it is based on exile. Her texts are written in English and primarily intended for a non-Turkish readership. While Safa's travelogue transports images of Europe to Turkey, Edib exports images of Turkey to the world, or rather several worlds. Particularly her two books *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* reveal Edib's strategic and pragmatic approach to writing. Similar to current-day representatives of a more globally oriented Turkish

literature—such as Elif Shafak's novels—Edib speaks to Turkish, British, US-American and Indian readerships. Depending on the audience she addresses, the emphasis on Turkey's 'Eastern' or 'Western' character differs. Tanpınar's travels through the territories of the late Ottoman Empire and the early republic are reflected in his city portrayal *Beş Şehir*. Here, travel notes seem to be Tanpınar's strategy of coming to terms with and making sense of the post-imperial realities of his country. In all his city portrayals, Tanpınar captures changes related to the downfall of Empire and modernisation attempts in a melancholic vein.

Overall, all three authors employ auto-images of an often passive, less dynamic and less progressive East in relation to a Western Other, hence reproducing Occidentalist stereotypes. While confirming that general image, however, Western imperialism and the local effects of Westernisation are made (at least partially) responsible for Eastern inactivity. All three authors also bring internal reasons to the fore—such as melancholy, a lack of reform and the feeling of being caught between East and West—that contribute to Eastern stasis, emphasising the need of national Turkey to emancipate itself from Empire's static heritage. At the same time, however, all three authors point out that continuity with the cultural legacies of the past is necessary in order to increase dynamism and mobility over the long run. While their evaluations of individual circumstances vary significantly, all three portray female characters as more mobile and flexible than their male counterparts and present excessive Westernisation as internal threats to the preservation of a Turkish cultural Self.

8.2.2. Images of Civilisation: Form_Content between Empire and Europe

An integral part of the experience of Occidentalist modernity are questions of civilisational belonging, notably with regard to the West as the dominant image. Civilisational belonging centres on the notion of authenticity, i.e., the congruence of form and content, or the lack thereof. Whereas outward form relates to issues such as appearance, observable structure and superficiality, inner content refers to aspects like originality, truth and essence. To examine the extent to which Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's writings relate to Eastern and Western civilisational references, I have unpacked their understanding of civilisational content and form and, relatedly, their engagement with questions about 'real' and 'fake.' In the political context of the early republic, the Ottoman Self is replaced by the ethnotype of the Turk that unfolds through an ambivalent relationship with the images of both Empire and Europe. The works of Safa, Edib and Tanpınar reflect both shifts and continuities between imperial and post-imperial times with regard to images of Self and Other. Generally speaking, all three authors make reference to three major levels of belonging: broad civilisational and more specific national

forms of affiliation are complemented through a (often particularly pronounced) focus on local levels of belonging, notably with reference to (a specific neighbourhood in) Istanbul.

With regard to civilisational belonging, questions about East and West—a central topic in the imperial novel—continue to inform debates in early republican Turkey. All three authors operate with the dichotomous East-West framework and discuss how national Turkey relates to both. For all three authors, there is a marked difference between literary and non-literary texts. In their literary texts, Safa, Edib and Tanpınar employ the East-West dichotomy in rather oppositional terms, localising and reproducing it through the dichotomy of authentic vs. Westernised locals in Istanbul's neighbourhoods. Their non-literary works, in turn, tend to put forward a more global—and usually more nuanced—approach towards the vagueness of East and West, or Asia and Europe, as geographical and imaginative concepts. Across the works of all three authors, the Ottoman Empire is characterised as Eastern and Asiatic rather than Western or European and primarily seen as part of Islamicate civilisation or the 'Muslim East' (*Müslüman Şark*). 'Europe' stands for Western Europe and Western civilisation more generally. In line with Occidentalist stereotypes, all three authors ascribe characteristics such as passivity or exaggerated spirituality to the Ottoman Empire and criticise political and social aspects of the imperial order. At the same time, however, all three aim to retrieve certain cultural elements of the Eastern Ottoman civilisation in order to form an original national character on equal footing with the West.

For all three authors, Turkey's position between these broad civilisation frameworks is complex. While the Turkish Self is formally uncoupled from the multinational Ottoman framework, all three place Turkey and its 'cultural content' largely in the East and at least in partial continuation of Ottoman civilisation. In terms of Turkey's formal politico-economic linkages, however, the authors generally suggest a shift from East to West: Turkey's orientation towards Western civilisation is favoured or presented as necessary in terms of societal advancement and the maintenance of national independence. A key finding is hence that, across the works of all three authors, the civilisational ideal is a synthesis between Eastern content and Western form. The Turkish auto-image in their works builds on certain—usually nationalised and Turkified—aspects of Eastern or Ottoman content while formally striving for acceptance in the West.

A continuity with regard to images of Self and Other from late Ottoman times to early republican Turkey is the Othering of Westernised individuals or groups within. Building on late imperial themes where images of the Ottoman Self are increasingly demarcated from not only

the European Other but also from people within Ottoman society that are perceived as (too) strongly Westernised (Wigen 2009), the quest for authenticity in Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's early republican accounts criticises what is perceived as imitative Westernisation and instead favours what is imagined as civilisational originality. This authenticity is particularly found at the local level: the neighbourhood (*mahalle*) is evoked as the quintessential reflection of 'home' and the place where an *alaturka* approach to life unfolds, as opposed to the 'fake' an 'imitative' *alafranga* lifestyle. All three authors engage with 'original' local contexts in 'traditional' neighbourhoods in Istanbul's Fatih district and demarcate it from the shallow and alienated Westernised districts, most notably Beyoğlu. Amidst the ruins of Empire, originally Eastern theatre plays, songs, games, coffee houses and community life unfold in demarcation from both the Western oriented outlook of the republic and the globalising forces of Western-dominated modernity. All three authors perceive the radical Westernisation processes of the first Ottoman and then Turkish road to modernity as a threat to Turkey's Eastern content and original national character. While Tanpınar's work evokes civilisational continuity with Eastern heritage to counter the looming meaninglessness of modernity, Safa's and Edib's novels are rather didactic and moralising with regard to how individual lives unfold, distinguishing between 'original'—i.e., in line with local 'content,' customs, manners, values and traditions—and 'fake,' i.e., imitating the Western form in terms of clothes, manners, practices and language.

Strongly building on the East-West dichotomy, Safa's auto-image locates Turkey predominantly within Eastern civilisation. In *Fatih Harbiye,* East and West—projected onto an 'Eastern' and a 'Westernised' neighbourhood in Istanbul—are presented as incompatible and spatially distinguished by the Galata bridge. While Safa's literary texts operate with the East-West dichotomy in these explicit and sweeping terms, some of his non-literary writings reflect a more nuanced approach. In *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar,* East and West are discussed as geographical categories of belonging, linking geographical Europe to the idea of the West and geographical Asia to the East. As his travelogue *Büyük Avrupa Anketi* shows, Europe is not only a fluid and vague geographical but also an imaginative concept for Safa. The question "Where does Europe begin?" (*Avrupa nereden başlar?*) as well as what is "Europeanness" (*kafa olarak Avrupa*) are the reasons behind his inquiry, during which the boundaries between Turkey and Europe are increasingly blurred. In this line of Safa's writings, differences are de-emphasised, positioning Turkey like other South-Eastern European countries at the peripheries of the European continent.

In a similar vein, Tanpınar's essays largely present East and West as two inherently different civilisations, even though not uniform in character. Tanpınar notes that East and West are umbrella terms for traditions and approaches that share a general mentality or "mindset" (*zihniyet*). In the West, civilisational form—such as economic progress and legal-political reforms—authentically overlaps with content, notably humanistic values and a spirit of discovery. Contrary to Safa, Tanpınar does not approach the West as a soulless "machine civilisation" (*makine medeniyeti*), but as a progressive, determined, creative and hence admirable civilisational space. According to Tanpınar, the 'Turkish spirit' was once embedded in the Eastern civilisational framework, from which it was forcefully disconnected through the Tanzimat. Given the fact that a return to the East appears impossible given the downfall of the empire and the requirements of Occidentalist modernity, becoming part of Western civilisation—with a distinct Turkish national character based on continuity with selected aspects of the Ottoman past—seems to be his desired goal. As in Safa's work, the empire's ethnic or religious groups other than those with 'Turkish' nationality hardly play a role in Tanpınar's writings. Having lost the Ottoman Empire's 'original' links to the Eastern hemisphere, Tanpınar regards Turkey's attempts to strengthen its affiliation with Western civilisation since the Tanzimat as traumatic. As Tanpınar sees the individual Self in a harmonious state when its internal and external conditions are in congruence, authenticity seems an impossible state for the modern Turkish individual—given that the (Western) Other is always inscribed in the (Turkish) Self. Tanpınar's way out of this constant in-betweenness is to embrace the unique character of the Turkish nation.

Edib's texts also prominently engage with the East-West binary, reflecting a dichotomous approach towards a world she describes as divided into two hemispheres. With its geographical position, shared history and cultural ties with both East and West, Edib—like Tanpınar—describes Turkey as being located somewhat in-between those spheres that are imagined as distinctly different from each other. In most of her texts, Turkey has a tendency to lean towards Eastern civilisation in terms of shared cultural and religious ties. Despite an imagined broader affiliation with the East, however, Turkish peculiarities are singled out in order to also demarcate differences with 'other' Eastern contexts, most notably Arab countries and Iran. Those of Edib's texts intended for US-American or British readers introduce the Turkish national character as progressive, active and rational, hence promoting Turkey as a serious and credible member of the developed Western hemisphere. In *Turkey Faces West*, Edib also repeatedly emphasises civilisational differences between 'the Turk' and 'the Ottoman Turk' to highlight republican Turkey's distance from the Empire's weaknesses. While her accounts

written for a non-Western audience position Turkey firmly among Eastern countries, all of Edib's non-literary works display a more or less explicit wish to be included in the Western world while remaining true to what is evoked as Eastern heritage. Her proposal for republican Turkey is a 'formal' affiliation with the West and a cultural affiliation with the East.

Faced with the simultaneity of Turkey Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions, all three authors thus share a search for authenticity, struggling with the lack of congruence between form and content. As part of this quest, all novels discussed in this dissertation move beyond broad questions about civilisational or national affiliation by also focusing on the neighbourhood as a more intimate space, closer to day-to-day realities. By means of the Fatih *mahalle*, all three authors discuss a decaying social space carrying the promise of cultural authenticity through a close connection with Eastern civilisation. Sitting at the intersection where individual lifeworlds meet global realities (Appadurai 2010 [1996]), the *mahalle* provides a space and reference for all three novels to engage with negotiating the symptoms of decline related to Turkey's post-imperial condition and the effects of Westernisation stemming from Turkey's Occidentalist condition.

Fatih Harbiye and *Sinekli Bakkal*, in particular, centre on the Fatih neighbourhood as the embodiment of local cultural authenticity, most notably in contrast to the Westernised district of Beyoğlu. In both novels, the traditional *mahalle* is urged to deal with external influence, from 'foreign' ideas to European clothes and manners, and thus shaken to its bones. In Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, the men who (have previously) profit(ed) from the *mahalle*'s traditional patriarchal order fight for its preservation and represent cultural continuity and authentic embeddedness, while Westernising Neriman is accused of focusing on superficial civilisational forms—Beyoğlu's modern dress code, leisure activities and the mingling of the sexes—rather than meaningful cultural contents. Similar to the description in Edib's memoir of her childhood in an original neighbourhood yet unaffected by the uprooting influence of modernity, *Sinekli Bakkal* also celebrates the *mahalle* as a still intact social cosmos that markedly differs from the Westernised parts of Istanbul and offers a framework for 'real' human experience. In both novels, proponents of the Eastern and the Western approach oppose each other in and through life in the *mahalle*. In a similar vein, Tanpınar's writings present the communality of neighbourhood life in contrast to the individualistic forces of Occidentalism. *Huzur*'s Mümtaz strolls through Fatih in an attempt to re-establish ties with Turkey's Eastern heritage to strengthen a shattered collective sense of belonging. While Tanpınar's essays in *Beş Şehir* melancholically deplore the lost character of traditional neighbourhoods together with the

disappearance of communal life, Beyoğlu appears as a space for a different—more superficial and Westernised—experience based on entertainment and flourishing nightlife. Overall, all three authors emphasise the opposition between 'authentic' (Eastern) locality and 'exchangeable' (Western) globality, reflected in the literarily imagined neighbourhood as a site of resistance against or adaptation to the unifying forces of Western-dominated processes of globalisation. While all three novels discussed in this dissertation highlight that the *mahalle* is economically on the losing end of Western-dominated modernity, they put forward a more or less explicit plea that local Eastern customs are culturally precious and should be preserved.

Stemming from the evolving tensions between Eastern and Western civilisations, questions of imitation are another cross-cutting feature that reflects the dynamics of form-content and with which all three authors engage. All three approach the distinction between an 'original' Western modernity and an 'imitative' Eastern modernity as a problematic dichotomy, suggesting that Turkey should try to find its own independent path to modernity. While the distinction between original and fake is particularly pronounced in Safa's and Edib's writings, all three authors engage with the quest for authentic art and literature in order to re-establish continuity and stability. Through *Fatih Harbiye*'s Neriman, Safa criticises superficial Westernisation attempts and the adoption of imported "fake" (*sahte*) content, instead celebrating Eastern civilisation's "authentic" (*hakiki*) values as part of Turkey's national identity. With reference to instruments such as the *oud*, the *kemence* and the *ney, Fatih Harbiye* and Safa's non-literary writings evoke *alaturka* music as original Eastern art and a milestone of Eastern civilisation. In a similar vein, Edib's memoir criticises the superficial adoption of aspects such as European clothing and toys as part of attempts to live a 'civilised' life. Westernised princes and *züppe*s appear in her writings as detached from the real world that, as discussed above, takes place in the *mahalle*. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Rabia and Tevfik stand for Eastern 'originals' with their respective professions as *hafiza* and *karagöz* or *orta oyunu* performer. Their authenticity is reflected in Peregrini as the Western 'original' who is positively distinguished from the fake Westernised elites in the rich quarters of Istanbul. Edib's writings evoke local art forms, including the *meddah*, as aspects of an authentic cultural life. Contrasted with imitative artists that copy European theatre, original Ottoman artists stand out through improvisation and (simple but) original creativity or ingenuity, offering a reference point for the republic's national heritage that Edib sees as an integral element for developing an original Turkish voice on the international stage. Tanpınar, in turn, argues that the intellectually unprepared, largely superficial and form-focused shift from Eastern towards Western civilisation has brought about a general "psychosis" (*psikoz*) and "duality" (*ikilik*) crisis in Turkey, caused by the gradual loss

of original (Eastern) content. While *Huzur* is not as explicit as Safa's work in criticising places like Beyoğlu for their Westernised superficiality, Tanpınar's writings centre on the original but decaying aura of a civilisation in decline where old bookstores and decaying *konaks* tell of a cultural abundance hardly anyone is interested in anymore.

Resonating with questions about authenticity and imitation, the form_content dichotomy also unfolds through the opposition of spirit and matter, or spiritualism and materialism. Ascribing spiritual attributes to the East and materialist attributes to the West, all three authors partially reassess Occidentalist dichotomies but largely end up reproducing them. In line with late Ottoman novelists, Safa's hetero-image of Western civilisation is materialist and consumerist, while the Eastern auto-image represents spirituality and inner values. On an ideational level, the advanced material status of the West is assessed as empty and shallow. While the economically inferior situation of the East is acknowledged, its spiritual depth is revalued as morally superior. In a similar vein, Tanpınar criticises the imbalance of materialism and spirituality in the East and notably Turkey, arguing that too strong a focus on spiritual concerns undermines (material and ideational) progress. In *Beş Şehir*, he outlines how Ottoman pre-Tanzimat architecture was less about building and more about creating, masterfully combining 'spiritual' and 'material' components. While the Eastern preoccupation with spirituality has led to a civilisationally weaker position in relation to Western civilisation, Tanpınar presents Ottoman ingenuity as an authentic combination of form and content.

Taking up the same duality, Edib identifies the Western focus on materialism and the Eastern focus on spirituality as the respective key problems of both civilisations. Like Safa, she argues that the Eastern focus on spirituality may be morally superior but institutional reforms following the Western model are needed in the East to also enable material progress. At the same time, Edib puts forward a harsh critique of the Western over-emphasis on materialism and its globalising capitalist practices, arguing that the West's global system of economic domination has led to local and global inequalities alike. She argues that Western material dominance (matter/form) has been reached not only through the subjugation of other parts of the world but also at the expense of spiritual progress (spirit/content). By describing the West as an amalgam of different influences led by a focus on forms and lacking originality, Edib attempts to upend the stereotype of a backward, superficial and imitative East. Similar to Tanpınar's vision of an ideal combination between spirit and matter, *Sinekli Bakkal'*s Rabia and Peregrini each create a synthesis of Eastern spiritual and Western materialist approaches. Remaining rooted in Sufism and attached to her spiritual heritage, Rabia is a productive and successful entrepreneur, earning

money with her art and, through her work in the grocery store, contributing to the economic life of her local community. As a wealthy Westerner, Peregrini engages with and is strengthened by the East's—notably Rabia's—spirituality. Together, Rabia and Peregrini reflect Edib's insistence that the encounter between East and West, or Eastern and Western elements, should unfold on an equal footing so that the West can benefit from the East's inspiring spiritual climate and the East from the West's more advanced economic and institutional structures. With *Sinekli Bakkal*, Edib reverses the popular narrative of necessary Westernisation in early republican Turkey and instead proposes Easternisation as a possible foundation for a liaison between East and West.

Overall, all three authors strive for re-establishing congruence between civilisational form and content. Safa's vision of the national Turkish Self is based on the combination of selected European elements and traditional Eastern features, i.e., a partial fusion of different civilisations. For Safa, modern life, including technological advancement, should facilitate the creation of a stable, authentic and rooted national identity in civilisational continuity with Turkey's Eastern—Ottoman—heritage. For Edib, Turkey's East-West question can only be solved by reaching a balance between Eastern content and Western form, an equilibrium that can provide the ground for both the national Self and Turkey's international engagement. Excessive Westernisation and the artificial imitation of Western lifestyles, in turn, are perceived as the main threats to an authentic Turkish culture. East and West are two originals that should meet on equal terms, ideally (also) on Eastern ground. Tanpınar's work highlights how Turkish society—faced with intertwined post-imperial and post-colonial conditions—deals with a loss of significance and feelings of meaninglessness. Ties with the Eastern civilisational framework have been formally severed but continue to evolve under the surface of Westernisation. Resonating with both Safa and Edib, Tanpınar suggests that an authentic life in republican Turkey requires a certain level of continuation with the Ottoman past. It is only through addressing the incongruence between (Western) form and (Eastern) content that individual anxieties and collective melancholy can be overcome.

8.2.3. Images of Temporality: Past_Future between Empire and Europe

The imagined temporality of Occidentalist modernity assumes a linear movement from past to future. The advanced modern Western Self epitomises the orientation towards the future, renewal and development, whereas the Eastern Other is imagined as 'behind,' 'belated,' 'backward' and stuck in the past. The obvious 'time lag' between East and West requires the former to leave 'traditions' behind and 'catch up.' The starting point of the analysis of images

of Self and Other with reference to temporality in the works of Safa, Edib and Tanpınar has been to examine whether and how the Occidentalist temporal dichotomy of Eastern past (notably the old imperial order) and Western future (centring on globalising forces emanating from Europe) and related oppositions are reproduced, challenged and/or transcended.

Overall, the analysis suggests that all three authors evoke images of Self and Other in relation to temporal questions. It is both the imperial past and what is imagined as a Western(ised) future, including the fear of a Europeanised outlook detached from the past Eastern Self, that forms an important backdrop for negotiations about the national Self in the present. As such, Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's post-imperial texts build on discourses at the centre of the imperial novel. As discussed by means of Ahmet Mithat's *Felâtun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, the comparison between the Westernised dandy Felatun and the rooted Rakım is indicative of a looming temporal rift between Eastern past and Western(ised) future in late Ottoman times. Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's works expand on this development by outlining how these divisions have grown even more pronounced, with the post-imperial condition and Kemalist Turkey's adaptation to Occidentalist modernity intensifying the feeling of temporal rupture. All three authors discuss aspects of what is perceived as temporal disintegration in their literary and non-literary texts. They approach the missing links between the unstable present and (an idealised) future as the national Self's uprootedness. Their novels' protagonists embody this temporal in-between position through an exaggerated focus on either past or future, triggering melancholy (towards the past) and anxiety (about the future). For all three authors, neighbourhoods across Istanbul represent different temporalities in line with the Occidentalist dichotomy, Fatih representing the old and traditional and Beyoğlu standing for the new and modern. The dichotomy of a past-related old East in contrast to a future-oriented modern West is not only reproduced but also (at least partially) criticised and revalued: while political aspects of the Ottoman past are indeed evoked as 'old'—such as Edib's appraisal of the 'tyranny' of Sultan Abdülhamid—Eastern heritage and legacies are revalued as 'traditions.' For all three authors, the desired goal is a synthesis between old and new, past and future where the cultural, spiritual and communal Eastern Self as an element of the past combined with Western-inspired progress at institutional, technical and political levels. Taking a critical stance toward the modern dictum of rupture, Safa, Edib and Tanpınar stress the individually and collectively damaging effects of temporal discontinuity, which, in Turkey, is aggravated by the loss of Empire. Temporal discontinuity merges with a feeling of belatedness with regard to Western progress that, again, is partially accepted but also criticised and/or reassessed. For all three authors, temporal continuity and integrity are a potential solution for addressing Turkey's

uprootedness: all three argue for re-establishing links with the past, as it is only in a temporally united framework—with a stable rooting in traditions—that 'healthy' progress can take place on an equal footing with the West.

While all three authors in many ways share a similar approach towards and the importance of the past, they sometimes diverge with regard to which particular aspects of the past are relevant for the future. The past is always what one evokes as such and thus the result of a selective and political endeavour. Edib's memoir reproduces the Occidentalist image of the Ottoman Empire's temporal 'belatedness' in relation to Europe, with the empire's 'time lag' reaching back to the first indications of the gradual decline in the 17th and 18th centuries. For Edib, the distance between a belated past 'Ottoman Self' and a new present 'Turkish Self' leads to tensions in the national identity building process. The national Self emerges from the ruins of the old imperial framework both internally and externally perceived as inferior to the European powers' political, military and cultural status. Against this backdrop, Edib approaches the "ideal of a westernized Turkey" (Edib 1926, 303) critically and argues that the national awakening amidst general political turmoil should remain sensitive to the external threat of European domination. Safa also perceives a time lag between East and West, with the latter as more developed and hence more advanced on the linear temporal trajectory of progress. Across the sciences, intellectual life or public institutions, Safa describes the East lagging behind the West and problematises Eastern attempts to catch up through imitation rather than through its own creativity and strength. In a similar vein, Tanpınar ascribes the West as having a more curious and scientific approach towards the material world. For Tanpınar, it is the combination of curiosity and rationality that enables Western societies to proactively build their futures.

As discussed above with reference to im_mobility, all three authors see the West as at least partially responsible for Eastern decline and hence also for its belatedness. For all three, the East is hence not only 'behind' but also 'left behind.' As I have discussed with reference to Topal (2017, see Chapter 3.2.2.), Ottoman sources in the 19th century used the phrase *gerü kalmak* (staying behind) as part of the Ottoman auto-image of being belated in relation to Europe. Tanpınar takes up this image and speaks of the left-behind people in the East (*geri kalmış insanlar*), for whom catching up with the West becomes harder while Westerners' living conditions keep on improving.

The perceived necessity to leave the stagnant Self behind and catch up with the West is often (and ambivalently) intertwined with a quest for past originality. All three authors propagate a more conscious approach towards history. The Tanzimat period is an important reference point

for Edib and Tanpınar, albeit in different ways. Edib puts forward an overall positive evaluation of the Tanzimat as an attempt to connect the imperial framework with Western-inspired progress through reforms. As a tardy Renaissance—with belatedness relative to Europe as an integral part of it—the Tanzimat appears in Edib's account as the blueprint for combining tradition and progress. It is particularly in *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* that the Tanzimat—and implicitly also the ideal of a constitutional monarchy—unfolds as the possibility of a natural blend between Eastern past and Western future. Both Edib's memoir and *Sinekli Bakkal* suggest that it is the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid that has crushed this potential. *Turkey Faces West*, in turn, stresses the pre- and early Ottoman periods as a gender equal and democratic heaven; similarly, this is also reflected in *Sinekli Bakkal*'s account of Rabia and Peregrini—later Osman— as a rather modern couple in a decidedly Eastern setting. Tanpınar's turn to the past in many ways resonates with Edib's, but his historical interpretation differs significantly. For Tanpınar, Seljuk times and the earlier golden age of the Ottoman Empire—notably the reign of Sultan Süleyman—are a major reference for his take on temporal continuity. In stark contrast to Edib, Tanpınar identifies the Tanzimat as the very source of the downfall of the empire and thus the challenges of his times. For Tanpınar, it is the Tanzimat that, as a forced movement away from the traditional Ottoman path, messed up the temporal balance, ushering in *huzursuzluk* as the dominant state of mind leading well into republican times and limiting Turkey's wholesale progress. Again, Tanpınar locates the reasons behind republican Turkey's malaise not so much in Western dominance but in the Tanzimat's misplaced engagement with civilisational shifts, arguing that stable roots in the past are a prerequisite for progress. Safa also laments the disrupted unity of time, suggesting a more 'scientific' and 'objective' approach to the Ottoman past would help republican Turkey's attempts to make sense of its place in the world.

For all three authors, a central dimension of dealing with the present includes a more explicit confrontation with the Ottoman past as a necessary step towards a temporally more integrated future. In their attempts to work towards the recreation of a unity of time, the Ottoman Empire appears as a politically outmoded model whose cultural and partially also social and spiritual components, however, are important building blocks for the construction of an authentic national Self in the present. All three authors put forward a call for cultural nationalism: Tanpınar wants to go back to the roots by engaging with Turkey's early (and pre-)Ottoman history. Safa's account resonates with this call by highlighting the need for historians to play a more visible role. As a reaction to the thwarted Tanzimat reforms, Edib uses selected aspects of the past to create national self-confidence as basis for international recognition.

In line with the notion that 'history is that you make of it,' all three authors take pieces of the past. While the multicultural composition of Empire hardly plays a role in their works, they all favour Ottoman community life and social cohesion over modern individualism. All of them evoke moral and spiritual values as well as Eastern music as a shared heritage that should be rejuvenated in the republican present; Edib highlights *karagöz*, *orta oyunu*, *meddah* and certain moral norms; Tanpınar embraces pre-Tanzimat architecture and Ottoman literature; and Safa focuses on Eastern instruments, patriarchal structures, and Ottoman social norms. Faced with economic and political Occidentalism as the material dominance of the West, all three authors focus on the ideational and spiritual spheres as a means to safeguard the past for the future. Self-determined progress in cultural terms is put forward as a path towards developing national pride and thus creating the basis for overcoming early republican passivity. The cultural integration of the (imperial) past is seen as a key ingredient for increasing political and economic activism aimed at strengthening Turkey's ability to embrace Western-style progress. This insight confirms recent historiographic research (Sönmez 2021; Danforth 2021; see Chapter 3.3.3.) on the continuing importance of Empire in early republican Turkey, which had long been underestimated. The analysis of works by Safa, Edib and Tanpınar shows how Ottoman history was re-appropriated and 'Turkified' in the single-party era. Both literary and non-literary writings of all three authors contributed to the nationalisation of the imperial past, highlighting some—notably glorious or less controversial—aspects of Ottoman legacies while omitting others, such as the role and fate of non-Muslim populations.

Their novels, in particular, provide rich accounts of what aspects of the past were supposed to play a role in the (national) present. Protagonists in all three novels discussed in this dissertation reproduce the dichotomy of the 'old East' versus the 'new West,' striving for the new in detachment from the past. The most explicit example of how the three authors make use of these Western-oriented protagonists to put forward a critique of what all three see as an exaggerated focus on the future is Neriman in Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*. Neriman reproduces the Occidentalist dichotomy of an old, decaying or dead East and a new, emerging or lively West, wanting to escape the East's belatedness by embracing a Western lifestyle. The Fatih *mahalle* not only represents Eastern immobility and stagnation (as discussed above) but also the East's old, retrospective and disappearing character—captured by the image of the graveyard—unable to keep up with the bustling West. While Neriman tries to escape the grip of the past by taking the tram, men in the *mahalle* wander among the ruins and fragments of the past. Neriman's decision between Şinasi and Macit, or between Fatih and Beyoğlu, is portrayed as a one between past and future, and Safa highlights the difficulty of reconciling both. Faced with the

either-or decision between past and future, Neriman eventually returns to the less advanced but more authentic 'past.' In Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal*, in turn, it is the European Peregrini who—trying to move towards the future and leaving his roots behind—represents the linear temporal movement of modernity. In his personal transformation, however, Peregrini—then as Osman—enters the Ottoman East as an alternative temporal framework and replaces the Occidentalist dictum of change with permanence and attachment. In Tanpınar's *Huzur*, by contrast, the character of Suad epitomises a temporal vacuum and the nihilism of a radical modernity. Suad's answer to Turkey's temporal impasse is to overthrow both the 'old' Ottoman past and the 'new' Westernising present, projecting radical novelty and hence a completely independent Self into a utopian future. Through Suad's suicide, Tanpınar underlines the impasse of an approach that tries to sever all ties with past and present. Through Neriman, Peregrini and Suad, the three authors thus highlight what they perceive as problematic aspects of (exaggerated) Westernisation and Occidentalism's one-sided preoccupation with times to come that, by disregarding historical roots, undermines the very possibility of creating a sustainable future.

In all three novels, these protagonists are contrasted with characters that embrace other temporal foci. In some ways similar to Selim Pasha in Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal*, Safa's Şinasi and Tanpınar's Mümtaz feel a particularly strong connection to the past, with their male melancholy stemming from the changing parameters at the crossroads of the post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions. Şinasi is drawn towards Eastern traditions and to how things used to be, embracing the old and anxiously awaiting the new. With Şinasi, Safa counters Neriman's approach by revisiting and revaluing the binary of the belated East and the progressive West, evoking the 'Eastern past' as a culturally rich framework of reference while simultaneously pointing to the dangers of a 'Western future.' In a similar vein, Tanpınar's hero Mümtaz is anxious about the present and future, escaping to the sunken worlds of the Ottoman past that provide shelter. Here, the authentic but decaying or neglected Eastern materiality—with its soul offering connections to a lost past—is opposed to shallow Western materialism. While Safa's Şinasi finds this material link to past communal cultural experience through Eastern instruments, Tanpınar's Mümtaz disappears in Kapalı Çarşı to connect to times gone by through Ottoman antiquities and Divan literature. In contrast to Beyoğlu's shop windows as symbols of present Western materialism, both Şinasi and Mümtaz long for authentic artefacts that tell of their individual and collective roots.

While Şinasi's and Mümtaz's attachment to the past is portrayed in a predominantly positive light, their ambivalence also comes to the fore. Through Mümtaz, Tanpınar suggests that

experiences can provide peace of mind, particularly relevant in the face of the modern condition and its focus on constant renewal. At the same time, however, Mümtaz also stands for the dangers of getting lost in times gone by, losing attachment to present-day realities and thus the ability to proactively engage with the future. For Safa, in turn, Şinasi carries Eastern heritage to the present, contributing to transgenerational continuity; however, Şinasi's passivity is unable to come to terms with the changing conditions of the present, showing little resilience in the face of ongoing change.

All three authors thus suggest that neither an exaggerated focus on the future nor a blind attachment to the past provide a particularly helpful mind-set for dealing with the present. Instead, *Sinekli Bakkal*'s Rabia and *Huzur*'s Nuran embody a more balanced (female) approach to temporality. In different ways, both Rabia and Nuran are firmly rooted in the present, pro-actively shaping their lives, neither anxious about the future nor melancholically clinging to the past. Rabia is not only rooted in space—the *mahalle*—but also has deep roots (*kökler*) in time, moving beyond her orthodox Islamic upbringing to embrace her own symbiosis that carries her cultural heritage to the present and future. Edib presents Rabia's approach as a positive counter model not only to Peregrini's rootless quest for the future but also to the lifeworld of Europeanised girls in the late Empire who are unable to read the Ottoman script and are thus disconnected from their past. In a different historical setting, Tanpınar's Nuran appears similar to Rabia by being in touch with the past, consciously based in the present and aware of the future. In contrast to Mümaz's feelings of powerlessness in the face of the existential contingency of life, Nuran's daily duties and responsibilities root her in the present. While Mümtaz disappears into the past to hide from the present, Nuran engages with Ottoman music without losing sight of who she is in early republican society. In contrast to the overemphasis on the past and ensuing melancholy (Şinasi and Mümtaz) as well as the overemphasis on the future leading to anxiety (Mümtaz), uprootedness (Neriman, Peregrini) or suicide (Suad), it is a synthesis of (Eastern) past and (Western) future that is propagated as a desirable goal. While *Fatih Harbiye* leaves readers without a clear indication of what such a synthesis may look like, *Huzur*'s Nuran and *Sinekli Bakkal*'s Rabia suggest their own ways of dealing with temporal dilemmas by connecting past and future in the present.

Beyond individual characters, *Fatih Harbiye*, *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Huzur* also engage with Istanbul as a protagonist representing the different temporalities of post-imperial Turkey. All three novels present Istanbul as a mirror of change, capturing the collective expression of individual struggles. The plots of all three unfold against the backdrop of the (former) imperial

centre, Istanbul. With regard to the centuries-old history of the city, Safa, Edib and Tanpınar all stress the peripheralization of Istanbul as a former world city, globally and/or nationally. For all authors, Istanbul is also a microcosm to discuss temporal (dis)continuities, notably with regard to specific neighbourhoods: whereas the old lives on in Fatih, Beyoğlu embraces the new. Fatih appears as a particularly central space: all three novels are at least partially set in Fatih, from Rabia's grocery in the Sinekli Bakkal and Mümtaz's joy in the Grand Bazar to Neriman's journey between Fatih and Beyoğlu. Fatih stands not only for the epitome of a space losing out in the struggles of modernity but also for the old ideational and material worlds—including *konaks*, Ottoman music and bazars—that reflect Istanbul's soul.

In a similar vein, all three authors' non-literary works engage with Istanbul as a central space and reference for Turkey's post-imperial Self. In one of his essays, Safa (1932a) criticises the abundance of dandys (*züppe*) and Freshwater Franks (*tatlı su frengi*) in the streets of Istanbul—detached from their Ottoman heritage and unlike real Europeans (the 'Saltwater Franks')—as an example of temporal rupture. For Safa, the Western gaze has become so important for these Westernised parts of early republican society that they only integrate Eastern elements into their auto-image once their meta-image of the West—what they think Westerners think of them—appreciates Eastern traditions. While Safa deplores how the *alafranga* lifestyle negatively shapes Istanbul's outlook in the early republican present and emphasises the feeling of a post-imperial break with the past, it is the engagement with (Istanbul's) Ottoman history that he presents as a way to overcome temporal discontinuities. Tanpınar's *Beş Şehir* also laments the new Istanbul through a critical take on Beyoğlu, where Westernised men attend Western-style events and visit hotels, cafés, theatres, European bars and restaurants. For Tanpınar, the economic, political and cultural implications of the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Western modernity are melancholically discussed with reference to Istanbul's evolving social setup. For both Safa and Tanpınar, Westernisation and attempts to imitate European capitals lead to a loss of Istanbul's old (and true) character. Again, glimpses of continuity can be found in Fatih as the quarter representing previous Ottoman power, grandeur and architecture, but where a vivid cultural life has largely given way to poverty and decay. While *Sinekli Bakkal* similarly celebrates Fatih life, in Edib's memoir it is Istanbul's Beşiktaş district that takes centre stage. Evoking the time in her family's old *konak*, situated in a predominantly Christian neighbourhood, Edib—contrary to her other writings as well as Safa's and Tanpınar's works that all largely neglect the intrinsic plurality of Ottoman lifeworlds—melancholically reminisces about the multicultural and multireligious composition of the empire. She discusses dramatic arts such as *orta oyunu*, *karagöz* and *meddah* as central part of

the city's traditional community life that is now in decline, and she mourns the more colourful and greener outlook of old Istanbul and its wooded hills before the early republic's construction boom.

Overall, the works of Safa, Edib and Tanpınar analysed in this dissertation show how the authors deal with temporal discontinuities stemming from the simultaneity of Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions, i.e., the rise of Western-dominated modernity and the loss of Empire as a framework of belonging. While all three reproduce images of belatedness, their main suggestion for how Turkey should deal with the experience of temporal rupture centres around the national Self realising that it has an (imperial) history and that this history is important for it's the present and the future. While a denial of its past undermines any attempt by the Turkish Self to strengthen its standing in the world, embracing its historical roots means setting the foundations for trying to progress with the West on an equal footing. In contrast to Western material transformations and transnational processes of Westernisation, Eastern cultural tradition are presented as an important resource for early republican Turkey. In their cultural nationalism, all three authors highlight only selected—and partially idealised—aspects of the past that converge around certain ideas of what Turkey's historical roots look like. Their nationalist discourses locate the early republican Turkish Self in a specific set of past values and traditions that they want to see rejuvenated. Differences among the evaluations the three authors put forward, such as Edib's and Tanpınar's conflicting interpretations of the Tanzimat, highlight how writings can contribute to appropriate imperial trajectories for specific political needs.

8.2.4. Images of Gender: Fe_Male between Empire and Europe

Occidentalism comes with ambiguous implications for the development of gender relations. A focus on the (also female) individual and legal changes that strengthen the voice of women in society unfold through largely male-dominated structures and, more generally, a commitment to masculinised rational and linear progress. Through this complex web of sometimes contradictory dynamics, Occidentalism challenges established images of womanhood and manhood, giving way to novel ideas about how the 'new man' and 'new woman' should look like and behave. In contexts framed as non-Western, the particular understanding of 'real' female or male protagonists connects gender-related dynamics to questions of authenticity, i.e., how a (wo)man can be modern without being an imitation of a Western (wo)man. The association of the West as rational, assertive and male and the non-West as emotional, passive

and female further adds to and complicates that picture, particularly for what is imagined as Eastern men.

In their own ways, Safa, Edib and Tanpınar all engage with questions about new (wo)manhood in the context of Turkey's Occidentalist condition and rapid societal transformations that at least partly challenge the assumptions of the former patriarchal imperial order. In light of the three other dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens—spatiality, civilisation and temporality—gender-related questions reveal the most pronounced differences among Safa, Edib and Tanpınar. While there are certain overlaps in how they discuss (new) men and (new) women, the three authors present rather different approaches to gender relations. While Tanpınar deals with gender-related questions mostly on the side-lines and usually with regard to love and male inner lives, Safa and Edib approach relations between men and women as a politically relevant topic and present rather moralising views on how the new (wo)man should or should not behave, what they should wear or what their place in society is. While both problematise Turkish women's exaggerated Westernisation and female 'immorality,' such as their lack of moral decency, their approaches differ significantly in other respects.

Acknowledging how early republican Turkey's intertwined Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions complicate gender relations, Safa's work promotes a move towards the re-establishment of patriarchal structures similar to those of imperial times. Taking up the subject of the attraction of Westernisation among Turkish youth, *Fatih Harbiye*'s Neriman does not understand men's intellectual debates but realises that ongoing societal changes, notably Westernisation trends, offer a range of possibilities for her personal development. Neriman is critical of established gender relations in the *mahalle*, notably the traditional male gaze controlling and judging anything female, and instead appreciates Westernised Beyoğlu as enabling a more relaxed or normalised relationship between men and women. Safa, however, evaluates this quest for female self-determination as problematic and uses his novel to not only warn against Westernisation trends but also argue for the maintenance of patriarchal structures. While *Fatih Harbiye* provides detailed insights into the inner lives of both Neriman and Şinasi, the narrator tends to take Şinasi's side. By embracing a traditionally male perspective that puts forward moral judgements about the female interest in Westernisation, Safa highlights the threat of the 'wrong' female behaviour to Turkish society as a whole. Eventually, Neriman's emancipation attempts fail and are absorbed into the patriarchal order that, while evolving, has largely remained intact.

Edib, in contrast, argues for a more liberal stance towards female positioning in society, advocating for women's professional development and self-determination. This also and particularly applies to questions of marriage that Edib—also in line with personal experiences discussed in her memoir—qualifies as a key part of enlarging the space for women's action. The female Self appears as an important vantage point in Edib's feminist conservative writings. Her (female) protagonists take steps towards emancipation by combining 'traditional' dimensions of Eastern womanhood with 'modern' elements that are not formulated with regard to Western feminism but—in line with Turanist thought—are presented as stemming from an imagined gender-equal pre-Ottoman or early Ottoman past. *Sinekli Bakkal* centres on the main protagonist Rabia as a strong and increasingly self-confident heroine with perceptions, lived experiences, worries and joy. Arguably responding to Edib's personal experience as a young woman marrying (too) early and then having to emancipate herself later on, Rabia marries 'late,' chooses the man she loves and, in contrast to Safa's Neriman, does not give in to the pressure of the *mahalle* to conform to social expectations. While celebrating female strength, however, Edib's image of ideal womanhood includes explicit moral parameters in terms of decency, spirituality and rootedness. Rabia opposes Westernisation trends that challenge the foundation on which she builds her life. Embracing modesty and celebrating the depth of Eastern musical and spiritual traditions, her self-confident commitment to a (in many ways) traditional way of life eventually makes Peregrini relinquish his Western outlook and, as Osman, integrate into life in the *mahalle*.

Contrary to Safa and Edib, Tanpınar's work does not present a strong moralising vision of right or wrong female behaviour but instead acknowledges changes in gender relations and the more visible public role of women in early republican Turkey. Similar to Safa, Tanpınar's male protagonists—notably Mümtaz in *Huzur*—struggle with anxiety and melancholy in the ever-changing present. Like Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, those who talk about politics and partake in intellectual questions in *Huzur* are predominantly men. While Tanpınar's accounts mostly approach women as romantic interests, *Huzur*'s Nuran, similar to Edib's Rabia, appears as a strong female character that, in many ways, is better equipped than her male counterparts to deal with societal transformations. In contrast to Safa, Tanpınar's work does not seem to blame women for male anxieties and challenges; instead, female obligations such as care work and putting limitations on female emancipation are approached in a rather critical vein. Overall, and unlike Edib's and Safa's treatment of their protagonists, Tanpınar does not approach Nuran from a moralising perspective. Her position as a single mother with family duties and her desires as a woman, *flâneuse* and lover are presented without judgement.

In addition to these general patterns, transgenerational features are an integral part of gender-related dynamics in the works of all three authors, where conflict or cooperation among younger and older men or women act as signifier for societal change. In Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, the patriarchal transgenerational solidarity of traditional men—notably Şinasi and Neriman's father Faiz Bey—forces the female protagonist back into the social framework of the *mahalle*. The male coalition restricts and eventually upends Neriman's emancipation. At the same time, female transgenerational tensions unfold between Neriman and the housemaid Gülter, who represents traditional womanhood and laments the times when hard work was still valued and women knew their place in society. While men want everything to stay the same, the conflict between 'old' and 'new' images of womanhood indicate that it is particularly women that have something to gain or lose in early republican Turkey. Overall, however, Safa's men have broader and stronger support networks, backed by the conservative structures of the *mahalle*.

Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal*, in turn, presents transgenerational tensions through the opposition between Selim Pasha's traditional imperial and his son Hilmi's more subversive Europeanised masculinities. Edib approaches Selim Pasha as "a man of the old times" (*eski zaman adamı*) and the heated Hilmi in ambiguous terms, displaying sympathy for both. Their generational conflict is a political conflict, pointing to the tension between the decaying empire and an alternative set of Westernising elites. As a counter model, the unlimited transgenerational closeness and love between Tevfik the clown and his Quran-chanter daughter Rabia seem to suggest that art—notably traditional forms of artistic expression—is able to connect individuals across age, time and gender differences. In Tanpınar's *Huzur*, this is somewhat mirrored in the transgenerational closeness between Mümtaz and his relative Ihsan, both fascinated by the intricacies of Ottoman history and literature. More generally, it is the fact that Mümtaz as an orphan has lost both mother and father during Turkey's War of Independence that underlines transgenerational rupture across genders: the demise of the imperial order as well as violence and death related to it have severed the ties between past and present.

Beyond general gender-related patterns and transgenerational dynamics, all three authors have their particular approach to the 'new woman.' In line with his general stance outlined above, Safa is critical of the Western forms of Turkey's new womanhood. In *Fatih Harbiye*, Neriman serves as an example of emancipation attempts gone wrong. In *Sözde Kızlar*, the 'so-called' or fake girls are framed as overly Westernised, whereas true female Turkish virtues—similar to Edib's moral compass—centre on decency and purity. In his articles, Safa argues that women's professional activity during and following the first World War is an exception rather than a rule,

insisting that women, notably as mothers and wives, belong to the household (see Safa 1937c). For Safa, good women are productive through bearing and educating children, whereas bad women focus on their own desires while losing sight of their real duties. In his discussion of early republican Turkey's beauty contests, Safa's (1930) definition of female beauty turns into a nationalist question. As an international beauty queen, Miss Universe Keriman Halis is presented as pure and thus the auto-image of Turkish (as opposed to more vulgar Western) beauty. Miss Turkey Mübeccel Namık Behnesavi's beauty, in turn, seems to correspond to the West's positive meta-image of the young republic: Turkish beauty standards are positively evaluated by the Western gaze as combining inner values essential to Turkish society and the forms appreciated by Western audiences. It is telling that, throughout, the models never enter the debate as agents themselves; instead, they are objects observed for the nationalist cause, judged by (both Western and Eastern) men via male criteria.

Like Safa, Edib contrasts imitative or fake from real and authentic womanhood, the latter impersonated by *Sinekli Bakkal*'s Rabia. As highlighted above, Edib's image of new womanhood builds on a combination of traditional and modern elements, a synthesis of Eastern customs and Muslim values with proactive professional development and the free choice of one's husband based on love on an equal footing. This synthetic image is not presented in opposition to Western women but unfolds with *alafranga* Turkish women as its Other. Similar to Safa, Edib highlights the inauthentic and morally inferior character of Westernised women through her celebration of Rabia's modesty, rootedness and simple attire. Contrary to Safa's Neriman, however, Rabia has a profession and, beyond her female gender, is also an artistic genius. Edib's image of ideal womanhood that unfolds through Rabia thus centres on female self-determination and (financial) independence. The adherence to Islamic values is combined with effective challenges to patriarchal practices; and professional success is combined with modesty and (also sexual) decency.

As highlighted above, the limited role gender-related questions play in his work sets Tanpınar apart from Safa and Edib. Tanpınar uses references to female bodies to describe cities and evokes his grandmother as a source of Eastern wisdom in *Beş Şehir*, but overall women only play a marginal role. The only major exception— nd the only protagonist that offers insights into Tanpınar's take on what womanhood means in early republican Turkey—is *Huzur*'s Nuran. Nuran not only holds a key to Eastern traditions through the songs she sings but is also rooted in the present and its social expectations. Compared to Mümtaz's melancholy and Suad's destructiveness, Nuran as the 'new' woman in post-imperial Turkey represents a sense of

stability and pragmatism that the men around her are lacking. Compared to Nuran, the 'new' man in *Huzur* thus appears through two diametrically opposed representations. On the one hand, and similar to Şinasi in Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, sentimental intellectuals like Mümtaz and Ihsan represent men overwhelmed by the expectations of both traditional and Westernised masculine gender roles. Their melancholy is intertwined with a general anxiety about their position as (Eastern) men rooted in (memories of) the past, unable to resonate with the evolving gender roles of the present. On the other hand, Suad's masculine dominance and virility might seem reminiscent of both imperial notions of manhood and Western notions of male progress but actually deal with tensions and competing expectations through destruction and, eventually, suicide. Conflict arises between Mümtaz and Suad with the latter embracing nihilism and introducing a more violent masculinity that, irrespective of consequences, advocates for a radical break with early republican Turkey's conditions.

Safa's and Edib's accounts of the (possibilities of) 'new' men also highlight the fundamental challenges to masculinity caused by the downfall of (Eastern) Empire and the dominance of Europe as Occidentalism's West. Described as effeminate (such as Fahri in *Sözde Kızlar*) or passive (such as Şinasi in *Fatih Harbiye*) in line with Occidentalism's hetero-images, Safa's Eastern men are fighting for survival in a context that unsettles their traditional positions. Westernised men (such as Macit in *Fatih Harbiye* or Behiç in *Sözde Kızlar*) are described as rich, good-looking and masculine, reflecting the Occidentalist dichotomy of the West(ernised) as male (i.e., strong, rational and successful) and the East as female (i.e., weak, emotional and needy) as a structuring element to distinguish between different types of masculinity. Although Safa repeatedly highlights that Eastern men are morally superior, and even though they may win their battles in his writings—for example, *Fatih Harbiye*'s Neriman eventually agrees to marrying Şinasi—West(ernised) men continue to appear as 'real' men despite (or maybe also because of) the danger and shallowness that emanates from them. Safa's attempts to redefine (the value of) Eastern masculinity and related Orientalist stereotypes appears more explicitly, and forcefully, in his travel reports where he contrasts his auto-image of the critical and rational Turkish intellectual with the hetero-image of the erratic and impulsive Frenchmen. This relocation of rationality, so that say, tries to undermine the pejorative judgements of Eastern men as passive, emotional and/or promiscuous by presenting insights into the irrational side of European (male-dominated) realities and unbridled French sexuality.

Contrary to Safa, Edib's writings do not even attempt to describe the contours of the ideal 'new' Eastern man. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, both Selim Pasha and Hilmi are highly ambivalent characters.

The professionally dominant but privately kind pasha represents an outdated and problematic political model, embodying the demise of imperial masculinity that, like the *konak* that the pasha has to close down, is set to disappear from the scene. His son Hilmi, in turn, is described as a physically weak, somewhat frail and lisping Ottoman *züppe*. While Hilmi, a political dissident, is preparing his comeback as part of a new political elite, Edib describes him in ambivalent terms: although his political views are judged as more convincing than his father's, Hilmi's effeminate masculinity is far from the ideal man Edib seems to have in mind. Similarly, Edib presents the artist Tevfik as playing a key role in and for society but, at the same time, describes him as an unreliable husband. Among the men of the *mahalle* in *Sinekli Bakkal,* Rabia thus has no male counterpart that presents a synthesis of authentic stability similar to hers. Only Peregrini as a Western (and not Western*ised*) man is himself a (Western) original and thus able to engage with her on an equal footing, albeit only by accepting to join her (Eastern) framework. Faced with fractured Eastern masculinities, it seems as though the 'new' Turkish woman is set to either fall back on a Western man (Rabia) or raise her children as a single mother (Nuran).

More generally, the binary of men and women itself is accepted and reproduced across the works of all three authors, with very few exceptions. Apart from the reversal of stereotypical gender roles between (weak) Mümtaz and (strong) Nuran, Tanpınar embraces traditional male-female dynamics where women are described, loved or desired by male protagonists. Safa, in turn, puts forward the distinction between masculine Western(ised) men and Eastern effeminate men, all the while fighting for a re-evaluation of the latter across his oeuvre. Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal,* finally, arguably puts forward the most gender fluid characterisations among the works examined in this dissertation. Edib's heroine Rabia is described as a boy-like genius with a character that reflects attributes typically thought of as male. Her father Tevfik, in turn, appears as an artist moving in and consciously playing with the spaces between clear-cut gender roles. His Thirdspace masculinity (Soja 1996; Chovanec 2016; Haug 2020), so to say, combines the eyes of a girl and a child-like spirit with the appearance of a man, pointing towards the (otherwise neglected) possibilities that transcend dichotomous gender oppositions.

Overall, the works of Safa, Edib and Tanpınar see men struggle. Their male protagonists are faced with deep-seated transformations and often react with escapism, general passivity, melancholy or through what is presented as exaggerated Westernisation. While 19th-century literature discusses the *züppe* as a pitiable figure, the emphasis seems to shift in early republican Turkey. Safa's Macit, for instance, is not presented as a ridiculous character, to the contrary: the rich and proactive Westernised Turkish man challenges the Eastern approach to masculinity,

with traditional men now appearing as pitiful and less masculine. *Fatih Harbiye* remains committed to a strong either-or framing where nobody, neither male nor female, is able to break open traditional dichotomies and find alternative paths to combine different elements of what it means to be fe_male against the backdrop of Turkey's Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions. Across the three novels discussed in this dissertation, only women, notably Tanpınar's Nuran and Edib's Rabia, seem to find a synthesis that provides a stable foundation for engaging with complex realities.

8.3. Findings and Future Research

This dissertation finds that the images of Self and Other in the writings of Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar unfold with regard to Turkey's intertwined Occidentalist and post-imperial conditions. As I have shown through the four dimensions of the Occidentalist Lens, all three authors employ images of Europe and Empire as central reference points for delineating patterns of belonging.

With regard to spatiality, all three authors contribute to reproducing Occidentalist stereotypes of the mobile West and the immobile East. Melancholy, passivity and lethargy are attributes they attach to the Eastern and imperial legacy. In order to strengthen national self-confidence and solidarity, all three evoke images of empire connected to periods of Ottoman expansionism that were more dynamic. Dependent on the author and the topic at hand, the national Turkish Self thus stands in partial identification with and partial demarcation from Empire. At the same time, all three authors employ images of a more mobile, dynamic and economically flourishing West. While Tanpınar tends to approach (images of) Europe in positive terms, Safa and Edib also problematise and reassess Europe's auto-image. European mobility, they argue, builds on colonial and imperial expansionism and is thus inherently intertwined with and at least partly responsible for Eastern stagnation.

With regard to civilisation, all three authors develop images of the Self that explore options and develop visions of East-West synthesis where the economic and political formal structures of the West merge with Eastern cultural content. While Edib appears as a politically more pragmatic writer that, depending on her audiences, highlights Turkey's inherent links with Western civilisation or puts forward harsh criticism of Western imperialism, all three authors are more critical of Westernised elements within Turkey than of the West itself. Extensively engaging with images of the authentic local Self, they all evoke the *mahalle* as a site of (potential) resistance against the uniform forces of Western-dominated modernity. All three put

forward versions of cultural nationalism that, while accepting (or even promoting) Turkey's formal alignment with Europe as the West, is deeply rooted in images of continuity with certain aspects of (Turkified) Ottoman legacies.

With regard to temporality, all three authors evoke images of a present Self uprooted by the temporal configurations of intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions that undermine the Turkish sense of Self. For Edib, it is Sultan Abdülhamid's reign that prevented a successful continuation of the Tanzimat synthesis between East and West. Tanpınar, in contrast, assesses the Tanzimat's Westernisation attempts as the root of Turkey's temporally ruptured Self, leading to *huzursuzluk* and feelings of intrinsic duality. All authors try to move beyond the distinction between Eastern past and Western future by integrating Eastern elements into the present. Particularly Safa problematises internal dynamics, such as Westernised dandies without attachment to the past, as further aggravating the perceived temporal rupture. What unites all three authors are attempts to reconnect the national Self with the past through the empire's cultural heritage, as a necessary prerequisite for strengthening the republic from within and in its interactions with the outside world.

The most pronounced differences appear with regard to gender. While all three authors observe and reflect on the changing relations between the sexes and the reconfiguration of images of (wo)manhood, Safa's and Tanpınar's work largely centres on male protagonists who struggle in the face of the intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions. Whereas their accounts of melancholic, passive and uprooted masculinities overlap, Safa partly blames the new (i.e., Europeanising) Turkish (wo)men for the challenges of authentic Eastern men and argues for the maintenance of traditional gender roles. Tanpınar, in turn, sees torn men as representing society's struggle as a whole and evaluates increasing levels of female self-determination rather positively. Putting a stronger focus on female protagonists, Edib's image of new womanhood introduces a synthesis of Eastern spirituality and decency with traits usually perceived as modern such as professional and personal female self-determination. While all three authors engage with fundamental challenges to post-imperial masculinity, Edib puts forward images of mobile womanhood on Eastern grounds that self-confidently approaches the West.

These insights from Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's writings provide steppingstones for future research interested in expanding engagement with images of Self and Other in post-imperial narratives along at least three major strands. First, the work of all three authors at the centre of this dissertation offers more material to deepening the analysis of their oeuvres. This includes

Safa's later works such as his book *Doğu-Batı Sentezi* ("The Synthesis of East and West," 1963) or novels such as *Yalnızız* ("We are Alone," 1951), Edib's late memoirs *Hayat Parçaları* ("Pieces of Life," 1963) or novels like *Çaresaz* ("Counselor," 1961) and Tanpınar's *Şiirler* ("Poems," 1961) or novels such as *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* (*The Time Regulation Institute*, 1962) and *Sahnenin Dışındakiler* ("Those Outside the Scene," 1973). Expanding the primary material of analysis would allow for an even more detailed engagement with differences and shifts across time and pieces of literary and non-literary writing for each author. Beyond these three authors, the engagement could be expanded to include works by other canonised conservative writers from the same period, such as Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar or Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, or other writers canonised in the list of "18 Years of Turkish Literature" (Akbal 1942) in order to gain a both broader and more detailed understanding of (images of Self and Other in) early republican literature. In addition, non-canonised work would offer additional insights into the breadth and diversity of early republican narratives, such as Suat Derviş's writings and her rather leftist or progressive take on post-imperial questions. More generally, the findings in this dissertation invite comparisons between Safa, Edib and Tanpınar as secular conservative writers and authors with diverging political orientations, such as Islamist (see Çayır 2007) or Marxist (see Freely 2009) writers. If one was to expand the analysis of genres for this endeavour, the work of Nâzım Hikmet—who was "not just Turkey's first and foremost modern poet but also its most famous Communist" (Freely 2009, 46)—would provide an interesting starting point. Focusing on the countryside rather than Istanbul as the previous imperial centre, village literature (*köy edebiyatı*) of the 1920–1945 period (see Karaömerlioğlu 2002; see Rathbun 2019 [1972], Ch. I) would provide another insightful source to expand the comparison of how Occidentalism and post-imperiality are experienced and made sense of.

Second, future research could move beyond the early republican setting to engage with writings from other time periods. Works stemming from the decade between 1914 and 1923, such as texts by Ömer Seyfettin, would offer insights into images of Self and Other in a context of even more condensed experiences of rupture and transition from the onset of the First World War to the foundation of the republic (see Köroğlu 2007). Moving towards contemporary literature, works written and published since the 1950s would provide insights into how the *mediate* post-imperial narrative—written by authors who have had little or no personal experience of imperial times—approaches images of Self and Other (see below). This would not only invite the identification of continuities and differences regarding key elements and reference points in the immediate post-imperial narrative analysis in this dissertation but also lend itself to a combined analysis with political discourses in non-literary sources, or more contemporary political

developments such as those generally discussed under the banner of neo-Ottomanism (Yavuz 2022; see Haug and Roychoudhury forthcoming).

Third, the literary material I engage with and the methodological and conceptual insights I present in this dissertation also offer insights into the study of how literary narratives beyond contemporary Turkey make sense of post-imperiality in the context of Western-dominated modernity. Armenian literature, for instance, provides an array of starting points to engage with and compare images of a (lost) home in former Ottoman lands, including experiences of exile and displacement (see Korkmaz 2020 and 2022; Bertram 2022). Vahan Totovent's (1893–1938) autobiography, for instance, was published in the 1930s in Armenian (translated into English as *Scenes from an Armenian Childhood* in 1980) and could be compared with Edib's memoirs alongside other post-imperial autobiographies. Greek literature, in turn, offers additional insights into post-imperial images of Self and Other in the context of the forced population exchange, such as the novels *Benden Selam Söyle Anadolu'ya* ("Farewell to Anatolia") by Dido Sotiriou and *Yitik Kentin Kırk Yılı* ("A Forty Year Commemoration of a Lost Town") by Kosmas Politis, both published in Greece in the 1960s (see Comu 2020, 334). This could also be combined with a focus on how constructions of the Self in early republican Turkish literature unfold in relation to Greece (see Millas 2006). More generally, this dissertation can also provide a reference for comparing engagements with images of Self and Other and the implications of modernity's Occidentalist features in post-imperial contexts beyond former Ottoman realms, such as post-Habsburg (see Magerski 2018) and post-Tzarist Russia (see Noordenbos 2016), or overlapping post-imperial contexts such as Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ruthner 2018).

Epilogue: From the Immediate to the Mediate Post-Imperial Narrative

In light of the continuing relevance of East-West dynamics in Turkish literature and the revitalised popularity of the Ottoman Empire in Turkish public discourse, the epilogue to this dissertation builds on the findings outlined above to offer a brief outlook into what an engagement with the *mediate* post-imperial narrative might look like. As I have argued at the beginning of this dissertation, the post-imperial narrative is an insightful source for the study of affiliations as it provides references to how the transformation and reorganisation of a political, social, cultural and symbolic order are dealt with. This also applies to more recent—or current—writings that, in different ways, make reference to past imperial realities and could also be examined through the Occidentalist Lens in order to gain comparative insights in the long durée and across post-imperial temporal contexts.[658] In contrast to early republican literature discussed in this dissertation, the mediate post-imperial narrative, written by authors who have no personal memory of the imperial period, is disentangled from the direct biographic experience of Empire. Yet, transgenerational memory and different approaches to history take centre stage in questions about specific versions of the (imperial) past that have been overemphasised or neglected, and about the extent to which they should inform identity building processes in the present.

Through a focus on the Ottoman past as well as Turkey's swaying between East and West, the return of history has become an increasingly visible and publicly discussed feature of Turkish literature since the early 1980s (Furrer 2005, 9). Questions of temporal belonging (past_future) have taken centre stage in Turkish literature, entailing an increased focus on the past in general and specific themes like Ottoman multiculturalism in particular (Dufft 2009). In the wake of the 1980 military coup, political and economic liberalisation went hand in hand with the increased fragmentation and differentiation of Turkish society, a development that made subcultures and minorities more visible and contributed to questioning dominant historiography and identity narratives (Guth 2010, 29). A main feature of 'postmodern' Turkish literature published since the 1980s has been its increased attention towards history (*tarihe yöneliş*) (Aytaç 1990, 107) and a confrontation with "what can be metaphorically described as a 'house', which in former times has offered the security and warmth of a home, but is now lying in ruins" (Guth 2017, 26). Both Turkey's orientation towards Western modernity and the loss of Empire

[658] The following paragraphs build on and were partially published in Chovanec (2021, 349–357).

form the backdrop of why protagonists in postmodern Turkish novels often find a "treasure," which they detect among the "ruins" of the past (ibid.). The image of the Ottoman Empire is often evoked as a lost safe harbour once unaffected by the premises of modernisation, and its vanishing traces in the present, such as decaying *konaks*, are triggers for melancholic ruminations.[659] This explicit engagement with certain aspects of the past has led to a "nostalgic trend in literature" (Aytaç 1990, 107) and to a growing number of postmodern novels set in Ottoman times, combing fictional with historic elements (Furrer 2005, 9).

Similar to the immediate post-imperial narrative analysed in this dissertation, temporality-related dynamics (past_future) in post-modern Turkish literature continue to be intertwined with questions about civilisational affiliation (form_content). In addition to images of Empire, images of Europe and the West continue to play a central role in literary formulations of belonging. Novels such as *Beyaz Kale* (*The White Castle*, 1985), *Kara Kitap* (*The Black Book*, 1990) and *Benim Adım Kırmızı* (*My Name is Red*, 1998) have made Orhan Pamuk one of the main representatives of this development. In Pamuk's oeuvre, the intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions usually take centre stage in Istanbulian settings. In the historical novel *Beyaz Kale*, for example, the dialectical narration of an Ottoman master and a Venetian slave subverts the East-West dichotomy mirrored in a Self-Other binary (Göknar 2008, 497).

Other authors shift the focus away from the previous imperial capital to Turkey's rural peripheries. Building on themes of the village literature (*köy edebiyatı*), questions of spatiality (im_mobility) are reflected in novels dealing with transformation processes such as internal migration and urbanisation as well as labour migration from Turkey to Europe in the 1960s and 1970s (see Sirkeci and Cohen 2016). Latife Tekin's novels such as *Sevgili Arsız Ölüm* (*Dear Shameless Death*, 1983) and *Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları* (*Berji Kristin: Tales of the Garbage Hills*, 1984), for example, "reveal a harsh world outside the reach of modernising projects" and bring "to life the settings of *gecekondus*, or shantytowns peopled by rural migrants to the city" (Göknar 2008, 497). 'Intercultural literature,' or '*Gastarbeiterliteratur*,' is used to refer to a genre capturing experiences of im_mobility and alterity relating to the so-called *Gastarbeiterbewegung* from Turkey to Germany (and other countries such as Austria or the Netherlands). As Venkat Mani (2007) notes, "[b]y the mid1980s, a substantial body of poems, short stories, and novels had appeared on the German literary scene" written in German language by authors whose first language was Turkish. The writer Emine Sevgi Özdamar has

[659] By the late 1980s, "this wooden or sometimes half-timbered house with its projecting upper floor [was] widely understood as a signifier of the lost beauty of the Turkish architectural past" (Bertram 2008, 17).

recently been awarded the renowned Georg-Büchner-Preis (2022), underlining a development that increasingly omits labels such as 'German-Turkish literature.' Özdamar's play *Karagöz in Alamania* (1982), centring on the character Karagöz riding with his donkey to Germany, or her narration *Mutterzunge* (1990), dealing with the question of languages and visions of home, capture images of belonging between here and there.

Gender-related themes (fe_male) have also gained increasing visibility since the 1970s and 1980s when works by female writers such as Adalet Ağaoğlu, Leylâ Erbil, Sevgi Soysal, Latife Tekin and Pınar Kür "featured memorable female protagonists whose intriguing relationships with their bodies and sexualities created a site of political resistance where various discourses, power dynamics and their meaning-shaping mechanisms are scrutinised" (Akdoğan 2022, 238). Gendered patterns of im_mobility, in particular, stand in continuity with early republican discourses, when "women's mobility was still controlled by men through surveillance of their bodies, dress, and behaviour" (ibid., 239). Both leftist and Islamist movements mobilised women politically, providing different answers to questions of unequal global power relations and male-dominated structures.[660] Against the backdrop of military coups in 1971 and 1980, expectations about and perceived failures of masculinity are also increasingly captured in literature. As Çimen Günay-Erkol (2016, 208) has noted with regard to novels centring on the 1971 military coup, "the evocation of manliness is largely anxious: masculinity is reviewed in the face of traumatic memories, streetclashes, torture, and incarceration."

Since the turn of the 20th to the 21st century, neo-Ottomanism[661] as a political ideology shaping domestic and foreign policy has contributed to an even more explicit return of (certain aspects of) the past to Turkish public discourse. Themes relating to the form_content dynamic of collective (civilisational) belonging continue to shape Turkey's political landscape. Resonating with general earlier trends, *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (AKP) rule under Recep Tayyip Erdoğan since 2002 has contributed to the temporal and civilisational (re)coupling of the former Empire

[660] Akdoğan (2022, 239) notes that women's issues were however "still regulated through a conservative mindset that consolidated attitudes about women's 'proper' place and behaviour in society." Within certain discourses, feminist issues were addressed but often reproduced or strengthened patriarchal structures: "Each discourse created various barriers for women. Categories such as 'sexually pure female of Islam'; 'intellectually and socially progressive yet sexually modest female citizen of the Republic'; and 'asexual comrade sister of socialism' are some of the formulations in which female sexuality is appropriated for different strategic gains, consolidating patriarchal foundations. The place of women in the family and in the nation; the surveillance of female behaviour and morality; double standards in terms of sexual matters; and unequal access to the gains promoted by political and ideological entities are some of the issues through which these categories can be scrutinised further. Contending ideological discourses and patriarchal standpoints continue to create intricate and burdensome configurations of womanhood."

[661] Gontijo and Barbosa (2020, 81) note that neo-Ottomanism "dates back to the late 1980s and mid-1990s with Turgut Özal's and Necmettin Erbakan's governments" but that "it was with Erdoğan and the AKP that it gained strength."

with the vague notion of the East, on the one hand, and Europe (or the European Union) as the central expression of the idea of the West, on the other. As Katerina Dalacoura (2017, 2066) has noted, political discourses by the AKP have been characterised by a Self-Other nexus along the lines of the East-West dichotomy, with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan "depicting both domestic politics and Turkey's foreign relations in terms of 'us versus them.'" The revival of the past (Islamic) empire in this nostalgic populism—expressed in the commemoration of events like 1453 conquest rallies or other commemoration events (see Brockett 2014; Karakaya 2020)—is reflected in the foreign policy goal of Turkey's regional predominance in the Middle East and increased influence in formerly Ottoman Balkan contexts through diplomacy and development assistance (Haug 2020). In contrast to the conservative but secular political vision of the early republican authors discussed in this thesis, the AKP's ideological "framework is heavily shaped by an Islamized reading of Ottoman history and Islamic civilization" contributing to a "Turkish identity as neo-Ottoman and Islamic" (Yavuz 2022, 660 and 676; see Haug and Roychoudhury forthcoming).

Parallel to these political developments, Turkish literature has continued to explore the Self between past and present, between East and West. Literary appropriation of Empire and Europe largely take place across the political spectrum, with both images acting as a reference for different political projects of aesthetic endeavours. In 21st-century Turkish literature, different strands of post-imperial melancholy related to the downfall of Empire and what is imagined as an authentic past unaffected by the premises of Western-dominated modernity have become an explicit literary discourse, notably through the publication of Pamuk's memoir *İstanbul: Hatıralar ve Şehir* (*Istanbul – Memories of a City*, 2003). In this essayistic mediate post-imperial narrative, Pamuk evokes *hüzün* as a collectively shared melancholic feeling connected with the lost power, wealth, glory and independence of the Ottoman Empire, which manifests itself in today's Istanbul. In continuity with themes of early republican novels, Pamuk discusses how Istanbul as the former Ottoman capital transformed into a 'neglected city,' becoming the focal point of the perceived change and ensuing feelings of tristesse. The gaze of the West, the European meta-image, is inscribed into Pamuk's memoir as an evaluative instance. Whereas Istanbul as the centre of a once autonomous and proud civilisation used to be an inspiration for European painters and writers, the decaying Ottoman *konaks* and anonymous shopping malls of today's Istanbul are indicative of an increasingly meaningless modernity unattractive to the Western observer.

Pamuk's *hüzün* includes many notions already captured by Tanpınar—whom Pamuk (2014 [2003]) refers to as a melancholic author—such as a critique of modernisation as inherently oblivious to history and tradition. In his aestheticization of modern change and torn belonging, Pamuk explicitly aligns himself in the tradition of early republican writers. As Pamuk explains in his introduction to the 2017 English edition of his memoir, he "attempted to make visible the feeling of melancholy that the city exuded, especially during the first three quarters of the twentieth century" (Pamuk 2017, xv). Pamuk revives images of the transition period from empire to nation-state, a time he did not experience himself, but which he approaches and revitalises through photographs, paintings, literature and travel reports. The image of Istanbul as his space of belonging is both shaped by local and European accounts. From Anton Ignaz Melling's paintings of Istanbul, to Théophile Gautier and Gérard de Nerval's travelogues, and from Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's writings to the photography of Ara Güler, Pamuk shows that images of Istanbul are shaped by a plurality of voices. In contrast to the rather dichotomous early republican accounts of East and West that can be found in Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's writings, the overall picture of Istanbul that Pamuk evokes is a melange of different impressions that cannot be distilled into one single identity. For Pamuk, what makes Istanbul 'authentic' in the ever-changing context of modernity is *hüzün*, a term capturing the pain over a loss and thus a certain set of emotions and experiences surrounding Turkey's intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions. Despite Pamuk's claims for authenticity (see Kučera and Chovanec 2022), it is notable that his exploration of Turkey's positionality between Eastern past and Western future seems to be strongly shaped by his male and affluent positionality. While his memoir is full of intertextual references to intellectuals, writers and painters from Turkey and beyond, for instance, there are hardly any female voices apart from his mother; and as Kader Konuk (2011, 252) has argued, Pamuk's *hüzün*, a feeling he claims is shared by all *İstanbullus*, can be linked to the "bourgeois habitus of the Westernized, urban elite."

Beyond the often-dominant focus on Pamuk among (Western) audiences outside Turkey, Istanbul and how it embodies the disrupted link between past and present in the face of heightened modern mobility and transformation is a topos that has been picked up by many other authors. For instance, the city is setting and context of the plot in Ahmet Ümit's crime novel *İstanbul Hatırası* (*A Memento for Istanbul*, 2010). Ümit's novel is organised in a didactic manner: murderers place corpses along a planned construction site in Istanbul's old Sultanahmet neighbourhood (part of the Fatih district) at historically important sites in order to accentuate how negatively the unsustainable economic and capitalistic practices affect the historical urban landscape. In order to solve the crimes, the inspectors have to learn (and thus

inform the readers of the novel) about the city's history. Attention is drawn not only to the Ottoman Empire but also to Istanbul's earlier imperial history, hence discussing the city's 'European heritage' as well. The homodiegetic narrator, a police inspector, ponders:

> We knew next to nothing about the history of our own city, our hometown. Forget the Greeks and Romans; we were just as clueless when it came to the Ottomans, and yet, despite knowing absolutely nothing about them or their history, we loved to brag and boast about the 'heroic exploits' of our forefathers (Ümit 2017, 52).[662]

Since the early 2000s, literary works have become increasingly critical not only of the missing or one-sided presence of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey's cultural memory but also of the missing confrontation with experiences that have not been part of the national memory, most notably the history and fate of Armenians. In the preface to the German translation (2015 [2006]) of her best-selling English novel *The Bastard of Istanbul* (2006), Elif Shafak laments Istanbul's discontinuity, incoherence and diminishing open-mindedness. Shafak describes Turkish society as suffering from collective amnesia and criticises its missing historical awareness, reflected in a certain carelessness towards sites of urban memory (Shafak 2015 [2006], 5). It is against this backdrop, Shafak recounts, that she began to be interested in the "moments of silence" of official historiography (ibid., 7). This lack of engagement with the past is the starting point of *The Bastard of Istanbul*, which tells the story of two girls, Armanoush and Asya, and their entangled American-Armenian and Turkish family histories. This novel and other literary texts by Shafak are examples of what Elena Furlanetto (2015, 167) describes as the 'Ottoman utopia,' referring to a "romanticized representation of the Ottoman Empire as a period of harmonious multiculturalism, captured in a nostalgic, a-historical language where the tensions of the past are replaced by images of tolerance and peaceful coexistence." While the multicultural Ottoman past is evoked as a positive counter-model to the identity crises and ethnic conflicts of today's Turkey, Shafak also transcends the dichotomous framework of Eastern and Western civilisations or Turkish and non-Turkish identities by stressing that identities and affiliations can pluralistic and simultaneous in a globalised world shaped by new networks and mobilities.

[662] "Ne diyebilirdim ki, bu kentin tarihi konusunda tam bir cahildik. Bırakın Yunan, Roma dönemini, Osmanlı dönemi hakkında bile hiçbir şey bilmiyorduk. Bütün bu bilgisizliğimize rağmen, lafa geldi mi, utanıp sıkılmadan, şanlı ceddimiz diye nutuk atmaya bayılıyorduk" (Ümit 2010, 49).

Sema Kaygusuz's novels and essays, in turn, address the silence on an (imperial) past that cannot be talked about, most notably with regard to experiences of violence.[663] In Kaygusuz's oeuvre, questions of shattered belonging take centre stage. Her collection of short stories *Karaduygun* (2012) approach the 'black feeling,' which could also be translated as 'black bile' or simply melancholia. Similar to Pamuk, who explicitly distinguishes *hüzün* and hence a certain spatial and temporal experience from European concepts of melancholy and tristesse, Kaygusuz argues that those suffering from the black bile—called melancholics since Hippocrates—are referred to as *karaduygulular* in "this part of the world" (Kaygusuz 2016 [2012], 69).[664] Not being able to fall asleep is equated with remembering, i.e., the inability to close one's eyes and forget. At night, the sleepless individual walks around in an "imaginary konak" of remembrance, described as a historical adventure in darkness (ibid., 12).[665] Whereas *hüzünlüler* say things like "this and that doesn't exist, this existed but now it doesn't anymore, this was about to happen but didn't happen," people who feel *karaduygu* ask ontological questions such as "[d]o I exist or not? In which time do I exist and in which body?" (ibid., 69).[666] Despite the lack of an explicit reference to Pamuk, Kaygusuz seems to criticise Pamuk's widely read and interpreted notion of a collective *hüzün* by claiming that it (too) easily arouses fascination or admiration (ibid., 71).[667] Instead, terms used by *hüzünlüler* such as loneliness and deficiency become sticky phrases as they can easily be connected with grand narratives of the glorious (imperial) past. Unmasked as a potentially politically opportunist discourse, Kaygusuz criticises the understanding of *hüzün* as a one-dimensional approach towards (Ottoman) history that can easily be imitated (ibid.).[668] Similar to Konuk's analysis of Pamuk's *Istanbul* memoir, Kaygusuz connects *hüzün* to the belonging to a social class (ibid., 76). *Karaduygu,* by contrast, is introduced as a mode of remembrance.

Kaygusuz encourages her readers to ask questions and break the silence about topics that are not part of official historiography. In *Karaduygun* as well as in other essays and short stories,

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[663] As Sabine Adatepe (2016, 5) underlined in her laudation upon Kaygusuz's reception of the 2016 Coburger Rückert prize, the author has the courage to find words for the unspoken and untold: "Mein Lob gilt Sema Kaygusuz auch für ihren Mut, immer wieder nach einer Sprache für Unausgesprochenes, für unerzählbar Scheinendes zu suchen."

[664] "Ta Hippokrates'ten beri kara safranın hükmünde yaşayan insanlara nasıl melankolik demişlerse, buralarda da karaduygun demişler."

[665] "Gece gezen herkes gibi, hatır, hatıra ve hafızanın harcıyla örülen hayali bir konakta, yapay ışıklar altında düşe kalka dolaşırken, tarihi bir serüven gibi yaşar karanlığı."

[666] Wheras *hüzünlüler* say, "o yok, bu yok, şu vardı ama şimdi eksik, olacaktı ama olmadı," *karaduygulular* ask questions such as "ben var mıyım, yok muyum, hangi zamanda, kimin içindeyim."

[667] "Hüzün kolayca hayranlık uyandırır."

[668] "Yalnızlık, yoksunluk ve her türlü -sizlik onların ağzında ağdalı bir söyleyişe dönuşür. […]. Üstelik hüzün taklit edilebilir bir şeydir."

she encourages readers to ask in detail what was lost and what remains (see Eng and Kazanjian 2003), but also why and how it was lost. Kaygusuz thus tries to transcend the selective and often nationalising early republican stance towards history and belonging—also reflected in Safa's, Edib's and Tanpinar's works—in which non-Muslim and other marginalised voices hardly find representation. Challenging the temporal modern dictum of novelty based on the deliberate replacement of the old, Judith Butler (2003) emphasises how loss is always inscribed in newness. Reassessing the notion of 'belatedness,' Butler argues that this form of delay relates to the new rather than the old. The (lost) originality of the past is inscribed in the (forceful) novelty of places (Butler 2003, 468). In an essay published in German upon the centennial of the Great Catastrophe,[669] Kaygusuz (2015) engages with this forced novelty by addressing the loss of the Armenian cemetery, in Ottoman times located in the Pangaltı neighbourhood of Istanbul near Taksim Square. The cemetery was officially demolished in the 1930s and replaced with new infrastructure such as hotels. What remains from the cemetery are gravestones that were used to construct stairs now leading up to the Taksim Gezi Park. Kaygusuz points out that the stones have not maintained their silence and instead raised their voices during the 2013 Gezi protests: "On the fundament of the memory emanating from these stones live the grandchildren" who can now give a voice to the unheard stories of the past.[670]

Kaygusuz builds a bridge from questions that refer to the past (what is lost and why) to a question that tackles the present (what remains) and concludes with a vision for the future: the necessity of memory, awareness and responsibility. In this context, she criticises nationalism and its interrelatedness with literature. At least partially resonating with this dissertation's analysis of Safa's, Edib's and Tanpınar's works, Kaygusuz argued in a 2013 speech on national literary production that during the late Ottoman period and the early Turkish Republic an "ideological literature" emerged that served the interests of the nation-state by associating people with their allegedly Turkic roots.[671] She suggests that it should be the task of authors and the function of critical literature to go beyond these limiting, national frames of reference (see Kaygusuz 2009). Approaching the past in the present, for Kaygusuz, means to generate sites for memory and breaking the silence, as well as to enable different approaches towards history for rewriting the past and telling stories that have not been part of national narratives.

[669] As Thomas de Waal (2015, 92 and 139) points out, several Armenians wrote accounts of deportation in 1915. They referred to it as 'Medz Yeghern' (Great Catastrophe).

[670] "Auf dem Fundament des diesem Stein entströmenden Gedächtnisses aber leben die Enkel."

[671] "Geç Osmanlı ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti sırasında Milli Edebiyat ve Türkleri kökenleştirmeye hizmet eden ideolojik bir edebiyat türemiştir."

With reference to examples of the mediate post-imperial narrative—notably the writings of Pamuk, Shafak and Kaygusuz—this rather brief outlook has provided selected insights into how contemporary literature from Turkey engages with the imperial past. They provide potential vantage points for the study of auto- and hetero-images and the examination of parallels and differences between the immediate (early republican) and mediate (post-modern) post-imperial narrative against the backdrop of Turkey's evolving Occidentalist condition. While the writings of Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar provide insights into the production of images of Self and Other at a particular historical juncture, the questions they raise and the references they engage with still resonate across contemporary literary production.

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Abstracts

English Abstract

This dissertation examines images of Self and Other in early republican Turkish literature. Attempting to disassociate itself from the Ottoman Empire and embrace Westernisation, the Republic of Turkey required new frameworks of belonging. Peyami Safa, Halide Edib and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar are three authors who shaped both public discourse and the literary canon of the republic in the 1930s and 1940s. I approach their literary and non-literary texts against the backdrop of Turkey's intertwined post-imperial and Occidentalist conditions. Post-imperiality acknowledges the continuous aftereffects of imperial *Lebenswelten* and the complex transition from empire to nation-state. The post-colonial concept of Occidentalism, in turn, denotes a globalised system of inequalities that locates the modern Western subject as the centre and agent of progress. As post-imperial narratives, the writings of Safa, Edib and Tanpınar capture transformations of order and affiliation and discuss how Turkey's present can reconcile continuity with Eastern imperial legacies and the experience of Western-dominated modernity, i.e., the Occidentalist condition. The analysis of their canonised novels – Safa's *Fatih Harbiye*, Edib's *Sinekli Bakkal* and Tanpınar's *Huzur* – and selected non-literary texts points to both Europe (the dominant image of Occidentalism) and the Ottoman Empire (the dominant image of Turkey's post-imperiality) as key references for the Self-Other nexus in the early republic. Conceptually, the dissertation introduces the Occidentalist Lens as a four-dimensional heuristic centring on key binaries – spatiality (im_mobility), civilisation (form_content), temporality (past_future) and gender (fe_male) – that allow for a systematic analysis of how texts engage with modernity. Methodologically, I connect imagology's traditional focus on national characteristics with the analysis of broader frameworks of belonging, notably notions of East and West. The spatial, civilizational, temporal and gendered images of Self and Other analysed in this dissertation offer a multi-faceted picture of early republican Turkish literature at the crossroads between post-imperiality and Western-dominated modernity.

German Abstract

Die vorliegende Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit Selbst- und Fremdbildern in der frührepublikanischen türkischen Literatur. Sowohl Prozesse der Verwestlichung als auch die politische Abgrenzung vom Osmanischen Reich beeinflussten die Auseinandersetzung mit Vorstellungen von Zugehörigkeit in der neugegründeten Republik Türkei. Peyami Safa, Halide Edib und Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar prägten als Autor*innen den öffentlichen Diskurs sowie den sich formierenden Literaturkanon der 1930er und 40er Jahre. Im Zentrum dieser Arbeit stehen ihre literarischen und nicht-literarischen Werke, die durch eine Kombination von post-imperialen und post-kolonialen Perspektiven betrachtet werden. Während Postimperialität die fortlaufenden Auswirkungen imperialen Zusammenbruchs fasst, umschreibt Okzidentalismus als post-koloniales Konzept ein globales System von Ungleichheiten, das westliche Subjekte als Inbegriff von Fortschritt ins Zentrum stellt. Es wird argumentiert, dass die Suche nach dem Eigenen und Fremden in der frührepublikanischen Türkei nicht nur mit dem Nachhall imperialer Lebenswelten verknüpft ist, sondern auch mit den Parametern einer fortschrittsorientierten westlich-dominierten Moderne und deren dichotomen Vorstellungswelten von Ost und West. Die Analyse kanonisierter post-imperialer Romane – Safas *Fatih Harbiye,* Edibs *Sinekli Bakkal* and Tanpınars *Huzur* – sowie ausgewählter nicht-literarischer Texte rückt Europa und das Osmanische Reich als hauptsächliche Bezugsreferenzen für die Konstruktion von Selbst- und Fremdbildern in den Vordergrund. Auf konzeptueller Ebene entwickelt die Dissertation die ‚Okzidentalistische Linse' als heuristisches Werkzeug, um die oftmals binäre Struktur von Zugehörigkeitserzählungen im Kontext westlich-geprägter Moderne zu beleuchten. Der Fokus auf die vier Dimensionen von Räumlichkeit (Im_Mobilität), Zivilisation (Form_Inhalt), Zeitlichkeit (Vergangenheit_Zukunft) und Gender (Frau_Mann) ermöglicht eine systematische Analyse von Identitätsbildern im Kontext der okzidentalistischen und post-imperialen Verfasstheit der Türkei. In methodologischer Hinsicht wird der traditionelle Fokus der komparatistischen Imagologie auf die Konstruktion von Nationalcharakteren mit der Analyse weiterer Zugehörigkeitsnarrative – besonders der Ost-West-Frage – verbunden. Die räumlich, zivilisatorisch, zeitlich und geschlechtlich imaginierten Selbst- und Fremdbilder offenbaren ein vielschichtiges Panorama der frührepublikanischen türkischen Literatur an der Schnittstelle von Postimperialität und westlich-dominierter Moderne.