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THE BALKAN WAR (1912-1913)
AND
VISIONS OF THE FUTURE IN OTTOMAN TURKISH LITERATURE

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To my mother and father

Anneme ve babama

The Balkan War (1912-1913) and Visions of the Future in Ottoman Turkish Literature

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Cover photo: Illustration from Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi [Çığırâçan], *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]).
Caption: “Ensal-i Âtiye-i Osmaniyyeye Bir Sütun-i İntibah” [An Obelisque of Awakening for the Future Generations of Ottomans]

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1. INTRODUCTION

Her âti karibdir
(Every future is close at hand)
Namık Kemal

The series of films entitled *Hababam Sınıfı* [The Unruly Class] are without a doubt some of the most popular films in Turkey. The first of the *Hababam Sınıfı* films – adapted from the eponymous series of novels by Rıfat Ilgaz – was shot in 1975, and focuses on a class of lazy, uneducated students at a private boarding school. In the third film in the series, *Hababam Sınıfı Uyaniyor* [The Unruly Class Awakens],¹ an inspector who frequently visits the school – and who is outraged at the ignorance of the students in the “Unruly Class” – sits in on a history lesson. The topic of the Balkan War is chosen in order to highlight the students’ ignorance, as no one in the class knows anything about the subject. (25:05-28:38) At the end of the film, the very same class forms a plot to show up a teacher who, it is hinted, takes a dim view of the Republican reforms and of *Öztürkçe* [the “purified” language of modern Turkey], and who constantly accuses the class of ignorance. With complete nonchalance, the entire class recites Atatürk’s *Gençliğe Hitabe* [Address to the Young] – a lengthy text full of antiquated words – from memory. (1:15:50-1:19:50) The message of this scene is clear. Even a class priding itself on its reputation for laziness and ignorance has learned the *Gençliğe Hitabe* – a text belonging to Atatürk and his Republic – by heart; and so it should. As for the Balkan War, it is used in this scene as an example of a historical event which is neither widely-known nor regarded as important. The scene is interesting in the way it shows how the Balkan War is perceived in popular culture.

2012 marked the 100th anniversary of the 1912-1913 Balkan War;² accordingly, many events were scheduled, many symposia were organized, many documentaries were made, and many magazines and journals prepared special issues. But it would be mistaken to assume that this interest has always been present. On the contrary, throughout the history of the Republic, the Balkan War did not receive due attention in Turkish historiography, did not occupy a place in public memory, and was not seen as a

¹ *Hababam Sınıfı Uyaniyor* [The Unruly Class Awakens], directed by Ertem Eğilmez (1976).

² In the literature on this subject, both the term “Balkan War” and the term “Balkan Wars” can be found. The two phases of this war resulted in completely different outcomes for some countries, e.g. Bulgaria. From the point of view of the Ottoman Empire, the situation was on a different scale, and in terms of its end results, can be treated as a unified whole. Moreover, in the literature on Ottoman Turkish history, there is a preference for the term “Balkan War.” Accordingly, I will employ the term “Balkan War” in this dissertation.

significant watershed in social and cultural history. Until now, the Balkan War has been overshadowed by the much larger and all-encompassing First World War (1914-1918), and – more importantly – the *Milli Mücadele* [National Struggle] (1919-1922) which concluded with the founding of the Turkish Republic.³ Aside from the greater perceived importance of those two conflicts, there are a number of reasons for the insufficient representation given to the Balkan War. Chief among these is the crushing defeat with which the war concluded, an experience best forgotten in the process of forging a new Turkish identity. As a result of these factors, it would seem, the literature on the Balkan War is comparatively limited, being mainly comprised of dry, prosaic texts composed by military sources, narrating the different phases of the campaign;⁴ memoirs by officers and attachés who served in the war;⁵ translations of books by reporters who witnessed the war;⁶ and certain narratives of a nationalistic, epic character.⁷ Textbooks on the subject are similarly inadequate in their treatment of the Balkan War. Serkan Avcı, in his Master's thesis entitled “The Balkan Wars in Textbooks in Turkey and Balkan Countries Which Fought in the Balkan Wars,” finds that among textbooks printed in the aforementioned countries, those printed in Turkey devote the least space to the War. For instance, a 2008 history textbook intended for second-year high school students only contains two pages about the Balkan War; a large portion of this text is made up of a list of the clauses of the Treaties of London and Bucharest with which the two phases of the War concluded.⁸

³ Mehmet Arısan elaborates on this point and demonstrates how and why the literature on the Balkan defeat was overshadowed by a discourse of a glorious War of Independence. Mehmet Arısan, “The Loss of the Lost: The Effects of the Balkan Wars on the Construction of Modern Turkish Nationalism,” in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 704-726.

⁴ These include: Genelkurmay Harb Tarihi Başkanlığı Resmi Yayınları, *Balkan Harbi (1912-1913)* [The Balkan War (1912-1913)] (Ankara: Göknuur Yayınevi, 1970); Genelkurmay Askeri Tarih ve Stratejik Etüt Başkanlığı Yayınları, *Balkan Harbi Kronolojisi* [A Chronology of the Balkan War] (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1999).

⁵ Fevzi Çakmak, *Batı Rumeli'yi Nasıl Kaybettik?* [How Did We Lose Western Rumelia?], ed. Ahmet Tetik (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2011); Mahmud Muhtar Paşa, *Balkan Savaşı: Üçüncü Kolordu'nun ve İkinci Doğu Ordusu'nun Muharebeleri* [The Balkan War: the Battles of the Third Army Corps and the Second Eastern Army] (Istanbul: Güncel Yayıncılık, 2003); Gustav von Hochwächter, *Balkan Savaşı Günlüğü: “Türklerle Cephede,”* [A Diary of the Balkan War: “On the Front with the Turks”], trans. Sumru Toydemir (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2008), et al.

⁶ Stéphane Lauzanne, *Uçurumun Kenarındaki Türkiye: I. Balkan Savaşı ve Çekilen Acılar* [Turkey at the Edge of the Cliff: the First Balkan War and its Sufferings], trans. Teoman Tunçdoğan (Istanbul: Bileşim Yayınları, 2004); Leon Trotsky, *Balkan Savaşları* [The Balkan Wars], trans. Tansel Güney (Istanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1995); Henry Nivet, *Balkan Haçlı Seferinde Avrupa Siyaseti ve Türklerin Felaketi* [European Politics and Turkish Catastrophe in the Balkan Crusade], trans. Ragıp Rıfki (Istanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık, n.d.), et al.

⁷ Süleyman Kocabaş, *Son Haçlı Seferi Balkan Harbi 1912-1913: Avrupa Türkiyesi'nin Kaybı* [The Last Crusade: the Balkan War of 1912-1913 and the Loss of European Turkey] (Istanbul: Vatan Yayınları, 2000); İbrahim Artuç, *Balkan Savaşı: Başımıza Gelenlerin Öyküsü* [The Balkan War: the Story of What Happened to Us] (Istanbul: Kastaş Yayınları, 1988), et al.

⁸ Serkan Avcı, “Türkiye ve Balkan Savaşları'na Katılan Balkan Ülkelerinin Ders Kitaplarında Balkan Savaşları” [The Balkan Wars in Textbooks in Turkey and Balkan Countries Which Fought in the Balkan Wars], Master's Thesis, Gazi University, 2009.

However, the effects of the Balkan War were much more far-reaching than its historical representation would suggest. For the army of a people whose cultural traditions prized martial virtue, bravery, heroism, and sacrifice over industry, trade, science, and invention, the war was a horrifying, overwhelming defeat – and, from their point of view, a shameful one – at the hands of countries they regarded as their “former servants.” For the politician Yusuf Hikmet Bayur (1891-1980),

This war is one of the most painful memories in Turkish history. This is not merely because it resulted in a defeat, the loss of nearly all of Rumelia, and innumerable torments and incomparable destruction for millions of Turks; but rather because, just as importantly or even more importantly, it gave rise to the widespread belief – one also held by many Turks – that Turkish honor and glory had been brought low, and that the moral greatness and lofty character they had inherited from their ancestors had been lost as well (...) ⁹

As a result of this overwhelming defeat, they had been expelled within a few weeks from European lands over which they had ruled for more than five centuries. Given the trauma it engendered, the defeat of the Balkan War cannot merely be seen as another link in the chain of losses the Ottomans had suffered at the hands of the great European powers for about two hundred years. Moreover, it is impossible to explain the radical cultural and ideological transformation which occurred at that point in time in the Ottoman Turkish intellectual world, in its literature and in its public opinion, without taking the Balkan War into account.

This dissertation attempts to demonstrate how two apparently unrelated phenomena are, in fact, closely linked to one another. The first of these phenomena is the aforementioned issue of how the Balkan War is perceived and reflected in the Turkish cultural and political context. The second phenomenon, which will be addressed in the pages that follow, is the problematic of the existence in Turkish literature of utopian works that make predictions about the future.

The existence of Turkish-language utopian works is not well reflected in the historiography of Turkish literature. Generally speaking, no such genre is recognized. Whenever the issue arises, Halide Edip’s *Yeni Turan* [The New Turan] and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s *Ankara*, and perhaps one or two additional works, are included on the list; none of these are considered to be literary successes. Otherwise, it is

⁹ Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Balkan Savaşları: Birinci Balkan Savaşı I (1912)* [The Balkan Wars: The First Balkan War, I (1912)] (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Yayını, 1999), 13: “Bu savaş Türk tarihinin en acı anlarından biridir; bu yalnız yenilme, hemen bütün Rumeli’nin elden çıkması ve milyonlarca Türk’ün bin bir eziyet ve eşsiz bir yıkıma uğraması dolayısıyla böyle değildir, bunlar kadar ve bunların da üstünde olarak Türk şanını ve Türk onurunu alçalttığı, herkeste ve birçok Türk’te atalardan kalma bütün manevi büyüklüklerin ve yüksek ıraların da elden çıktığı sanını doğurduğu için de böyledir. (...)”

emphasized that there are no utopian works in Turkish literature. Why this is so is open to debate.

An example may help us to understand this phenomenon. Literary historian and critic Atilla Özkırımlı, in his introduction to the novel *Ankara*, writes as follows: “*Ankara* is a utopian novel. Accordingly, it has been unable to escape the inevitable fate of all such novels: because the utopia which constitutes the last part of the book has failed to materialize, the work has decreased in value over time.”¹⁰ Özkırımlı’s verdict that deeply echoes the socialist-realist literary criticism prevalent at that time – whether concerning all utopian novels or concerning *Ankara* alone – is a dubious one, since utopian works do not acquire value by “coming true,” as if they were a string of individual prophecies. Indeed, if this notion were correct, we would be unable to explain why Thomas More’s *Utopia*, William Morris’s *News from Nowhere*, and many other utopian narratives which have failed to “materialize,” are still read, and valued, centuries later. On the contrary, these types of texts are valuable to literary scholars, political scientists, and historians in many ways; they are significant in that they show what kind of transformation the author desires his/her society and living conditions to undergo.

Accordingly, the problem in positioning Turkish-language utopian works may be linked to the way in which this concept is perceived. The word’s equivalents in Turkish dictionaries attest to the fact that such equivalents differ from the meanings held by the term “utopia” in Western languages.¹¹ We see the first example of this in the *Kamus-ı Fransevî* [French-Turkish Dictionary] of Şemsettin Sami. Here, Şemsettin Sami translates the French word *utopie* as “a vain fancy, an unreal fancy, something nonexistent, an impossible supposition.”¹² Thus, the further removed it is from reality, the more the concept is devalued. The Turkish Dictionary of the *Türk Dil Kurumu* [Turkish Language Association] defines the term *ütopya* as “a scheme or idea which is impossible to realize,”¹³ while that of Ali Püsküllüoğlu defines it as “a striking, interesting scheme or idea which cannot come to fruition.”¹⁴ In other words, it is evident that the word “utopia” primarily calls to mind negative associations in Turkish.

Nonetheless, this dissertation hopes to demonstrate that, however we may define the concept of utopia, there exist numerous works of Turkish literature of the past 150 years which were written with the express intention of proposing a vision of a utopian future.

¹⁰ Atilla Özkırımlı, “Introduction,” in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 5th ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1996), 13: “Ütopik bir romandır *Ankara*. Bu nedenle bütün ütopik romanların kaçınılmaz sonundan kurtulamamış, romanın bir bölümünü oluşturan ütopi gerçekleşmediği için, zamanla değer yitimine uğramıştır.”

¹¹ For the way the concept is understood in English, see Section 2.1.3.

¹² Şemsettin Sami, “Utopie,” *Kamus-ı Fransevî-Dictionnaire Français-Turc* [French-Turkish Dictionary], 1318 [1902]: “Hayal-i hâm, hayal-i bâtil, muhâlat, faraziyat-ı gayr-i mümkinе”

¹³ “Ütopya,” *TDK Türkçe Sözlük* [Turkish Dictionary of the Turkish Language Association], 1988: “Gerçekleştirilmesi imkânsız tasarı veya düşünce.”

¹⁴ Ali Püsküllüoğlu, “Ütopya,” *Türkçe Sözlük* [Turkish Dictionary] (Ankara: Arkadaş Yayıncılık, 1995): “Gerçekleşmesi olanaksız, çarpıcı, ilginç tasarı ya da düşünce.”

Aim and Argument

In this context, the aim of the present work is to link these two problematic phenomena – the Balkan War in the cultural memory of Turkey, and utopian works in Turkish literature – to one another. This thesis aims to

- bring to light the unknown literary corpus of Turkish-language utopian works, and
- use these texts to analyze the trauma narrative of the Balkan War from an Ottoman Turkish perspective, and
- trace the effects this narrative has had upon the creation of a new Turkish identity.

The main argument which will form the basis of this analysis is as follows: the unforeseen, out-and-out disaster suffered by the Ottomans in the Balkan War, along with its tragic consequences, produced profound shock and trauma in the Ottoman Turkish public and intelligentsia. The state's teetering on the brink of collapse transformed and radicalized political and ideological positions on the country's future. At the same time, this extreme setback transformed literature as well, assigning to it the mission of narrativizing this trauma and envisioning a future for Turkey. Accordingly, in the period following the Balkan War, many utopian works were produced in Turkish literature, which until that time had possessed a relatively meager tradition of writings about an imaginary future. Some of these works have been helpful in the creation of new categories of identity, and in their preservation down to the present day.

Starting Point

There were two main reasons for my choice of this topic, one personal, one academic. The personal reason impelling me to work on the Balkans, the loss of the Balkans, and the Balkan War in literature, is tied to my own family history. The Balkan War directly or indirectly determined the personal histories of many individuals living in Turkey.

As someone whose mother immigrated to Turkey from the Macedonian city of Manastır (Bitola) one generation after the Balkan War, I probably would not exist if that war – along with the ethnic homogenization policies and forced migrations that came in its wake – had not taken place. The choice of this topic, therefore, has a personal dimension for me as I research my family's roots.

The second reason, which was at least as decisive, related to my Master's thesis entitled "Schemes for an Ideal Society in Literary Utopias of the Republican Period,"¹⁵

¹⁵ Engin Kılıç, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ütopyalarında İdeal Toplum Tasavvurları" [Visions of an Ideal Society in Literary Utopias of the Republican Period] (Unpublished MA thesis, Istanbul Bilgi University, 2005).

which I wrote while enrolled in İstanbul Bilgi University's Master's Program in Cultural Studies, with Murat Belge as my advisor. I began my research wishing to understand the reasons for the generally-accepted verdict mentioned above, namely, that there are no utopias in Turkish literature. Upon my subsequently finding many such works, my research changed in character; in addition to analyzing these works, I also strove to make sense of why they are so little known.

However, a side effect of my research (one which did not fit into the scope of my thesis, which was limited to the Republican period) was my discovery of the existence of an extensive Ottoman-era literary corpus of schemes for the future, informed by a far more colorful utopian vision. Moreover, my brief forays into this corpus at the time revealed that these visions of the future could be linked to many political, social, and cultural developments of the Republican period, developments which they had themselves inspired.

However, since the vast majority of these texts had been written before the 1928 Alphabet Reform (in which the Arabic alphabet was abandoned in favor of the Latin alphabet), and had not subsequently been transliterated into this new Latin alphabet, they were almost completely forgotten.

It can be argued that this process of forgetting did not stem from a simple oversight. To that end, it is necessary to keep two things in mind: first, Turkey's return from the brink of destruction after ten years of war, and its establishment of a modern republic modeling itself on the West, were perceived by some segments of society as a "utopia come true." As suggested above, this rendered useless every kind of scheme which could have supplied an alternative to the ideological precursors of the Republic. Second, the single-party state mechanism, which from the 1930s onward had established a totalitarian order so as to consolidate the regime against its various centers of opposition, objected to any schemes proposing an alternative social order, and did not allow them to circulate; texts which praised the existing regime were exempt from this prohibition. Those who wrote these texts composed in the Ottoman period were of the same generation as those who founded the Republic; indeed, in some cases, they were members of the same establishments. Nonetheless, during this period many of these individuals (Ali Kemal, Halide Edip Adivar, Celal Nuri İleri, etc.) were branded traitors, stigmatized, or, at best, merely silenced. In short, it can be said that these texts, which dreamed of an alternative social order, fell victim to the Republic's perception that they were a threat. Hence, the choice of this topic was also influenced by the belief that it would be beneficial to use these little-known literary texts to observe patterns of intellectual and cultural continuity between the end of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the Republic.

Sources and Methodology

Works in book form were obtained and included in the study. Similar works also exist in periodicals; thus, the author searched through prominent periodicals of the era such

as *İçtihat* [Jurisprudence], *Genç Kalemler* [The Young Pens], *Servet-i Fünun* [The Wealth of Knowledge], *Şehbal* [The Wing Feather], *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland], *Halka Doğru* [To the People], *Rübab* [an old word for the *saz*, a Turkish stringed instrument] and *Sebilürreşat* [The True Path]. As will be seen in the Bibliography, not all periodicals were searched through directly; recourse was had to various books, theses, indices, and articles of the era which contained gleanings from periodicals. Newspapers were excluded from the scope of this dissertation for practical reasons (large number of issues, accessibility problems, etc).

While visions of Turkey's future may constitute the primary focus of the present work, it should be stressed that the materials used in this dissertation are limited to works of literature. Accordingly, a work such as Prens Sabahattin's *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabilir?* [How Can Turkey Be Saved?], even if it does offer a vision of the future, does not figure in this dissertation, since it lacks any fictional aspect. Therefore, ideological tracts, political programs, etc., without any literary interest are outside the scope of this study.

Once the requirement of "fictionality" had been fulfilled, there was no attempt to make a clear-cut definition of the terms "literary" or "fictional," or a precise distinction between the two. For one thing – as will be seen below – the writers themselves, in some cases, experienced confusion about the nature of the texts they produced. In addition, it would have greatly complicated matters to impose such additional criteria, considering the difficulties already associated with utopia (a heterogeneous genre to begin with).

Furthermore, excluding works on the basis of genre was out of the question. In this study, it is possible to encounter examples from every genre: novels, short stories, poems, plays, essays, memoirs, etc. No doubt the critical traditions of these various genres possess their own distinctive codes; however, no particular attention was paid to such codes in the analysis of these texts. No matter what their genre, the texts were seen as part of a more general category of "literary narrative".

Since these works will be analyzed as narratives, relevant terminology will be used when necessary. The relationship between the form and the content of the texts will be taken into consideration with reference to the concepts like narrative, narrator, character, time, space, etc. The study will, when applicable, also try to find out to what extent the formal preferences are related to the content, to make sense of the structural differences and how they are connected with the political position reflected in the texts. Manfred Jahn's *Narratology: A Guide to the Theory of Narrative*¹⁶ will be the main reference for that conceptual perspective and thus these concepts will be used in the sense that they are defined in that study.

¹⁶ Manfred Jahn, *Narratology: A Guide to the Theory of Narrative*. (English Department, University of Cologne, 2005). <http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/pppn.htm#N3>. Also see David Herman (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Luc Herman&Bart Vervaeck, *Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Suzanne Keen, *Narrative Form* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

Nevertheless, the aim of this study is not to carry out a formal analysis confined to the framework of literary conventions but to concentrate on the content and to delineate and understand their future projections. Hence the approach adopted in this work is to consider works of literature from a broader intellectual and cultural-historical perspective as well as to perceive such works as cultural artifacts both influenced by the cultural context into which they are born, and playing a role in the creation of that context (whether their authors are aware of it or not).

Without taking into account the cultural and political context shaped by the Balkan War, it is impossible to understand the texts which constitute the subject-matter of this thesis, or understand why they contain the content they do, or why they were produced at this stage of history. Therefore, this thesis will employ an interdisciplinary perspective, by taking into account the mutual interactions between these different, but related, fields.

Two more points regarding the conceptual preferences of this study ought to be addressed. As can be understood from the interesting examples mentioned above, it is impossible to arrive at a universally-accepted definition of utopia, “the most political genre of literature.” However, a study such as this cannot proceed without relying on a specific definition. Therefore, in Section 2.1.3, works on the concept of utopia were searched through, and a definition was arrived at which was largely similar to that developed in Krishan Kumar’s book *Utopianism*.¹⁷ This formed the basis for the present work’s definition of utopia.

Another critically important concept in this thesis is the concept of trauma. Clearly, this should not merely be understood in the narrow dictionary definition of the word, which refers to a medical condition. At the same time, however, it is evident that the concept of trauma can be used in a highly ambiguous fashion to denote every kind of shock. Therefore, in order to carry out a conceptual de-cluttering of the word “trauma,” this dissertation has adopted the concept of trauma developed in the book *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, by Jeffrey C. Alexander et al. The book develops a concept the authors call “cultural trauma.” According to this concept, trauma does not emerge by itself with the occurrence of a traumatic event; the key element is the production of a trauma narrative, a narrative which is used in the creation of a collective identity. Alexander’s approach is treated in detail in Chapter 3.1.

In short, the conceptualization of “utopia” on the one hand and “cultural trauma” on the other, will constitute the theoretical framework of this study. In addition, I argue that it is impossible to make sense of this particular literary utopian production without taking its specific historical setting, i.e., the Balkan War and its aftermath, into consideration. Therefore the work will adopt an interdisciplinary approach considering the mutual interaction between the literary and historical developments at that time.

¹⁷ Krishan Kumar, *Utopianism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1990).

Contents

Before concluding this introduction, it may be helpful to provide some brief information regarding the contents of the chapters and sections of this thesis. The following part focuses on the historical background. The main topic of the first chapter of Part 2 is utopia and visions of the future. Here, especially, various definitions of the term “utopia” will be examined, from which a basic definition will emerge for the purposes of this thesis. Second, this chapter will address the historical development process of utopia, the transformations it has undergone, and a number of sample utopian works from prominent Western literary traditions; in doing so, it will attempt to provide a historical context for the subject, and to generate an axis of comparison.

The chapter that follows will deal with the topic of the Balkan War. However, since this dissertation is not a work of military history – and since there currently exist authoritative academic works dealing with the Balkan War in its military aspects – this chapter will deal with the War in outline, stressing those points which are relevant to this thesis.

This will be followed by Part 3 that focuses on the concept of “cultural trauma”. First chapter will concentrate on the shock of defeat, along with the trauma narrative fostered by phenomena such as massacres and mass migrations.

Certain recurring themes in the trauma narrative that emerged after the Balkan War will be addressed, along with examples, in the following chapter. Among the themes to be elucidated will be the conscription of literature for the purpose of social mobilization, the “imperial blindness” observable before the War, and the propensity for humiliating the enemy. Next, the chapter will deal with nationalistic/xenophobic reactions emerging from the shock of defeat; the discourse of rancor and hatred; and the desire for revenge. Mention will be made of motifs occurring at the end of this process (as peoples’ eyes turn to the future), such as the search for a savior, calls for awakening, admonitions to “never forget,” the need for a national goal, and emulation of the victorious adversary.

Next come Parts Four and Five, which comprise the bulk of the thesis. Part Four will examine utopian works produced in the time of the Young Ottomans, from their emergence in the 1860s down till the Balkan War. At the end of this part, there will be an Evaluation, highlighting the shared characteristics of these works. The purpose of Part 5 is to examine works produced during the Balkan War and afterwards.

The Conclusion will not merely summarize the findings of this study, but will deal with the subject in a broader context.

Some Notes on Dates, Transliteration, Names, and Citations

As the main source texts are predominantly in Ottoman Turkish, whenever the dates given are Hijri dates, they are specified as such; if no information is provided, the dates

can be assumed to belong to the Rumi calendar. In addition, next to each Hijri or Rumi date, the equivalent date in the Gregorian calendar has been given in brackets.

Transcriptions from Ottoman Turkish have followed the orthographical rules of modern-day Turkish; special diacritical marks have not been used.

In the case of authors of books published before the enactment of the 1934 Law on Surnames, if these individuals lived until the passage of the Law and adopted a surname, their surname has been provided in brackets.

Source citations have followed the rules found in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. However, in chapters (particularly those in Part 4 and 5) which examine a specific work, references to that work have not been given in a footnote, but rather in parentheses within the text.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. Visions of the Future and the Concept of Utopia

As previously stated, this study will deal with works of Turkish literature written prior to and following the Balkan War, specifically those offering a perspective on the future of Turkey, setting a goal, or devising a specific formula for salvation or progress. It will also seek to identify the process of trauma in the aftermath of the Balkan War, by comparing works produced before the War with those produced after it.

Such an aim inevitably compels us to come to terms with the concept of “utopia.” There is some uncertainty regarding this topic; indeed, from some points of view, it may not even be possible to classify the works featured in this thesis as “utopias.” The primary reason for such hesitancy, perhaps, is the Eurocentric character of the alternative ways of life or dreams of the future found in these texts. In other words, instead of presenting visions derived from an entirely free imaginary world, these works take their bearings from Western European civilization, a civilization they both wished to emulate and viewed as a rival and threat. Striving not to fall behind Western Europe, catching up with it, even overtaking it, became their directly or indirectly stated goal.¹⁸ Consequently, the majority of these utopias – as will be explained below – cannot be considered “*u*-topias” per se; they had a definite *topos*, namely that of Europe. However, the Europe they sought to emulate was not a geographical entity, but rather a theoretical “construct.”

At the same time, it would not be meaningful or productive to analyze the works in this thesis by forsaking the concept of utopia altogether. To be sure, this depends on how utopia is defined. Various parameters found in different definitions of the term furnish useful keys for evaluating these works. For instance, the works dealt with here contain many of the themes, techniques, motifs, and approaches encountered in a number of utopias from the *Utopia* of Thomas More to those written today. These include discussions of the societal conditions and mindset which make utopias feasible; a critical attitude towards existing reality; a capacity for imagining a place that is chronologically or geographically remote, or for inventing an alternative way of life and describing it in detail; efforts to evoke a desire for utopia; and the literary device of having the hero travel around accompanied by a guide. Most importantly, when one takes into account the authors’ motivations and the conditions in which they lived, it

¹⁸ Murat Belge, “Ütopya” [Utopia] in *Ütopya* [Utopia], ed. Ali Bülent Kutvan (Istanbul: İndex, 2004), 39-44; Uğur Tanyeli, “Zihinsel Yapımız Ütopyaya Kapalı mı?” [Does Our Intellectual Makeup Preclude Utopia?], *İstanbul* 5 (April 1993): 22-25.

becomes obvious that each work – despite its stylistic flaws – is, in essence, the product of an entirely utopian way of thinking.

For this reason, it will be useful to include an explanation here on the positioning of the concept of utopia – how it is perceived and how it is defined.¹⁹

Utopias – which we can define, roughly speaking, as ideals of the “good life,” or as plans for an “ideal society” bear a diverse range of implications. They could be considered as imaginative texts showing how societies ought to evolve, and evoking a wish for such an evolution; or they could be seen as social critiques; they could even be viewed as crude daydreams or as a “literature of escapism.” In addition to literary utopian texts, social movements, political schools of thought, and religious sects have also at times been classified as utopian.

Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines the term “utopia” as follows:

- an imaginary place in which the government, laws, and social conditions are perfect
- an imaginary and indefinitely remote place
- often capitalized: a place of ideal perfection especially in laws, government, and social conditions
- an impractical scheme for social improvement²⁰

In fact, this definitional multivalence dates back to the coining of the word. An invention of Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), the term “utopia” was created by combining the Greek word *topos* [place] with the prefix “u,” which could serve equally well as the English pronunciation of *ou* [Greek for “not”] or of *eu* [Greek for “good/well”]. Due to this deliberate ambiguity, “utopia” has come to be used in the sense of a place which does not exist, but where people want to live.²¹

Before attempting a detailed, comparative definition which will serve as a productive analytical tool in this thesis, it would be worthwhile to take a brief look at the history of the concept of utopia.

2.1.1. Narratives of Alternative Ways of Life before More’s *Utopia*

Visions of an ideal society which could be said to possess utopian characteristics had also been produced prior to More’s *Utopia*, even if it was the latter that lent its name to

¹⁹ The lines that follow base their definition and history of utopia on the relevant section in my 2005 Master’s thesis entitled “Visions of an Ideal Society in Literary Utopias of the Republican Period.” For a more detailed analysis of the concept of utopia, the reader is referred to the aforementioned thesis: Kılıç, “Cumhuriyet Dönemi.”

²⁰ “Utopia,” Merriam-Webster, accessed July 30, 2014, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/utopia>.

²¹ Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2010), 2.

the term. Below, I will briefly touch on these – as far as is necessary for the purposes of this thesis – while grouping them thematically.

Myths of the Golden Age

Many cultures have possessed an Age of Felicity or a Golden Age: a past era in which, it is believed, humans once lived a life that was simple, happy, and free, lacking nothing. The origin of these myths dates all the way back to the Epic of Gilgamesh, in which there is a description of the land of Dilmun, where humans live peacefully, in harmony with nature, amid springs that never run dry, without needing to work.²² Hesiod's *Works and Days*, Vergil's *Eclogues* (with their depiction of the land of Arcadia), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are important examples of this genre.

The belief in the Golden Age depends on a very specific conception of time. This cyclical understanding of history, which entered Islamic philosophy by way of Plato and Ibn Khaldun (and which, incidentally, was also prevalent in Ottoman culture), finds its quintessential expression in the *Works and Days*: in Hesiod's poem, the Golden, Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages follow each other in sequence, along with generations of humans befitting each respective age.²³ Naturally, there is a hierarchy of value among these Ages. Additional examples of Golden Age myths could include the *Krita Yuga* [the initial "Perfect Age"] in the Indian epic the *Mahabharata*; the "Dreamtime" of the Australian Aborigines; and the "Age of Perfect Virtue" in Chinese Daoism.²⁴ In addition to such ahistorical, mythical Golden Ages, one can also encounter historical ones. In this context, one might mention references to the Roman Empire in the European tradition of the Golden Age; allusions to the time of Muhammad in Islamic culture; or references in Ottoman poetry to – for example – the period from Fatih Sultan Mehmet to Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, seen as the Ottoman Golden Age. Myths of the Golden Age, in addition to their nostalgia for this supposed past time, might be said to suggest that if only people lived the way they did in the Golden Age, they would be as happy as the inhabitants of the latter.

Paradise Myths

Paradise myths are another type of narrative²⁵ centering on the theme of the "happy life."²⁶ As late as the 16th century, many cultures believed that Paradise was

²² Daniel Hollis III, *The ABC-Clio World History to Utopian Movements* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 1998), 41.

²³ Michèle Riot-Sarcey, Thomas Bouchet, Antoine Picon, *Ütopiyalar Sözlüğü* [Dictionary of Utopias], trans. Turhan Ilgaz (Istanbul: Sel, 2003), 13.

²⁴ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 5.

²⁵ In this thesis I will make frequent references to the term "narrative". Manfred Jahn defines it as "a form of communication which presents a sequence of events caused and experienced by characters." (Jahn, *Narratology*) I will be using this term in this sense.

²⁶ For Paradise Myths, see Kumar, *Utopianism*, 5; Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press,

located somewhere on Earth; numerous epics were written telling stories of the discovery of this Paradise. Examples include the Islands of the Blessed, where the living bodies of Greek and Roman heroes ended up; the Tibetan legend of Shambala, a mysterious kingdom in a remote Himalayan valley, where perfect Enlightenment and true Buddhism hold sway; and the Paradise Islands seen by Sinbad the Sailor. Traces of these ancient legends of an earthly paradise can frequently be found in Christian Paradise Myths, as well. The belief that the Garden of Eden existed on Earth was based on a line in the Book of Genesis: “And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.” (Genesis 2:8) We know from Columbus’s letters, among other things, that he was in search of the “Kingdom of Prester John,” a legend which was apparently an amalgamation of the Biblical Paradise and the legend of the *Fortunatae Insulae* [Fortunate Isles] of Celtic mythology.²⁷ Furthermore, there is the earthly paradise in the Atlantic Ocean known as St. Brendan’s Isle, mentioned in a 9th century legend narrating the sea voyage of the eponymous Irish saint (484–577); as soon as it had been penned, the legend was immediately accepted as fact. For centuries, St. Brendan’s Isle was shown on maps, and voyages to discover the island were carried out as late as the 18th century. Columbus, too, mentions this island in his journal as though it were real.²⁸

Messianic/Mahdist/Millenarian Texts

Another significant vein of thought relevant to the Utopian canon consists of beliefs regarding the coming of the Messiah or Mahdi, as well as Millenarian beliefs. Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism contain many versions of a “savior” figure, whose coming will herald the start of a new age. This savior will fight pitched battles with a Satanic figure representing the forces of evil, but will be victorious in the end, ushering in a new age of universal peace, plenty, and justice in the world.²⁹ I will not go into a more detailed discussion of the beliefs that have arisen among the various conservative and radical sects within these faiths. What they share in common is an anticipation of a savior who will realize a vision of an ideal society and establish a terrestrial paradise. From the 16th century German peasant rebellion led by Thomas Muntzer to the Diggers

1979), 33–44 and Roland Schaer, Gregory Claeys, Lyman Tower Sargent, ed. *Utopia: The Search for the Ideal Society in The Western World* (New York: Oxford University Press and New York Public Library, 2000), 38–49.

²⁷ Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, “Tarihin Sonu Senaryosu Olarak Ütopya” [Utopia as an End-of-History Scenario] in Ali Bülent Kutvan, *Ütopya* (Istanbul: Index, 2004), 13; Kumar, *Utopianism*, 5.

²⁸ Akşit Göktürk, *Ada: İngiliz Yazınında Ada Kavramı* [Island: The Concept of the Island in English Literature] (Istanbul: Adam, 1982), 22–23.

²⁹ The origin of the tradition of awaiting the Messiah/Mahdi in monotheistic religions dates back to Jewish Messianism. The Hebrew word *mashiah* originally meant “anointed (with oil)”; as there was a custom of anointing kings with oil at their coronation ceremonies, it came to be used as a metonym for “king.” After the destruction of the First Temple and the Babylonian exile, the term later came to indicate a future king (of the line of David) who would re-establish the Kingdom of Israel. Disasters like the Roman Conquest and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple strengthened the Jews’ belief in the Messiah. See Kumar, *Utopianism*, 7–8.

and Fifth Monarchists during the 17th century English Civil War, from the Shakers and Mormons of 19th century America to the Jehovah's Witnesses of the 20th century, many sects have adopted beliefs of this nature.³⁰ The belief in the Mahdi – a just ruler who will pave the way for the second coming of the Messiah – has also cropped up in different versions in Muslim societies, generally during times of revolt.³¹

The “City” as a Utopia

The city is another central theme in utopian thought – in ancient Greece and Mesopotamia as well as in the Renaissance – and one which would have a profound influence on later thinkers. Envisioned as the embodiment of the good life and the ideal society, the city was viewed in pre-Renaissance times as a small-scale reflection of God's universal order. This divine order was reflected both in the configuration of the city and in its operation.

Discipline is the most conspicuous feature of the ideal city. While some allowance might be made for private life, this is only possible within the framework of strict governmental supervision. Such a state of affairs reflects the original purpose of the city, namely communal living. For the same reason, one can encounter a social hierarchy within these ideal cities. The divine hierarchy of the universe is reflected in the city's functional division of labor.³² The best-known work in this category is Plato's *Republic*. The dialogue, written in approximately 360 BC, portrays a city whose key elements are authority and discipline. With its prediction of class division – and of a system in which every aspect of life is planned and monitored by the authorities – the *Republic* has had a profound effect upon modern utopias.³³

The entire utopian tradition has been deeply influenced by the notion of an ideal city, self-sufficient, closely supervised, based on a social hierarchy, and reflecting the divine order of the universe. Nearly all late Renaissance utopias – the chief examples being Andreae's *Christianopolis* (1619) and Campanella's *La città del Sole* [The City of the Sun] (1602) – have reproduced this structure.

Additionally, innumerable legends, romances, and works of science fiction have been written about ideal societies said to exist in the past or in the future, on this earth or on other planets, such as the lost continent of Atlantis, the hidden valley of Shangri-La, the far-off land of El Dorado, the Land without Evil of the Brazilian Guarani people, the way of life of the “Noble Savage,” or civilizations found on Earth or on the Moon.

³⁰ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 6–11.

³¹ For more on Mahdist belief under the Ottoman Empire, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam* [Ottoman Culture and Daily Life], trans. Elif Kılıç, 2nd edition (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 87–89.

³² Kumar, *Utopianism*, 12.

³³ John Carey, ed. *The Faber Book of Utopias* (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), 12.

2.1.2. Utopia and Modern Times

Despite the evident contributions made to utopian thought by Golden Age myths, Paradise myths, Millenarian practices, Mahdist traditions, etc., still, none of these come to mind when we say the word “utopia.” When we speak of “utopia,” we do not mean a vision of the good life based on religious beliefs, divine interventions, hedonist fantasies, etc. Rather, when we use this term, it refers to a dream of a well-run society founded upon human intellect and human will, one which possesses some relevance to currently existing conditions. These kinds of works are encountered following the arrival of Modernity, specifically after the publication of *Utopia*. In this connection, let us briefly return to the aforementioned work.

Published by Sir Thomas More in 1516 under the full title *Libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo rei publicae statu deque nova insula Utopia* [A Truly Golden Little Book, no less Beneficial than Entertaining, Concerning the Optimal State of a Republic and the New Island of Utopia], *Utopia* consists of a series of recollections of the voyages of Raphael Hythloday, a traveler whom the author claims to have met in Antwerp. Depicted as a just, happy, egalitarian society, Utopia is an island nation cut off from the mainland by a canal dug by King Utopus, a place where money and private property are unknown, leaders are chosen by election each year, people work six hours a day, societal supervision and regulations are set with mathematical precision, luxury and waste are avoided, and life is lived in harmony with nature and human intellect. A vision of an ideal humanistic society, resistant to being classified in terms of then-existing types of narrative, *Utopia* would later give its name to a genre featuring many such works.

When we examine the course taken by the utopian genre after More’s *Utopia*, it becomes eminently clear that these narratives are a product of that monumental transformation in the human mindset known as Modernity, which puts a premium on the individual, the intellect, science, and progress. In addition to the Renaissance – and, in the longer term, the Reformation – the voyages and discoveries of the 16th century played a decisive role in this process. These voyages had a direct impact on the literary form of the utopian genre; from More’s *Utopia* onwards, all early-period utopias consisted of tales of “fortunate countries” discovered by travelers.

Following More, science became an additional element of utopias. Just as More’s egalitarianism had challenged the hierarchy of the ideal states of antiquity, so Bacon’s *New Atlantis* – which could be characterized as a “scientific utopia” – put an end to the scientific inertia of all previous ideal societies, including More’s. After Bacon, equality and science became the necessary conditions for any utopia.³⁴

In many 17th century utopias – especially Campanella’s *City of the Sun* and Andreae’s *Christianopolis* – science is seen as a means of better understanding God and

³⁴ This fact highlights one of the most important contradictions of utopias: the advance of science, which does not recognize any final, terminal goal, will often clash with the utopian order, which has already reached perfection. Kumar, *Utopianism*, 54.

his works, and creating a truly Christian society. With their carefully planned, heavily monitored imaginary countries, where private property, individualism, and ambition have been cast out, utopian writers of this period once more put science and technology at the center of their utopias, while also having them serve spiritual ends.

Another encomium of rationality can be found in Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), in the fourth book of which Gulliver visits the island of the Houyhnhnms, a race of intelligent horses. By nature, the Houyhnhnms value intelligence above all else in their lives. They have no feelings of lust, and never tell lies. The island is also inhabited by a humanoid race known as the Yahoos, who act according to their urges, and are hated by the Houyhnhnms. In fact, Gulliver himself is expelled from the island on account of his physical resemblance to the Yahoos.³⁵

As Krishan Kumar, professor of sociology who wrote extensively on utopias, points out, towards the end of the 17th century the center of utopian thought shifts from England to France, and new themes are added to the idea of utopia.³⁶ The most important of these is the theme of "time." Influenced by the geographical discoveries of their day, utopias had begun as an island; later, following the astronomical discoveries of Galileo, Copernicus, Kepler, etc., they had turned into planets; but their separation from the known world was still only a matter of *location*. With Louis Sebastien Mercier's 1770 work *L'An 2440* [The Year 2440], utopias now became oriented towards the future. In the words of the French philosopher Charles Renouvier, "eutopia" was transformed into "euchronia."³⁷

By the 19th century, we encounter a very different picture. In a world which had witnessed the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, the Enlightenment, and imperialist expansion, there was no longer a wish to find lost terrestrial paradises or to establish an isolated island state with an ideal communal life; rather, there was a desire to create a scientific, political social model which would bring about the liberation of all humanity. Utopia, in this period, is not a fiction; it is a theory. Moreover, in an atmosphere in which socialist theories were debated under the leadership of thinkers like Saint-Simon, Fourier, Comte, and Marx, in particular, the concept of "utopia" takes on a negative meaning. Reacting to criticisms that his work was "utopian," Marx declared that he was "not writing recipes for the soup kitchens of the future."³⁸

In the 20th century, with the gradual realization of the traditional utopian vision that valued equality over freedom and strictly monitored private and public life, utopias began to be supplanted by anti-utopias or dystopias. Zamyatin's *We* (1920), Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932), Orwell's *1984* (1949), and similar works carry the "positive" elements of previous utopias (such as discipline, order, planning, and technological advances) to their logical extreme; in doing so, they depict the darkness of the totalitarian societies to which these elements would give rise.

³⁵ Schaer et al., *Utopia*, 180–183.

³⁶ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 57.

³⁷ Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, 4.

³⁸ Marx, quoted in Kumar, *Utopianism*, 32.

Following in the footsteps of these works are anarchist utopias, feminist utopias, and ecological utopias. In a world where repression holds sway, these utopias – which now prize the ideal of liberty over that of order – advance a vision of future freedom. What previous utopias had considered the indispensable elements of a perfect society have now – in these latter-day utopias – become defects. Thus, in place of an overbearing, centralist order, the ideal of a perfect society becomes predicated on the goal of individual freedom. Examples of such utopias include Marge Piercy's *Woman on the Edge of Time* (1976), Ursula Le Guin's *The Dispossessed* (1975) and *Always Coming Home* (1986), and Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia*.

2.1.3. How to Define Utopia

Having thus provided an outline of the development of the utopian genre, we can now turn to the issue of its definition. At the beginning of this chapter I made reference to the vagueness of the term “utopia.” Indeed, right from its inception, this concept has given rise to a voluminous literature concerning its definition, scope, and function. Various writers have adopted different – and, at times, mutually contradictory – approaches. Therefore, I will first touch on the main points of this literature, in order to reveal the relevant debates and points of controversy; afterwards, I will attempt to arrive at a definition of utopia to be used as a reference-point in this thesis.

When we examine attempts to define utopia, it appears that the prevailing approach is generally a negative one, which differs considerably from the current understanding of the term. As Manuel and Manuel report, one of the oldest works to evaluate utopia as a genre, Louis Reybaud's *Etudes sur les Réformateurs ou Socialistes Modernes* [Studies on the Reformers, or the Modern Socialists] (1840), describes utopias as “destructive.” Writing in the same period, Robert von Mohl gives utopias the epithet *Staatsromane* [novels of the state], considering them works of political science.³⁹

But it was Marx and Engels who staged the greatest coup against utopias, which were, in their view, “fantasies which had outlived their expiration date.” I have already quoted Marx's furiously anti-utopian remark above. As for Engels, another theorist of utopia named Marie Berneri writes that he equated utopias with “all social schemes which did not recognize the division of society into classes, the inevitability of the class struggle and of social revolution.”⁴⁰ Engels's pamphlet *Die Entwicklung des Sozialismus von der Utopie zur Wissenschaft*⁴¹ [Socialism: Utopian and Scientific] (1880) effectively turned the term “utopian socialism” into an epithet of contempt.

³⁹ Manuel and Manuel, *Utopian Thought*, 10.

⁴⁰ Berneri, quoted in Levitas, *Utopia*, 29.

⁴¹ It is first published in France and in French (Friedrich Engels: *Socialisme utopique et socialisme scientifique*. Traduction française par Paul Lafargue. Paris: Derveaux Libraire-Éditeur, 1880). Although the literal translation of the original German title is “The Development of Socialism from

All the same, Marxism has generally been treated as part of the utopian canon. According to Levitas, the writer Moritz Kaufmann – in his 1879 book *Utopias* – uses the word “utopia” as virtually synonymous with “socialism,” describing his own book as “a consideration of ‘the principal socialist schemes’ since the Reformation.” Kaufmann states that all utopian projects will do away with excesses of wealth and poverty. As in all works written about utopia during this period, there is an emphasis on the idea of progress.⁴²

In addition, the 1929 book *Ideologie und Utopie* [Ideology and Utopia] by Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) had lasting effects on 20th century utopian works. Examining the inter-relationship between the two concepts in the book’s title, Mannheim contends that they transcend the reality out of which they arise, but are also incongruous with this reality. While ideologies aim to preserve the existing order, utopias, by contrast, seek to change it.⁴³ When considered in terms of the function they serve, ideologies legitimize and idolize the prevailing social order with respect to the past, while utopias are a model for rejecting and surpassing the status quo.⁴⁴ And yet it is impossible to separate these two concepts from one another. Such a distinction can only be made after the fact: according to Mannheim, whether an idea is utopian or ideological depends on whether or not it has been realized.

Krishan Kumar’s criticism of Mannheim – one with which I concur – is that the latter’s chief function is to furnish ammunition to the enemies of utopia, and to provide a justification for criticisms of utopia as “a blueprint for totalitarianism.” Mannheim does so, Kumar argues, by overlooking many aspects of utopia and focusing solely on the question of its “feasibility.”⁴⁵

Karl Popper can be also regarded as one of the “enemies of utopia,” so to speak. Popper describes any utopian enterprise as a probable means⁴⁶ of paving the way for dictatorship; it is clear from the examples he provides that, in making this criticism, he mainly has in mind hierarchical social models like Plato’s *Republic*, or totalitarian regimes like Nazism and Stalinism. Moreover, Popper’s criticism is apparently based on a conviction that totalitarianism is one of the essential features of utopia, and an identification of utopia with the social engineering projects of the twentieth century. These assumptions are highly debatable. As Chris Ferns suggests, some utopias are authoritarian in character, but there are also dystopias and libertarian utopias.

Utopia to Science”, another title is adopted for its English publication: Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Translated by Edward Aveling. With a special introduction by the author. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1892.

⁴² Kaufmann, quoted in Levitas, *Utopia*, 14-15.

⁴³ Karl Mannheim, *İdeoloji ve Ütopya* [Ideology and Utopia], trans. Mehmet Okyayuz (Ankara: Epos, 2002), 216–220.

⁴⁴ Mannheim, *İdeoloji ve Ütopya*, 21.

⁴⁵ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 92.

⁴⁶ Karl Popper, *Açık Toplum ve Düşmanları, Cilt 1: Platon* [The Open Society and its Enemies, Vol. 1: Plato], trans. Mete Tunçay, 4th ed. (Istanbul: Remzi, 2000), 158.

Therefore, the accusation of totalitarianism should not be applied to the entire utopian genre.⁴⁷

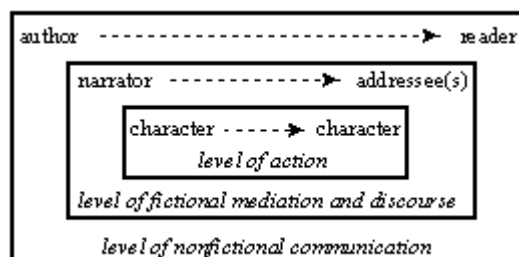
In studies of utopia following the Second World War, we see an emphasis on the fictional aspect of utopia, rather than on notions like its feasibility, its status as a “blueprint,” or its synonymousness with socialism. Marie Berneri, for instance, in her book *Journey Through Utopia* (1950), states that only works of fiction can be classified as utopias. According to Berneri, utopias are works which describes “ideal commonwealths in some imaginary country or in an imaginary future.”⁴⁸ *The Quest for Utopia* (1952), by Glenn Negley and Max Patrick, highlights the status of utopia as an independent genre. According to this approach, a utopian author⁴⁹ is neither a reformer, nor a satirist, nor a dreamer, nor a theorist. Utopia is an altogether separate means of expression. Just as philosophy is distinct from poetry, or as law is distinct from political tracts, so utopia is different from other forms by which humans have expressed their ideals. If one gave the name of “utopia” to all speculation, idealization, planning, political platforms, and associated practical measures, it would be impossible to understand utopian literature properly. What sets utopia apart from these other closely-related forms of expression is the presence of fiction. Utopia depicts a specific state or community; its main topic is the political structure of this fictional state or community. Therefore, the use of a fictional state excludes all works of political philosophy and political theory from the genre of utopian literature.⁵⁰

Krishan Kumar is another scholar who has emphasized the fictional dimension of utopia; to a large degree, I share his approach to the concept of utopia, and have benefited from his research in writing this section. According to Kumar, utopia “is first and foremost a work of imaginative fiction in which, unlike other such works, the central subject is the good society.”⁵¹ The fundamental principle of utopia – a secular variety of social thought which emerged along with Renaissance humanism – is its faith

⁴⁷ Chris Ferns, *Narrating Utopia: Ideology, Gender, Form in Utopian Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 14.

⁴⁸ Berneri, quoted in Levitas, *Utopia*, 29.

⁴⁹ In any analysis involving literary works, the concepts of author, narrator and character are of pivotal importance and they should not be confused. Manfred Jahn’s diagram about the elements of narrative communication is very useful for seeing the different levels of narrative communication and which agent belongs to which level (Jahn, *Narratology*):



⁵⁰ Levitas, *Utopia*, 31-33.

⁵¹ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 27.

in human reason.⁵² “Its ‘practical’ use is to overstep the immediate reality to depict a condition whose clear desirability draws us on, like a magnet.”⁵³

With all these definitions available, the question with which we are faced – “How to define utopia?” – is clearly an issue of scope. Thus, whenever we examine the utopian canon of a given culture, we encounter an extremely wide-ranging, amorphous mass of texts. We are compelled to comb through many literary genres, such as satire, fantasy, and science fiction; religious and non-religious paradises; various religious sects; political theories, programs, and manifestos; and diverse practical attempts to create an ideal society.

Therefore, we inevitably must apply a certain number of restrictive criteria, as well as specific premises and assumptions. Perhaps the most important criterion is that of “secularism.” This does not mean that a utopia needs to promote the ideal of a secular way of life. In utopias, it is crucial for human beings to be able to come up with alternatives through the use of their own intellect and free will. Therefore, narratives or practices based on the (by definition) indisputable, unquestionable dogmas or teachings of certain religions cannot be regarded as utopias; these do not count as visions for a future society, but rather belief-systems which abhor alternativity. Examples of these include Millenarianism, Messianic and Mahdist beliefs and practices, narratives evincing a longing for a Golden Age of religion, religious depictions of Paradise, etc. This does not mean that no text containing religious elements can be regarded as a utopia. Works like Campanella’s *City of the Sun* and Andreae’s *Christianopolis*, or the two works which I will examine below – Mustafa Nazım’s *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslâmiyeyi Rüyeyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization] and Hasan Ruşeni’s *Rüya* [Dream] – are texts which focus respectively on Christianity and Islam, foreseeing a way of life lived in accordance with each religion. However, they do so not by modeling themselves on the Holy Scriptures, but rather by envisioning a new, unprecedented social fabric. In this sense they are a product of Modernity and rationality.

An example provided by Şerif Mardin, in the course of an argument with Mannheim, will be useful here:

Mannheim says that conservatives do not have a utopia in the true sense of the word, but that we can give the name of ‘counter-utopia’ to the ideas which they adopt in reaction to the social dynamism of other currents of thought. Thus, even conservatism is forced to transform itself through the influence of those who wish to change society. Naturally, Mannheim does not cite the example which we are about to cite; nonetheless, we can see the aptest example of the process he describes in the self-transformation (to a certain extent) of religious thought in Turkey over the past ten years. This current of thought,

⁵² Kumar, *Utopianism*, 35.

⁵³ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 3.

aiming to create a new foundation for Islam within the industrialized life of the West, has emerged as a reaction to Western industrial society.⁵⁴

Another critical question concerning the scope of utopia is whether this category should include every secular vision of the good life and the ideal society. To answer this question in the affirmative would force us to add a large part of political philosophy to the category of utopia, along with the entire literature of socialism, communism, and anarchism, as well as all utopian novels. This would result in a less homogenous genre, making our task more difficult. At the same time, however, it is impossible to discuss utopia without including thinkers like Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Marx in the utopian canon, for we see many examples of utopian novels which are based on their political theories. Rather than excluding such thinkers, we need to make a distinction between theoretical utopia (or utopian thought) and literary/fictional utopia. The key difference between these two categories is that of “telling” versus “showing.”⁵⁵ Whereas utopian thought analytically conveys the conundrums of existing society as well as the advantages of the alternative social structure it proposes, fictional utopia, by contrast, is a story of what life is like in a good society; it relies on imagination rather than analysis, using literary tools to paint us a picture of life in such a society.

Fictional utopia can be distinguished from other fictional genres in that “the good life” and “the ideal society” constitute its main topic. Utopia, for Kumar, “is primarily a vehicle of social and political speculation rather than an exercise of the literary imagination in and for itself. It is meant to engage our sympathies and our desires in the direction favoured by the writer.”⁵⁶

Utopias portray an ideal society, and their vision of this ideal society is affected by the conditions under which they arise. Both the author’s vision of the good life, and the way his or her readers perceive this vision, are linked to the values of the society they belong to. At this point, let us turn to the relationship between utopia and reality. As Kumar emphasizes, utopias are not “political formulas” waiting to be put into practice; neither, however, should they be understood as daydreams unconnected to reality.⁵⁷

All utopias are by definition, fictions; unlike say historical writing, they deal with possible, not actual, worlds. To this extent they are like

⁵⁴ Şerif Mardin, *İdeoloji* [Ideology] (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992), 60: “Tutucuların gerçek anlamda bir ütopyası yoktur, fakat diğer akımların yarattığı toplumsal hareketliliğin karşısına çıkardıkları fikirlere bir kontr-ütopya diyebiliriz diyor Mannheim. Böylece, tutuculuk bile toplumu değiştirmek isteyenlerin etkisiyle kendi kendini değiştirmeye mecbur ediliyor. Mannheim bizim vereceğimiz örneği vermiyor, tabii, fakat anlattığı sürecin en mükemmel bir örneğini Türkiye’deki dinsel fikirlerin son on yıl içinde kendilerini kısmen yenilemelerinde görebiliriz. Batının endüstriyel yaşamı içinde Müslümanlığa yeni bir temel kurmayı amaçlayan bu fikirler Batı endüstri toplumuna bir tepki olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.”

⁵⁵ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 31.

⁵⁶ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 24.

⁵⁷ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 2.

all forms of imaginative literature. They go further than conventional fiction in their extension of the bounds of the possible to include what to many may seem impossible or at least very improbable. (...) They are not, for instance, to be judged by a straightforward appeal to history or contemporary life for their 'truth' or validity –but no more than other kinds of novels can they ignore history or social reality.⁵⁸

In this way, utopias can be distinguished from genres like science fiction or fantasy: one of the fundamental characteristics of utopias is that they allow us to detect a causal relationship, to a greater or lesser extent, between their own fictions and existing reality.

Inevitably, a vision of the good life will also contain an element of dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Therefore, utopias' criticism of the existing social order is a precondition for the alternative social order which they propose. In other words, utopias have two political/social components: opposing the existing order, and presenting an alternative to it. This purpose of this alternative is to evoke a desire to change the existing order.

Ruth Levitas, by defining utopia as the expression of a “desire for a better way of being and living,”⁵⁹ sees the concept of “desire” as taking priority over all other characteristics; Levitas argues that “desire” is one of the fundamental requirements of a utopia. Unlike theoretical utopias, fictional utopias seek to change existing reality not by means of scientific or philosophical arguments, but rather by the attractiveness of the proposed alternative.

The fact that not all utopias are cut from the same mold – indeed, the existence of a vast utopian literature in all its diversity – is related to this fact. Objects of desire change according to their time period, culture, social conditions – in short, their context – and can even be mutually contradictory. Thus, two concepts like “order” and “freedom” (or “equality” and “freedom”), both of which are desirable in themselves, can conflict with one another. Therefore, what seems like a utopia in one era or from one perspective can seem like a dystopia under different circumstances. Thus, the utopias of the Balkan War, for example, which we will deal with in this thesis, seem to us today like nightmarish scenarios.

Building on all of the above, I will define utopia in the following way: a fictional narrative, particular to Modernity, which is a product of a belief in human reason; which is based on a secular worldview; which takes place in a different time and/or location from “here and now”; which possesses a viewpoint openly or implicitly critical of the existing order; which has as its main theme a vision of an ideal society furnishing an alternative to this order; and which is described in sufficient detail to make this ideal society come alive in one's mind. I will use the term “utopia” in this sense in the present work.

⁵⁸ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 25.

⁵⁹ Levitas, *Utopia*, 8.

Finally, it is necessary for the purposes of this thesis to touch briefly on the relationship between utopias and crises or social trauma. The years between 1913 and 1915 were a period of back-to-back wars and significant territorial losses, and hence a period in which worries about the future of Turkey intensified, and the need for salvation became urgent; during this period, as will be seen below, utopian works were written in numbers unequaled either before or since. In the literature on utopia, there is a debate about whether there is a true correlation between periods of social crisis and uncertainty – or traumatic social developments – and the number of utopias written during these periods. For instance, Kumar denies any such direct link: “A sociology of utopias might make some rough correlations between times of particular stress or conflict within society and the appearance of some important utopias. (...) [But] It is impossible to establish (...) a causal connection between the appearance of any utopia and its social context.”⁶⁰ Nevertheless, he admits that “in a period in which utopia is, for whatever reason, weak or marginal, social movements can play some part in sustaining the utopian impulse and perhaps even stimulating a revival. Social movements need utopias even though they may not be the direct cause of them.”⁶¹ Ferns, on the other hand, argues, at least for the earlier utopias, that, “utopias emerged from historical contexts in which the promise of civil order must have seemed especially appealing.”⁶² So, arguments may differ in detail, but some sort of relationship between periods of social turmoil or disorder and the emergence of utopias seems undeniable. Indeed, The Ottoman-Turkish case constitutes a good example, for the catastrophic defeat in the Balkan War led to the emergence of a large quantity of utopian activity. The Parts 4 and 5 of this thesis will illustrate the significance of the trauma caused by this defeat for the production of Ottoman literary utopias. A brief summary of the historical developments in the Balkan War will be provided in the following chapter.

⁶⁰ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 101.

⁶¹ Kumar, *Utopianism*, 101.

⁶² Ferns, *Narrating Utopia*, 14.

2.2. The Balkan War

While the previous chapter has dwelled on the history and development of the concept of utopia, the present one aims to focus on history of the Balkan War of 1912-1913.⁶³ These historical backgrounds are indispensable for contextualizing and linking two phenomena to one another: The Balkan War in the cultural memory of Turkey, and utopian works in Turkish literature.

The Balkan War, which began in the autumn of 1912 and continued until the summer of 1913, consisted of two phases, often referred to as the First and the Second Balkan War. During the First Balkan War, an alliance of Balkan states, consisting of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, fought against the Ottoman Empire. During this war, which began in October 1912 and continued on many fronts (albeit with interruptions) until the spring of 1913, the Ottomans suffered a crushing defeat. As for the Second Balkan War, which started in June 1913 and lasted around a month, it ended in defeat for Bulgaria, which had fought against Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, Romania and the Ottoman Empire.

As for the Ottoman Empire, as a result of this war it lost all of its European lands, which were indeed, economically, demographically, intellectually, and culturally speaking, its most valuable ones. These losses led on the one hand to the end of the empire, and on the other to a trauma that caused the rise of Turkish nationalism, the effort to create an ethnically homogeneous nation, and a shift in concentration to Anatolia; they constituted the nucleus of the struggle for independence that would last until 1922.⁶⁴ From the point of view of the Balkan states, on the other hand, as a result of the failure of conflicting maximalist nationalist policies, this war led to the entire area being racked by chaos, discord, and conflict throughout all of the twentieth century.

⁶³ As explained in the Introduction, the number of publications in Turkish about the Balkan War is small. However, there are a large number of works produced on this War in other languages. Publications about the Balkan War in English, for instance, cover a broad spectrum ranging from the observations of war correspondents and reports of international institutions like the *Carnegie Endowment*, to literary texts and political analyses. Since this war was considered to be connected to the First World War, which broke out immediately in its wake, it has been an object of great interest on the part of academia, hence the numerous comprehensive studies written about it. For a few examples, see Edward J. Erickson, *Defeat in Detail: The Ottoman Army in the Balkans* (Westport-Conn, London: Praeger, 2003); André Gerolymatos, *The Balkan Wars: Conquest, Revolution, and Retribution from the Ottoman Era to the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2000); Mark Mazover, *The Balkans* (London: Weidenfeld&Nicholson, 2000).

⁶⁴ In an article in which he analyzes the Balkan War from the point of view of Turkey's history, historian Zafer Toprak mentions this point, observing that it was the Turks who had fought the longest world war, since while the other countries were essentially finished with the war after four years, in the case of the Turks, this war, for them compounded by the Balkan War and the National Liberation Struggle, lasted no less than a decade. Zafer Toprak, "Cihan Harbinin Provası Balkan Harbi" [The Balkan War, a Trial Run for the First World War], *Toplumsal Tarih* [Social History], no. 104 (August 2002): 45.

As I stated earlier, there are comprehensive studies on the military aspects of the Balkan War,⁶⁵ and elaborating on those aspects is not the main task of this thesis. Therefore, in what follows, I will touch upon the causes, the outburst and the military phases of the war only briefly. Nevertheless, the dire consequences of the war is directly linked to the main argument of this thesis, thus I will dwell on the consequences in greater detail.

2.2.1. Causes, Outburst and Military Phases of the War

There were many factors that led to a war in the Balkans. First of all, the idea of nationalism, having spread from France, and in the case of the Balkans, especially from Germany, throughout the 19th century, influenced the Balkan nations. The view according to which a freely led life, progress, and wealth depended upon the establishment of national unity, as in the cases of Germany and Italy, became increasingly prevalent, eventually becoming more popular than the idea of perpetuating the existing Ottoman administrative system, which granted a certain amount of autonomy to individual *millets*.⁶⁶ These nationalist currents, which harked back to pre-Ottoman conquest medieval Balkan states (the First and Second Bulgarian Empires in the case of the Bulgarians, Stephan Dushan's empire in the case of the Montenegrins and of the Serbians, and the Byzantine Empire in the case of the Greeks), gave voice to their ideals of re-establishing those states.⁶⁷ The Serbian and Greek revolts of the first half of the 19th century and the resulting autonomy for the Serbians and independence for the Greeks resulted from these dynamics.

However, this struggle against the Balkan nations' common enemy, the Ottoman Empire, failed to unite them, because the individual nations' own maximalist state ideals conflicted with one another too strongly, especially concerning the sharing of Macedonia, which in 1885 led to outright war between the Bulgarians and the Serbians. The Macedonian problem has been of fundamental importance not only for the history of Turkey but also for all Balkan countries.⁶⁸ This observation is undoubtedly true in the case of all Balkan countries. The VMRO (Vatreshna Makedonska Revolyutsionna Organizatsiya - Internal Macedonian Revolutionary

⁶⁵ See note 62.

⁶⁶ In the Ottoman administrative system, "a *millet* was an autonomous self-governing religious community, each organized under its own laws and headed by a religious leader, who was responsible to the central government for the fulfillment of *millet* responsibilities and duties, particularly those of paying taxes and maintaining internal security." Beginning from the Ottoman Reform Edict of 1856 onwards, with the introduction of several secular law codes for all citizens, this system underwent significant structural changes and *millets*' autonomy was lost. ("Millet", *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/382871/millet> (Accessed 27.11.2014).)

⁶⁷ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 2.

⁶⁸ Historian Fikret Adanır points at the significance of the Macedonian problem for understanding fully the history of Turkey. Fikret Adanır, *Makedonya Sorunu* [The Macedonian Problem] (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 1.

Organization), founded with the aim of obtaining autonomy for Macedonia, the Higher Committee founded by the Bulgarians, the Greeks' *Ethniki Etaireia* (National Society) and the Serbians' Society of Saint Sava, were all propaganda and paramilitary organizations engaged in the struggle for Macedonia.

While these struggles were underway, all of these states, none strong enough to take on the Ottoman State by itself, sought to establish alliances. Erik Jan Zürcher too underlined the fact that even though they might be in conflict insofar as sharing territory was concerned, the young nation states of the Balkans were united in their struggle to seize Ottoman lands in Europe.⁶⁹

The 1908 Young Turk Revolution was undoubtedly another important event that set the stage for the Balkan War. Albeit for a short while, the revolution created a genuine atmosphere of optimism, and what is more, not just amongst Ottoman subjects. For example, in his book titled *Türk Devrimi ve İstikbali* [The Turkish Revolution and Its Future], written immediately after the revolution, former Serbian Prime Minister Vladan Georgevitch not only states that this revolution generated hope for peace also in the Balkans but also considers the possibility of a Balkan Federation inclusive of the Turks and proposes a Balkan Customs Union.⁷⁰ Following this revolution, which had an enormous effect upon the Ottoman lands and had the potential to bring about tremendous changes, both the great powers and the Balkan countries took action to achieve their aims before the reforms planned by the Young Turks came to fruition. Meanwhile, the Austro-Hungarian Empire's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina became a new source of tension for both the Russians and the Balkan states.

Furthermore, the Law of Churches, enacted in 1910 by the *İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası* [Union and Progress Party, a continuation of the Committee of Union and Progress], solved the problem of the churches, which was one of the greatest sources of friction amongst the Balkan peoples, and made a Balkan alliance more plausible. This law, which made it possible for the Balkan churches to merge, was to be considered by later critics of the Union and Progress Party as one of its greatest mistakes before the Balkan War.⁷¹

In addition, the Turco-Italian War in Tripolitania was the main factor facilitating their efforts during this process. The Ottoman Empire, which had unsuccessfully sought to suppress the revolt in the distant land of Yemen since 1905, was caught completely off-guard by Italy's declaration of war and subsequent occupation of Tripolitania. This war blatantly revealed the weakness of the Ottoman

⁶⁹ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London and New York: I.B.Tauris, 1997), 111.

⁷⁰ Vladan Georgevitch, *Türk Devrimi ve İstikbali* [The Turkish Revolution and Its Future], translated by Hulki Demirel (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005).

⁷¹ In his short story titled "Delik Kiremit" [Broken Rooftile] dated 13 Kanunuevvel 1328 [December 26th, 1912], Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver] criticized this law, observing that it served as the glue cementing the Balkan Union. Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver], "Delik Kiremit," *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2 (Ankara: Tutubay Yayınları, 1999), 81-86. In this thesis, this edition will be used for all the references to *Türk Yurdu*.

army, and as such made it clear to the Balkan states that the moment had come to set up an alliance and take action against the Ottomans.



Illustration 1: Rally of *Darülfünun* students in Sultanahmet Square, 1912⁷²

Under these circumstances, in March 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria signed an agreement, which was quickly followed by an agreement between Bulgaria and Greece in May of the same year. Throughout the summer of 1912, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Montenegro completed a web of agreements and thus was the Balkan Alliance established. And with Montenegro's declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire on October 8th, 1912 and then the Ottoman State's declaration of war on the other three states,⁷³ the First Balkan War had officially begun.

The First Balkan War

It was the first phase of the war, namely the First Balkan War, which had the most disastrous effects on the Ottomans. The Second Balkan War, apart from the liberation of Edirne, did not have any determining results from the point of view of the Ottoman State.

The Balkan armies were similar to each other. With the exception of the army of Montenegro, all had been organized based upon European models. They all used

⁷² Taha Akyol, *Rumeli'ye Elveda: 100. Yılında Balkan Bozgunu* [Farewell to Rumelia: The Balkan Defeat after 100 Years] (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2013), 114.

⁷³ The Union and Progress Party mobilized the youth for pro-war rallies. Following the rally on October 2nd, 1912, during which *Darülfünun* [University] students shouted "Hurrah for the war!" there were two more university student rallies organized by the Union and Progress Party on October 4th and 7th. Yücel Aktar, *İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi Öğrenci Olayları (1908-1918)* [Student Protests During the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918)] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), 83-97.

weapons produced in Europe.⁷⁴ Their cadres were for the most part ethnically homogeneous, which meant that there was minimal discord.⁷⁵ Furthermore, they were all being indoctrinated with a nationalist ideology embellished with the motif of a glorious past.

The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, was at a disadvantage due to its heterogeneous population. Drafting army members from such a heterogeneous population rendered training and communication particularly difficult. Furthermore, the army had been subjected to radical reforms by the Young Turks after the latter came to power in 1908, and this reform process was not yet complete by the time the Balkan War broke out, which meant that the army was beset by significant organizational problems. In addition to all of this, there was also the fact that only half of the army was stationed on European soil, with the rest dispersed throughout the Asian and North African lands of the empire. Assembling all of these troops and sending them to the Balkans was yet another challenge, not to mention the fact that eighty thousand trained soldiers had been discharged just before the war.

The eve of the war witnessed developments that only served to heighten the Ottomans' state of confusion. That was mainly because, as Feroze Yasamee notes, "the Ottoman mobilization and deployment of October 1912 proved to be a catalog of errors, amounting to a self-inflicted defeat before a shot had been fired."⁷⁶ Firstly, the units sent to the front had, following the Ottoman general staff's plans, been organized for defensive warfare in case of foreign aggression.⁷⁷ But the author of the plans, Chief of General Staff Ahmet İzzet Paşa, was in faraway Yemen, trying to suppress the Imam Yahya Revolt. Meanwhile, Minister of Defense Nazım Paşa had a different take on the situation and it was his unrealistic choices given the state of the army, which we shall read about further on, that would comprise primary factors leading to the imminent disaster that was to befall the Ottoman army.

Fighting during the First Balkan War was waged on the Eastern and Western fronts. The Ottoman army consisted of the 1st Army commanded by Abdullah Paşa and stationed in the East in Thrace, and of the 2nd Army commanded by Ali Rıza Paşa and stationed in the West in Macedonia. The position of the 1st Army operating in Thrace was particularly important, because this area was very close to the capital, and also because it served as a bridge between headquarters and the 2nd Army in the West.

⁷⁴ Historian Tarık Zafer Tunaya has underlined the fact that with regard to the armaments used, the Ottoman and Balkan states had much in common. They all bought weapons from the great powers, especially from Germany and France. Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, v. 3: *İttihat ve Terakki. Bir Çağın, Bir Kuşağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi* [Political Parties in Turkey, v. 3: the Union and Progress Party – the History of an Era, a Generation, a Party] (Istanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1989), 461.

⁷⁵ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 15.

⁷⁶ Feroze Yasamee, "Armies Defeated before They Took the Field?", in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 251.

⁷⁷ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 112. See also Erickson, *Defeat*, 65.

The Eastern Front

As Hall has stated, the Bulgarian war strategy was to strike a quick and deadly blow to the Ottoman troops, before the Ottomans were able to use the advantages afforded by a larger population and had time to send reinforcements.⁷⁸ The Ottoman army, however, rather than benefiting from this advantage, followed the orders of Minister of Defense Nazım Paşa, which were based on an unfounded sense of self-confidence,⁷⁹ and embarked upon a rushed and badly planned attack before all troops had assembled.⁸⁰

Thus it was that the two armies charging forward came into contact at Kırkkilise (Kırklareli) on October 22nd under heavy rain. On the night of October 23rd, while the armies were still jostling for position and the fate of the battle was not yet clear, the Ottomans began to flee in a state of panic and utter disorder, abandoning along the way all their weapons, including their artillery. Mahmut Muhtar Paşa, commander of the 3rd Army Corps, who in his memoirs stated, “Military history gives no other such example of a similar rout beginning without cause”⁸¹, believed that this haphazard flight was to be attributed largely to the rain. However, it is clear that the Ottoman army, which was very weak in terms of its chain of command, morale and discipline, had been terrified by the Bulgarians’ modern maneuvers, such as surprise encirclement and nighttime operations illuminated by floodlights, all of which were carried out successfully against them, and by the devastating impact of effective coordination between units and the use of modern weapons like machine guns and shrapnel.⁸²

The results were disastrous. Abdullah Paşa, commander of the routed 1st Army, panicked and, claiming that it was impossible to wage war employing the troops at hand, “implored” Mahmut Muhtar Paşa, who was also a cabinet member, to resolve the issue by using diplomatic means.⁸³

When, rather than pursuing the fleeing troops, the Bulgarian armies chose to rest, the Ottoman forces, who in the meantime had been reinforced with new units, managed to set up new defensive positions along the Pınarhisar-Lüleburgaz hills. Although Ottoman forces fought relatively more effectively during the fighting that resumed on October 30th, the collapse of the supply chain and the determined and disciplined attacks of the Bulgarian forces; in particular, their deadly artillery fire led to

⁷⁸ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 23.

⁷⁹ In a speech he made to the officers, who were about to join their units, Nazım Paşa advised them to take their ceremonial uniforms with them, because they will be needing them in two months when they make their entrance into Sofia. Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 25.

⁸⁰ Fort he mistakes regarding the formation of the Ottoman army, see Yasamee, “Armies Defeated before They Took the Field?”

⁸¹ Quoted in Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 27.

⁸² Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 27.

⁸³ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 28. An anecdote concerning Abdullah Paşa, recounted by war correspondent Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, is one of the most pitiful scenes of this defeat. Here we find a commander, who was supposed to have led an entire army, stuck in a village where he has lost all contact with the rest of the world and cannot even find bread. Ellis Ashmead Bartlett, *With the Turks in Thrace* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1913), 149.

the same result as the one in Kırkkilise, and so on November 2nd another panicky flight began.⁸⁴

This defeat was an even greater disaster for the Ottomans than the previous one. Control of Thrace was lost, and the road to Istanbul was rendered completely clear. Since the army's system of supply had collapsed, the wet and hungry troops were unable to find food or shelter. As Andonyan states, "100,000 fleeing soldiers were wandering on the meadows and plains, begging 'Bread! Bread!' This terrible nightmare and hunger had damned the empire's army, but be they hungry or fed, the vanquished had to proceed at all costs. They had to reach the Çatalca line."⁸⁵ Consequently, cholera and dysentery epidemics broke out among the troops and the refugees fleeing together with them, which in turn increased the number of casualties exponentially. One of the witnesses of this catastrophe was Hochwächter: "Dead bodies lying all over the place; a terrible ghostlike epidemic... Those collapsing with hunger are mistaken for cholera victims, and without any check to see whether they are living or not, are covered with lime putty. The lime burns the eye-sockets."⁸⁶

When the Bulgarian army was once more unable to pursue the retreating Ottoman troops due to fatigue, weather and road conditions, and supply problems, the Ottomans managed to set up a new position on the Çatalca fortifications at a distance of 35 kilometers from the capital, thanks to reinforcements.

This phase of the war created a new situation, whereby the Bulgarians had won within a very short time span a victory beyond their wildest dreams, and had managed to press forward until they found themselves in close proximity to the capital. Overcoming the obstacle of Çatalca would have meant seizing Istanbul, and this made people wonder what the reaction of the Bulgarians' protector, Russia, which had been coveting this city for centuries, would be. Enamored by the idea of seizing Istanbul, and wishing to avoid the "national shame" of not at least attempting to take the city when they were already so close, on November 17th the Bulgarians attacked, even though they suffered from fatigue and supply issues and were increasingly plagued by cholera and dysentery, diseases they had caught from the Ottomans. These unfavorable conditions were compounded by rain, fog and artillery fire from Ottoman warships, culminating in defeat for the Bulgarians, who then took up a defensive position. At this point, both armies were exhausted, and no longer had the strength to attack.⁸⁷ Military immobility reigned over the Çatalca front.

Edirne was another critical point on the Eastern Front. During the attacks on Lüleburgaz-Pınarhisar, the Bulgarian army was also besieging Edirne, with support

⁸⁴ According to Hall, with respect to the number of troops involved and the number of victims, the battle at Pınarhisar-Lüleburgaz was the greatest battle to occur between the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War and the First World War. (*Balkan Wars*, 31)

⁸⁵ Andonyan, *Balkan Savaşı*, 479.

⁸⁶ Hochwächter, *Türklerle Cephe*, 75-76.

⁸⁷ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 33-38.

from Serbian forces. Following a long and challenging resistance, Edirne fell on March 26th.

The threat of losing the Muslim-majority former capital Edirne had led to a coup in the capital. Once it had become clear during the peace negotiations (continuing while troops commanded by Şükrü Paşa were resisting in Edirne) that Edirne would be ceded to the Bulgarians, the Unionists had found an excuse for their coup, which was carried out on January 23rd, 1913. A group of Unionists raided the cabinet meeting and killed Minister of War Nazım Paşa, and after forcing Grand Vizier Kamil Paşa to resign, took over the government.⁸⁸

The seven-month-long resistance of Hasan Rıza Paşa during the siege of Scutari and the struggle to resist ceding Edirne to the Bulgarians under the command of Şükrü Paşa were among the few events of which the Turks could be proud of during the Balkan War. The fall of Edirne was arguably more serious than the loss of any other city and came as an immense shock to the Ottomans. The lion's share of the psychological shock and trauma created by the Balkan War and of the new state of mind that it led to, can be attributed to the loss of Edirne. As it will be discussed below, under the heading "The Western Front", this shock could only be compared to the trauma created by the loss of Salonica.

The words of literary critic Raif Necdet [Kestelli], who took part in the defense of Edirne as a captain and fell into the hands of the Bulgarians as a prisoner of war for six months, summarize this state of mind:

But no... No! Sometimes, when you are sunk, this is only the beginning of a more brilliant rebirth. Right now, flames and sparks are emanating from my veins with the enthusiasm of the most fanatical and excited patriot. All my soul and person is crying out "Revenge, revenge!"⁸⁹

In short, the Ottoman Eastern Army began the war with defeats. Its only success was the defense at Çatalca, whereby it saved the capital.

The Western Front

The first battle in this area encompassing Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia, was fought between the Serbians and Ottomans on October 24th at Kumanova. On this occasion, once again according to the plans of Nazım Paşa, the Ottoman army attacked rather than taking up a defensive position, even though it did not have sufficient resources,⁹⁰ and the Serbians managed to defeat the Ottomans, thanks especially to the

⁸⁸ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 113.

⁸⁹ Raif Necdet [Kestelli], *Uful (Batış)* [The Decline], ed. Esra Keskinç (Istanbul: Bensen Yayınları, 2002), 121: "Ama hayır... Hayır! Bazen batış daha parlak bir doğuş getirir. Şu dakikada, en mutaassıp, en coşkulu bir vatanseverin heyecanı ile, damarlarımdan ateşler, kıvılcımlar yükseliyor. Bütün ruhum, bütün benliğim 'İntikam, intikam!' diye feryat ediyor."

⁹⁰ Gerolymatos, *Conquest, Revolution, and Retribution*, 211.

effective fire of their batteries. The defeat at Kumanova triggered the general defeat all along the Western front.



Illustration 2: Lieutenant Fuat Bey, captured by the Serbian army at Kumanova in 1912.⁹¹

Just as in the case of the Eastern Front, this defeat too resulted in the Ottoman units fleeing in panic, this time south towards Manastır (Bitola), in such great disorder that along the way they abandoned their munitions to the enemy. Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920), who took part in the war and fell prisoner of war to the Greeks, and who later became one of the most important personalities of the Turkish nationalist literature, described this retreat in his memoirs:

On the night of November 8th, 1912 we reached Manastır, but the commander of the Western Army did not let us into the city. We began to wander aimlessly just outside the city. Big snow-flakes were falling. Troopers with frozen feet were screaming. The wounded were dying, with convulsions and groans, on the carts, on the ground, and in the snow and mud... Terrible, we shall all be destroyed.⁹²

Thanks to this defeat, the Serbians managed to seize Skopje, an important city of the region, without even fighting for it. As in the case of the Eastern Front, again the

⁹¹ Akyol, *Rumeli'ye Elveda*, 50.

⁹² Ömer Seyfettin, quoted in Akyol, *Rumeli'ye Elveda*, 56: “8 Kasım 1912 – Gece Manastır’a döküldük. Fakat Batı Ordusu Kumandanı bizi şehre sokmadı. Şehrin dışında serseriyane dolaşıyoruz. Kuşbaşı kar yağıyor. Ayakları donan neferler haykırıyorlar. Yaralılar arabaların üstünde, yerlerde, karların ve çamurların içinde kıvrılarak, inleyerek can veriyorlar... Rezalet, hepimiz mahvolacağız.” For another description of the panic and chaos during the retreat of the Ottoman troops, see Andonyan, *Balkan Savaşı*, 328.

enemy, in this case the Serbians, were unable to pursue the fleeing troops, and thus missed the opportunity to further rout the Ottoman units.

The Serbians managed to overcome the weak resistance at Pirlep and on November 16th attacked the Ottoman forces that had set up defensive positions at Manastir. The Serbians' artillery played a decisive role in their victory over the Ottoman units, which, suffering heavy casualties, once again began a disorderly and panic-stricken retreat. Thus did Manastir fall into Serbian hands and the five-century-long Ottoman domination of Macedonia came to an end.

With the Western Army having suffered such a defeat, it did not take much for the Serbians to then conquer Pristina, Novipazar and the northern half of Albania.

Greece, another participant on the Western Front, had two main objectives: Salonica and Ioannina. On October 22nd, the Army of Thessaly marched upon Salonica and defeated the Ottoman forces at the Sarantaporos Pass, but then things developed as they had in the previously described cases: even though the Ottomans were completely demoralized and abandoned their munitions and fled, the Greeks were not able to pursue and destroy them.⁹³ A violent battle resulted in Greek victory over the Ottoman forces, which had taken up a new position at Yenice, thus leaving clear the way to Salonica. The Greeks managed to reach Salonica before the Bulgarians. It was at this point that something that would prove a grievous wound to the Turkish nationalist spirit occurred: Hasan Tahsin Paşa, the commander of the garrison at Salonica, demoralized by the sinking of the Ottoman warship *Feth-i Bülend* in the port of Salonica, by the news of the terrible defeats suffered by Ottoman forces in Macedonia and Thrace, and by the approach of the Bulgarian army and the Greek siege of the city, surrendered to the Greeks without firing a single shot. Thus did 26,000 Ottoman soldiers become prisoners of war.

Things did not go quite so smoothly for the other army of Greeks, the Army of the Epirus. Like Edirne, the citadel of Ioannina surrendered only after a long resistance. The third defense in which the Ottomans achieved victory was that of Scutari, where they managed to withstand besiegement by the Montenegrins, who were not particularly triumphant during the First Balkan War.

The London Peace Conference, which met on December 16th, following the armistice signed on December 3rd, was marked by a clash amongst the members of the Balkan League which, having attained unexpected success against the Ottoman State, were battling it out over how to divide the spoils of the war, especially the lands of Macedonia. Meanwhile, the Young Turk coup that took place in the form of a raid on the Sublime Porte led by Enver Bey and his cohorts, who refused to accept the possibility of losing Edirne, a city of great importance for the Turkish public, cost Minister of War Nazım Paşa his life, and Grand Vizier Kamil Paşa his position. When the new offer of the newly installed Grand Vizier Mahmut Şevket Paşa was rejected by the Balkan powers, the armistice ended on February 3rd, 1913. By the end of April all

⁹³ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 60.

three besieged cities had fallen, and by the end of the First Balkan War, the Ottoman State had lost all its European territories beyond the Çatalca line.

The Second Balkan War

The disagreement concerning how to share the grand prize of Macedonia⁹⁴ led to the outbreak of the Second Balkan War in June 1913. On this occasion, three of the allies of the first war, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, fought against Bulgaria, their formal mutual ally. These three countries fighting against Bulgaria were later joined by Romania, which wanted to solve the question of Dobrudja, and by the Ottoman State, which wanted to regain Edirne. Bulgaria lost this war, which it was later to remember as the “First National Catastrophe,” and in this way lost the territories it had gained in the First Balkan War. While the Romanians seized Southern Dobrudja, a primary objective of theirs, the Greeks gained a large part of Eastern Macedonia. Following this war, the Serbians, who got the greater part of Macedonia, became the dominant entity amongst the southern Slavs.

The great importance and gain of this war, from the point of view of the Ottomans, was that they got Edirne back. However, seizing Edirne, which possessed symbolic value as a former capital, and strategic value with regard to defense of the capital, was the only consolation of a war otherwise rife with disaster for the Ottomans.

2.2.2. Consequences of the Balkan War for the Ottomans

For the Ottomans, the Balkan War had numerous devastating results that played a role in determining the future destiny and trajectory of the country. By the end of the first phase of the Balkan War, the Ottoman State had lost 160,000 square kilometers containing a population of about 6,500,000, and then during the second phase had managed to regain only Edirne, which comprised only a very small part of its losses. What is more, the land it had lost was undoubtedly the most valuable part of the country, from the economic, political and sociological points of view. The loss of these lands, where all the most significant investments had been made and which paid the most taxes, was a devastating loss for the country.

The Ottoman army's casualties⁹⁵ also constituted a grievous blow to the Ottoman State and accelerating its destruction. The cholera and dysentery epidemics that meanwhile spread amongst both civilian and soldier populations also wreaked tremendous havoc.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Carnegie Endowment, *Report*, 38.

⁹⁵ Figures for the Ottoman casualties vary: Hall claims it to be 100,000 (*Balkan Wars*, 135-136), while for Erickson it is as high as 350,000 (*Defeat*, 329).

⁹⁶ Oya Dağlar Macar describes epidemic diseases as the most important problem that the Ottoman Empire faced during the Balkan Wars. She notes that during the Balkan War, the Ottoman army lost more people to cholera, typhus, smallpox and dysentery epidemics, than it did during battle, and it

Another aspect of the war undoubtedly deserving of attention is that of war atrocities. The Balkan War became notorious as a war during which armies ferociously attacked not just enemy troops, but also civilians, and in this respect, it can be said that it was the harbinger of the age of war atrocities, an age which would continue into the twentieth century.⁹⁷ The main reason for this was certainly the fact that the most fundamental motif of these wars was nationalism. Since the main objective of the warring states was a maximalist nation-state, and since this kind of nation-state required a population that was as ethnically homogeneous as possible, the armies did not distinguish between enemy troops and civilians. There were times when armies chose to kill rather than take prisoners, and even when prisoners were taken, they were treated very badly. Civilians were killed and raped, and their villages burned and pillaged. It is obvious that the primary aim of these atrocities, which were generally accompanied by “demonstrations of punishment,” was to create a nation from which all unwanted ethnic groups had been expelled by means of murder, fear, population exchange and forced emigration.⁹⁸ Hall quotes the Greeks’ expression for the Bulgarians, *dhen einai anthropoi!* [“They are not human!”].⁹⁹ And true enough, almost all parties referred to each other with this succinct expression which gives voice to the mechanism of dehumanization that made these kinds of atrocities possible. What is interesting is that, despite all the massacres and the demographic mobilizations carried out in accordance with the concept of “Balkanization,” none of the states ended up with a homogeneous population after the war.

Concerning the Ottomans, the Balkan War was essentially an effort to expel the Ottoman State from the Balkans, not just politically, but also demographically. Apart from the military losses, thousands of Muslims and/or Turkish civilians were massacred, raped, tortured and had their goods pillaged during the war, and were thus made to flee.

Added on top of all this, the population exchange between the Ottoman State and Bulgaria and Greece left the Ottoman State struggling with a daunting migration problem. As Zürcher states,

The Balkan War caused many people to leave their homes. Around 800.000 people fled in different directions. In part, these were people simply fleeing the battle zones, but about half of them, some 400.000,

accelerated the process of the Ottoman disintegration. Oya Dağlar Macar, “Epidemic Diseases on the Thracian Front,” in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 292-294.

⁹⁷ For a study of the massacres of Muslim-Turkish civilians during the Balkan War, see H. Yıldırım Ağanoglu, *Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyet’e Balkanlar’ın Makûs Talihi: Göç* [The Misfortunes of the Balkans, from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic: Migration] (Istanbul: Kum Saati Yayıncılık, 2001), 62-91.

⁹⁸ One journalist stated that the Serbian army had cleansed Novipazar of its Albanian population following Tacitus’s principle of *solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant* [“They make a desert and call it peace”] (Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 182). This principle was applied almost everywhere in the Balkans during the war.

⁹⁹ Hall, *Balkan Wars*, 136.

were Muslims, who, out of fear for Greek, Serbian or Bulgarian atrocities, followed the retreating Ottoman army. Large numbers of these refugees died from cholera (which had been brought over with the troops arriving from Syria), but those who remained, gravitated towards Constantinople and had to be resettled there or transferred to Asia Minor. In the Constantinople area the refugees built the first of what later came to be known as 'gecekondu's, settlements built without permission on state land.¹⁰⁰

The effort to absorb tens of thousands of Balkan refugees, with resources that had already been limited and that had dwindled even further because of the war,¹⁰¹ gave rise to grievous social problems. As Fuat Dündar has underlined, many of the refugees that arrived because of the Balkan War received neither goods of any kind nor any land. Moreover, the money required to settle the Balkan refugees into newly built villages in 1915 rose to 15 million lira, which was equal to one quarter of that year's budget. Even by the end of 1917, housing and subsistence issues still remained unresolved for many Balkan refugees.¹⁰²

In addition to the difficulties the state faced, strife between local populations and the refugees led to even more problems. For example, Muslim refugees discontent with the inadequacy of their new living conditions adopted a hostile attitude towards better-off non-Muslims. Inability to adapt to the social life of their new locations, occupying houses and lands other than those assigned to them, and damaging forests were other sources of discord recorded at the time. Meanwhile, indigenous populations, for their part, did not always behave amicably towards the refugees. Police intervention proved necessary on numerous occasions, in a variety of cases, due to such issues as the indigenous people's distress at the refugees' arrival, their jealousy of exemptions and material aid provided to the refugees, or simply the presence of unscrupulous people and thieves trying to profit from the refugees' confusion and lack of knowledge due to their displacement.¹⁰³

Such incidents lead us to one definite conclusion: The arrival of such a large number of Balkan refugees, under such trying conditions and within such a short

¹⁰⁰ Erik-Jan Zürcher, "Greek and Turkish Refugees and Deportees." (January 2003), 1-2, http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/HALCoRe_derivate_00003226/greek_turkish_refugees.pdf (Accessed 09.12.2014).

¹⁰¹ Prompted by the raging Balkan War, the Union and Progress Party began to advocate an acute, radical form of nationalism; they consequently turned the matter of settling the Balkan refugees into an operation of Turkification and assimilation, and, if need be, of "cleansing", with the result that the lands of Turkey were subjected to a population mobilization of extraordinary dimensions. See Fuat Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası (1913-1918)* [The Settlement Policy of the Union and Progress Party (1913-1918)] (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), 247.

¹⁰² Dündar, *İttihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanları İskân Politikası*, 249. Also Ağanoğlu studied the problems of refugees under headings like social problems, education and health matters, and military and financial problems. Ağanoğlu, *Göç*, 225-273.

¹⁰³ Ağanoğlu, *Göç*, 238.

amount of time,¹⁰⁴ made it extremely difficult for the state to properly prepare and carry out settlement policies. Moreover, the difficulties experienced at the social level rendered it impossible to sustain the discourse of Islamic brotherhood, mutual aid, and solidarity. In many cases, Balkan refugees fleeing from disaster were treated with brazen insensitivity, even inimicality, something which is commented upon, with shock and disapproval, by the writers of many texts quoted in this thesis.¹⁰⁵

In summary, the Balkan War had a devastating impact on the Ottoman state, by shrinking its most-valued Western territories; by creating new social strifes with the flood of Balkan refugees in Anatolia; and most importantly by causing deep humiliation on the part of the military, political and intellectual elite due to the defeat by non-Muslim nations which were once Ottoman subjects. These consequences of the war were the building stones of the trauma which generated a new “trauma narrative” that will be dealt with in the next part.

¹⁰⁴ For a study containing demographic data about the migrations caused by the Balkan War, see Ahmet Halaçoğlu, *Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli’den Türk Göçleri (1912-1913)* [Turkish Migrants from Rumelia during the Balkan War (1912-1913)] (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994). For the migrations following the 1877-1878 Ottoman Russian War, see Bilal Şimşir, *Rumeli’den Türk Göçleri*, 3 volumes [Turkish Migrants from Rumelia, 3 Volumes], (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1989). See also Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821-1922* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁵ For example, in Azmizade’s story “A Night at Samatya,” we see a Balkan refugee woman in the cold of March. Her son has been killed and her daughter raped and killed. Now she is begging on the Galata Bridge, together with her younger son, because nobody is helping her. Azmizade, “Samatya’da Bir Gece” [A Night at Samatya] (*Mektepli* [The Pupil], no. 10 (8 Ağustos 1329 [August 21st, 1913], 162-164) In Nesime Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri* [Stories of the Balkan War] (Istanbul: Selis, 2006), 91-95.

3. CULTURAL TRAUMA NARRATIVE

The enormous problems discussed in the previous part that the country suffered had profound socio-psychological effects¹⁰⁶ both on intellectuals and on the people as a whole, and this experience shaped not just certain political choices of the Ottoman State during its last years, but also to a great degree the character of the new Turkish state. Feelings of shock, shame, sadness, and hatred led to a reformulation of the concepts of “Us” and of the “Other” in people’s minds.



Illustration 3: Muslim refugees in the initial phase of the First Balkan War¹⁰⁷

In this study, we shall frequently employ the concept of “trauma” to describe this phenomenon. Therefore, we would do well to dwell on this concept a bit, and to explain its meaning and the framework within which it is used in this study. The following chapter will explicate the concept of “cultural trauma” as formulated by sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander and his colleagues, because their approach appears as a useful methodological tool to grasp the consequences of the Balkan War and their long term effects. Afterwards, in Chapter 3.2, this cultural trauma as experienced among the Ottoman Turks and the making of its narrative will be elaborated with reference to a number of themes, topics and subjects.

¹⁰⁶ Mustafa Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914: The Ottoman Empire and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 23.

¹⁰⁷ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3d/Muslim_refugees_in_the_initial_phase_of_the_First_Balkan_War.png (Accessed 15.03.2015)

3.1. Cultural Trauma

Undoubtedly, what is meant by trauma is not a physical wound or an individual psychological disturbance in the medical sense. What we are talking about is more a process with certain social and cultural aspects, undergone by a certain group. Studies about trauma are plentiful and wide-ranging. Apart from medical studies, we find that many approaches have been developed based upon great societal catastrophes (the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide, September 11, etc.). And this makes these approaches “incommensurable” as far as the experiences following the Balkan War, on which this study concentrates, are concerned.

However, there is a study that approaches the subject of trauma at a predominantly conceptual and theoretical level, and which would appear to offer the most suitable basis for the approach used in this thesis. According to this approach, presented in the book *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* by sociologist Jeffrey C. Alexander and colleagues,¹⁰⁸

Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways.¹⁰⁹

Alexander states that the cultural trauma theory has been developed as an alternative to approaches based on “enlightenment” and on “psychoanalytical” thought. While the approach based on enlightenment describes trauma as a kind of rational reaction to sudden change, at an individual or social level, the psychoanalytical perspective claims that people push traumatic events outside their consciousness, and that this “repression” leads to anxiety. Healing requires a reordering of events in the outside world and the elimination of the resulting unease concerning identity.¹¹⁰

Alexander claims that both of these approaches fall into the same “naturalistic fallacy,” and states that the starting point of their own theory is to refrain from falling prey to this fallacy. According to their theory, it is not “events” that are the direct cause of a collective trauma.

Events are not inherently traumatic. Trauma is a socially mediated attribution. The attribution may be made in real time, as an event unfolds; it may also be made before the event occurs, as an adumbration, or after the event has concluded, as a post-hoc

¹⁰⁸ Jeffrey C. Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 1.

¹¹⁰ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 3-7.

reconstruction. Sometimes, in fact, events that are deeply traumatizing may not actually have occurred at all; such imagined events, however, can be as traumatizing as events that have actually occurred.¹¹¹

In other words, “social mediation” is central to their theory. There can be no trauma without this mediation. Rather than events, it is this mediation and the actions of social actors that are determinant:

Imagination informs trauma construction just as much when the reference is to something that has actually occurred as to something that has not. It is only through the imaginative process of representation that actors have the sense of experience. (...) Yet, while every argument about trauma claims ontological reality, as cultural sociologists we are not primarily concerned with the accuracy of social actors' claims, much less with evaluating their moral justification. We are concerned only with how and under what conditions the claims are made, and with what results. It is neither ontology nor morality, but epistemology, with which we are concerned.¹¹²

(...) Traumatic status is attributed to real or imagined phenomena, not because of their actual harmfulness or their objective abruptness, but because these phenomena are believed to have abruptly, and harmfully, affected collective identity.¹¹³

According to Alexander, we should not focus on the traumatic event itself, but on the process whereby the trauma is shaped, and we should consider this process to be a cultural process. Events and their representation are different things, and it is the representation that is the determining factor. This theory underlines the need to study the way that cultural processes are shaped by the structures of power and by social actors. It is not the events themselves that induce a sense of shock and fear, but their meaning. And this meaning “is the result of an exercise of human agency, of the successful imposition of a new system of cultural classification. This cultural process is deeply affected by power structures and by the contingent skills of reflexive social agents.”¹¹⁴

And how does this trauma become collective? For this to occur, social crises must turn into cultural crises. “Trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain. It is the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity.” At the moment that collective actors have “decided” that the pain undergone is a basic threat directed at their identity, and at their past and future, it

¹¹¹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 8.

¹¹² Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 8-9.

¹¹³ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 9-10.

¹¹⁴ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 10.

becomes a cultural trauma. In other words, the collective actors who are active in this process will shape the narrative of the trauma.

According to Alexander, the void between the event and its representation can be perceived as the “trauma process.” The aforementioned actors transmit symbolic representations that constitute “claims” about the structure of social reality. It is with such claims that the cultural construction of a trauma begins. These claims indicate a hurtful event, stress the fact that sacred elements have been polluted, create a narrative of a destructive social process and try to mobilize people for the redress of this situation.¹¹⁵

The people mentioned as collective actors can also be referred to as “carrier groups,” to use the term that Weber employs in the sociology of religion. These have both ideals and material interests, they are placed in certain positions within the social structure, and they have the oratorical abilities necessary to inform the public of their claims. They can be either elites or marginal classes.¹¹⁶ It is these “carrier groups” that have to operate the meaning-generation mechanisms if they are to convince the masses that they have been traumatized by an event. This is necessary if a trauma is to be created as a new “master narrative”.

Four critical representations are necessary if a new “master narrative” is to be created:

A- The nature of the pain: What actually happened to the particular group and to wider collectivity of which it is a part?

B- The nature of the victim: What group of persons was affected by this traumatizing pain?

C- Relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience: To what extent do members of the audience for trauma representations experience an identity with the immediately victimized group?

D- Attribution of responsibility: In creating a compelling trauma narrative, it is critical to establish the identity of the perpetrator, the “antagonist.” Who actually injured the victim? Who caused the trauma?¹¹⁷

However, it should also be kept in mind that these processes do not consist solely of linguistic operations, and that they function within existing social mechanisms. Consequently, institutional spheres and class hierarchies are also important and determinant. Religion, literature and cinema, the law, science, the press and the

¹¹⁵ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 11.

¹¹⁶ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 11.

¹¹⁷ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 12-15.

publishing world, and the bureaucracy are all examples of institutional spheres. The limitations of these spheres are determined by class hierarchies, or, indirectly, by the unequal distribution of material resources.¹¹⁸

As the following quotation explains, the successful completion of this process will bring about the transformation of collective identity and a reconstruction of the collective past, and will set targets for the future:

“Experiencing trauma” can be understood as a sociological process that defines a painful injury to the collectivity, establishes the victim, attributes responsibility, and distribute the ideal and material consequences. Insofar as traumas are so experienced, and thus imagined and represented, the collective identity will become significantly revised. This identity revision means that there will be a searching re-remembering of the collective past, for memory is not only social and fluid but deeply connected to the contemporary sense of the self. Identities are continuously constructed and secured not only by facing the present and future but also by reconstructing the collectivity’s earlier life.¹¹⁹

However, even if tragic events have occurred, the process of generating a trauma might not always be successful. The reason for this is not that the events were not traumatic enough, but rather than the “trauma generation process” has failed to be put into motion. “Claims” about the traumatic nature of tragedies suffered in Japan, China, Rwanda, Cambodia and Guatemala have been presented, but due to social and cultural reasons, the “carrier groups” did not have the resources, authority, and interpretation capabilities that would have made it possible to disseminate these claims of trauma effectively. Either convincing narratives could not be generated, or, if they were generated, they failed to be communicated to the masses. Therefore, the perpetrators of these mass crimes could not be made to accept moral responsibility, and these social traumas failed to become sacred memories or rituals.¹²⁰

The following will be one of the sub-arguments of this study put forth within the framework of this theory of “cultural trauma”: In the aftermath of the Balkan War, there were attempts within Ottoman-Turkish culture to turn this war into a “cultural trauma.” A connection was forged between the events that happened in that particular region and the Muslim-Turkish population as a whole. Furthermore, the claim was forcefully put forth that this was a catastrophe; that it must never be forgotten; that feelings of hatred and revenge towards the perpetrators of this catastrophe, or, in other words, towards the Christian people of the Balkans, must be kept alive; and that these feelings must be the predominantly determining factor of the new identity-in-the-making. This claim was presented both by the state and by “carrier groups” like

¹¹⁸ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 15-21.

¹¹⁹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 22.

¹²⁰ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 26-27.

prominent thinkers, writers, clerics, etc., and the narrative of this trauma was shaped and disseminated by means of all sorts of publications including the ones that will be analyzed in this study.

A vivid example of this state of affairs can be found in the journal *Büyük Duygu* [The Great Yearning] that was issued between March 1913 and January 1914. In his analysis of this journal, historian Mustafa Aksakal states that

there can be no doubt that the journal sought to grip its readers with gory descriptions of the recent past and to instill a deep sense of violation and to build a collective identity. Only the unity of the nation, the editors proclaimed, could offer a prosperous foundation for existence. Continuous “battle [kavga],” moreover, formed the essential aspect of any meaningful survival. “Peace and tranquility,” so the journal declared, could be found only in death.¹²¹

For reasons that we shall discuss further on, there is no “narrative of the Balkan War trauma” that continued during the Republican period and up to the present day. The reason for this is not that the “trauma process” was unsuccessful. As a result of socio-political circumstances, many components of this trauma changed during the Republican period, but their “gist” remained the same. In other words, the political lessons of the trauma were not forgotten; on the contrary, the scope of its perpetrators was expanded (so that it might encompass all non-Muslims). Zürcher suggests that the core members of the leadership of the National Struggle and the Republic had their roots in the Balkans, hence this catastrophic defeat constituted a watershed in their lives. However, they did not take their revenge in the Balkans but later in Anatolia against the Greek and Armenian communities.¹²² Moreover, the “moral universals” of this trauma continued to be regenerated and to comprise the main element of the new identity in the Republican period.

¹²¹ Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 37.

¹²² Erik-Jan Zürcher, “Balkan Wars and the Refugee Leadership of the Early Turkish Republic,” in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 665-678.

3.2. The Shock of Defeat and the Birth of a Trauma Narrative

In this chapter, the stages whereby the narrative of the Balkan War trauma was shaped will be taken up under various headings. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, with the Balkan War, the Ottoman Empire approached the brink of destruction. And as jurist, bureaucrat and writer Haşim Nahit [Erbil]'s (1880-1962) words below show, the fear of destruction and of disappearing from history began to dominate society:

Turkey, my mother, my honour and my life. If we, who are your sons, do not recognise the paramount truth and do not set our hearts on delivering you, we shall all be destroyed. And a Turkey which has lost her history, name, and distinction will forevermore curse the present generation.¹²³

The reasons for this fear were, as we have already observed, the loss of precious and vast lands and a great part of the country's population, the waves of immigration that followed the war, the fact that the state approached the brink of disintegration, and the waging of a war very near the capital with the result that all its effects were closely felt by the people of Istanbul.

Another element was that all of these losses were suffered in the form of a humiliating defeat. That a nation and state that prided itself on military successes, rather than on its success in industry, trade, science and the arts, etc., and that preferred to define its own identity in this way, should, as we have already mentioned, be defeated in this way by an alliance that in terms of military capacity was much smaller and much less experienced than itself, at the end of a war that was commanded and carried out in an extremely incompetent way, was extremely humiliating. The discovery at the conclusion of a devastating war, rife with scenes that were anything but "heroic," that a characteristic upon which the Ottomans so greatly prided themselves should prove to be unreliable, perhaps non-existent, led to a profound identity crisis. These shocking developments and the trauma suffered had an immediate effect, and texts formulating the narrative of this trauma began to appear in quick succession.

We know that people from different walks of life and with different ideas contributed to this process, but it will be particularly useful to concentrate on an example that is the result of a direct intervention into this matter by the state. This example is writer, linguist and politician Ahmet Cevat [Emre]'s (1878-1961) book entitled *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap* [The Red and Black Book].¹²⁴ Actually, rather than an

¹²³ Haşim Nahit [Erbil], *Türkiye İçin Necat ve İtila Yolları* [Ways of Achieving Salvation and Ascendancy for Turkey] (Istanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1329 [1913]), h: "Annem, şerefim, hayatım Türkiye. Eğer senin evladın olan bizler, hakikat-i azamı görmez ve seni kurtarmaya azmetmezsek hep beraber mahvolacağız. Ve tarih, nam ve nişanı kalmamış bir Türkiye'nin bugünkü neslini müebbeden telin edecektir."

¹²⁴ Ahmet Cevat, *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap: 1328 Fecayii* [The Red and Black Book: The Disaster of 1912] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]). There is also an edition of this book in the

original book, it is a collection of pieces. This book is a propaganda publication with plenty of visual material, explaining how the Ottoman State was victimised during war, and describing the enemy armies' attacks on the Ottomans.¹²⁵ In his book titled, *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914-1918): Propagandadan Milli Kimlik İnşasına* [Turkish Literature and the First World War (1914-1918): from Propaganda to the Creation of a National Identity], Turkish literary historian Erol Köroğlu describes the insufficiency of the propaganda activities of the Ottoman State during the war. While advanced countries like Germany and Britain carried out a highly effective propaganda program that served as an instrument of social mobilization, efforts by the Ottoman State, which did not have the necessary infrastructure and experience for this, were far from being productive.¹²⁶ *The Red and Black Book*, published by the *Neşr-i Vesaik Cemiyeti* [Society for the Publication of Documents] and appeared before this period, is noteworthy of interest and study, as one of the early attempts in this field.¹²⁷ This 160-page book contains 59 photographs and illustrations, some of which cover two complete pages. For the time when it was published, it is of relatively high quality. The book was ready before the war had ended.¹²⁸

Two elements, considered to be those about which the population was most sensitive, have been placed in the foreground of the book's content: religion and women. In the introduction he wrote for the book, titled "Oku, Ağla, Düşün ve Utan"

Latin alphabet: Ahmed Cevat, *Balkanlarda Akan Kan (Kırmızı Siyah)* [Blood Flowing in the Balkans (Red and Black)], ed. Şevket Gürel (Istanbul: Şamil Yayınevi, n.d.).

¹²⁵ For a recent study on the propaganda books published during the Balkan War, see Cengiz Yolcu, "Depiction of the Enemy: Ottoman Propaganda Books in the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913." (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2014). In addition to the abovementioned *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap*, Yolcu also analyzes books like *Âlâm-i İslâm: Bulgar Vahşetleri* [Sorrrows of İslam: Bulgarian Cruelties] (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1328 [1912]) and *Âlâm-i İslam: Rumeli Mezalimi ve Bulgar Vahşetleri* [Sorrrows of İslam: Atrocities in Rumelia and Bulgarian Cruelties] (İstanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1329 [1913]).

¹²⁶ Erol Köroğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı (1914-1918): Propagandadan Milli Kimlik İnşasına* [Turkish Literature and the First World War (1914-1918): from Propaganda to the Creation of a National Identity] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004). English version of the book is also published: Erol Köroğlu, *Ottoman Propaganda and Turkish Identity: Literature in Turkey During World War I* (London: I.B.Tauris&Co, 2007).

¹²⁷ The "Balkan Mezalimi Neşr-i Vesaik Cemiyeti" [Society for the Publication of Documents Concerning the Balkan Massacres] was a propaganda society. This society was founded in early 1913 by a team led by Ahmet Cevat [Emre], who was also the writer of *The Red and Black Book*, and consisted of Satı [El Husri], İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], and Ahmet Ferit [Tek]; its aim was to publicize the attacks on the Muslim-Turkish population during the Balkan War, and in particular to shape Western European public opinion in favor of the Ottomans. Even though the society published a series of books similar to this, according to Ahmet Cevat Bey, it was not successful in attracting the interest of the Western public. Sacit Kutlu, *Milliyetçilik ve Emperyalizm Yüzyılında Balkanlar ve Osmanlı Devleti* [The Balkans and the Ottoman State in the Century of Nationalism and Imperialism] (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007), 406.

¹²⁸ On the basis of clues contained in the book, historian Yavuz Selim Karakışla, who wrote an article about it, reaches the conclusion that it can be assumed that it was prepared and printed between the dates of March 26th, 1913 and July 22nd, 1913. Yavuz Selim Karakışla, "Balkan Savaşı'nda Yayımlanmış Osmanlı Propaganda Kitabı: *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap*" [A Book of Ottoman Propaganda Published during the Balkan War: *The Black and Red Book*], *Toplumsal Tarih* [Social History], no. 104 (August 2002): 60.

[Read, Cry, Reflect and Be Ashamed], summarizing the main elements of the book (and actually of the entire narrative of the Balkan War trauma), Ahmet Cevat wrote the following:

The mosques, signs of the great philanthropy of our ancestors, were turned into churches; bells were added to their graceful minarets; the Holy Quran was thrown into the mud; our Muslim brothers, sons of Muslim fathers, were called with Christian names; girls and women, virtually our sisters, were obliged to lie in the arms of the Greeks and Bulgarians. The turbans of our imams were turned into priests' caps...¹²⁹

The introduction also underlined elements like revenge, hatred, and keeping alive the memory of events. On the other hand, social Darwinism is the subject of the article titled "Hayat Kavgası" [The Struggle for Life].¹³⁰ The article titled "Türk Gencine" [To Turkish Youth] – which just like Atatürk's later "Gençliğe Hitabe" [Address to Turkish Youth] begins with the words *Ey Türk Genci* [O Turkish Youth] – exhorts young people to awaken, be industrious, and build their future. The article "Milli Emeller ve Vatanda Birlik" [National Ideals and Unity in the Motherland] states the need for a national ideal.

That the motifs of this kind of propaganda book, published with Union and Progress Party support at the very beginning of the war, should later be repeated in almost identical form in other publications, makes you think that this book might have served as a model for other publications as well.¹³¹ Nevertheless, it cannot be said that this book was followed by systematic state-run propaganda activity.¹³² However, this

¹²⁹ Ahmed Cevat, *Balkanlarda Akan Kan (Kırmızı Siyah)*, 10: "Ecdadın büyük himmetlerinden nişan kalan camiler kilise yapılıyor, zarif minarelere çanlar takılıyor, Kuran-ı Kerim çamurlara atılıyor; Müslüman oğlu Müslüman kardeşlerimiz Hristiyan adlarıyla çağrılıyor; hemşirelerimiz demek olan kızlar, kadınlar, Yunanlıların, Bulgarların koynunda yatmaya zorlanıyor. İmamlarınızın sarığı papaz şapkasına çevriliyordu..."

¹³⁰ Just as in the rest of the world, Social Darwinism became popular in the Ottoman Empire during the late nineteenth century. Its popularity reached its apex after the Balkan War. See Mardin, *Jön Türklerin*, 303; Hasan Ünder, "Türkiye'de Sosyal Darwinizm Düşüncesi" [Social Darwinist Thought in Turkey] in vol. 9 of *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasal Düşünce: Milliyetçilik* [Political Thought in Modern Turkey: Nationalism]. ed. Tanıl Bora (Istanbul: İletişim, 2009), 427-437. See also, Şükrü Hanioglu. "Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion, and Art." In *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 27-116.

¹³¹ The views of publisher and writer Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi concerning this book, which he wrote in the introduction of his own book titled *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (which will be studied in detail in Part 5) were provided with the aim of widening the range of influence of Cevat's book: "Every Muslim, every citizen should read Ahmet Cevat Bey's *Red and Black Book* (...)" Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]), 5 (fn): "Her Müslüman, her vatandaş Ahmet Cevat Bey'in *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap*'ını okumalı [dır] (...)"

¹³² However, an album prepared by First Lieutenant Mehmed Nail Bey (who was a POW in the hands of the Bulgarians during the Balkan War) consisting of the propaganda picture cards that he collected while a prisoner in Bulgaria, was published in book form years later by his grandson Güney Dinç. This precious book is proof of the way that the Bulgarians (and probably also the other countries of

situation does not change the fact that many writers who identified their own point of view with that of the state, some of whom were personally in the service of the state, embarked upon an intense writing spree in those days, writing many texts aiming to generate and disseminate a trauma narrative, with the intention of turning this narrative into the dominant discourse.¹³³

In the following pages, we shall be studying some of the main themes of this narrative, under various headings. It is, however, important to emphasize that these themes will be reconsidered in detail while analyzing the works covered in Part 5. Here the aim is to provide the reader with a thematic map for contextualizing the works that we will concentrate on in the following part. The thematic map that we will sketch in this part will not be directly about these works, but their common themes which were exemplified also by other writers, critics, historians, intellectuals and literary scholars alike. This part, in other words, will be a preliminary analysis of the themes, which appeared also in many other works of the period, reflecting the intellectual/literary campaign for constructing a trauma narrative and revealing the *zeitgeist* of the period.

3.2.1. The Mission of Literature

Undoubtedly, one of the most salient features in texts generated by the Balkan War is a transformation in perceptions of literature and in expectations regarding literature; this transformation is one of the main concerns of this thesis. Therefore before analyzing certain themes and topics of the cultural trauma narrative in literary works, it is important to underscore this new approach towards literature and the new mission imparted to it.

It is a generalization to state that modern Turkish literature, since its birth in the mid-nineteenth century, has typically had a strong political character; nonetheless, there is some truth in this generalization. One of the eras when this politicisation of literature was at its most intense was the post-Balkan War period. There was an aim to promote the narrative of the Balkan trauma as a tool of propaganda and agitation; in those days when mass media was relatively limited (in terms of its instruments, usage, and societal habits), literature was considered to be one of the most suitable media for political propaganda.¹³⁴

the Balkan League) used propaganda instruments like picture cards in a much more effective way during the same period. Güney Dinç, *Mehmed Nail Bey'in Derlediği Kartpostallarla Balkan Savaşı (1912-1913)* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008).

¹³³ For an article studying the the efforts to mobilize the masses through atrocity propaganda during the Balkan Wars, see Y. Doğan Çetinkaya, "Atrocity Propaganda and the Nationalization of the Masses in the Ottoman Empire during the Balkan Wars (1912-13)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 4 (November 2014): 759-778.

¹³⁴ It could be witnessed in the dramatic increase in the number of the literary works about the Balkan War and its dire consequences, and the efforts to mobilize people with the help of these works. For two studies dealing with the topic of the Balkan War in literature, see Haluk Harun Duman, *Balkanlara Veda: Basın ve Edebiyatta Balkan Savaşı (1912-1913)* [Farewell to the Balkans: the Balkan

Though nearly every political party used this method, the nationalists were the ones whose efforts were the most productive; indeed, the *Milli Edebiyat* [National Literature] movement which marked twentieth century Turkish literature emerged during this period. In his article titled “Edebiyatımızda Milliyet Hissi” [A Sentiment of Nationality in our Literature], famous historian of literature Mehmet Fuat [Köprülü] justified in detail the need for literature to convey the nationalist position.¹³⁵

With the following statement, Raif Necdet claimed that literature could be used as a “weapon,” and a highly effective weapon at that:

We have long since attributed importance only to weapons. But in reality, wars are won by souls and moral weapons, rather than by rifles and artillery. It is because we did not have these weapons that we abandoned to the enemy all of our artillery and rifles at Kırkkilise. At least from now on let us not rock our children in their cradles with weak and inauspicious litanies, but with the fiery oratory of brilliant poems of revenge.¹³⁶

Moreover, this was not an original discovery, either. As we will discuss in greater detail below, the Bulgarians, whose successes were envied even though they were enemies, owed their success in part to their effective use of literature:

I saw a translation of the poem “To Macedonia,” written by the Bulgarians’ national poet Ivan Vasoff on the occasion of the Bulgarian-Serbian conflict (...). This beautiful and fiery poem, which at the same time has a high degree of artistic merit, has been written with such patriotic idealism and national enthusiasm that it is full with a magic and light of life which is sufficient to mobilise even the deadest race, and to instill in it the love for revenge. I am sure that by writing this poem the poet served his country much better than the ablest diplomat. And I am also sure that the hearts of Bulgarian soldiers reading this poem will have trembled with the deep and vital fire of the wish to fight the Serbians and crush them, notwithstanding all the hardships of the eight months spent fighting.¹³⁷

War in the Press and in Literature (1912-1913)] (Istanbul: Duyap, 2005) and Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*.

¹³⁵ Köprülüzâde Mehmed Fuad, “Edebiyatımızda Milliyet Hissi” [A Sentiment of Nationality in our Literature], *Türk Yurdu*, v.2, 359-364.

¹³⁶ Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 163: “Biz öteden beri sadece silâhlara önem verdik. Hâlbuki savaşı kazanan tüfekler ve toplardan ziyade ruhlardır, manevî silâhlardır. Bu silahtan mahrum olduğumuz için bütün topraklarımız, tüfeklerimiz Kırkkilise önünde düşman elinde kaldı. Artık bundan sonra olsun, beşikteki çocuklarımızı miskin ve uğursuz teranelerle değil; parlak ve intikam dolu şiirlerin alevli hitabeleriyle sallayalım.”

¹³⁷ Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 147: “Bulgarların millî şairi Ivan Vasoff’un Bulgar-Sırp ihtilâfi münasebetiyle yazdığı “Makedonya’ya” başlıklı şiirin tercümesini (...) gördüm. Sanattan hiçbir şey kaybetmeyen bu güzel, bu ateşli şiir öyle vatanî bir ideal, öyle millî bir hararet ile yazılmıştı ki en ölü ırkı bile harekete geçirecek, ona intikam aşkı verecek bir hayat büyüğü ve ışıyla dolu idi. Eminim ki, şair bu

Haşim Nahit was even harsher. According to him, at that point, the “art for art’s sake” / “art for society’s sake” debate was meaningless. “Young poets and writers who resemble Westerners are bastards in their ideas and souls,”¹³⁸ he stated, equating Westernizing literature with treachery. Literature that does not serve the process of enlightening society, and of shaping its awareness, cannot be considered literature:

To advance and to exalt the Crescent-bearing Ottoman Turkish nation, which all the suffering Muslims of the world regard as a light that is longed for and desired from afar!...From now on, the duty of poets and writers, of journalists, will be to instill this objective into the minds of the people. We do not even need to discuss the theory of “Art for art’s sake.” (...) ¹³⁹

Put briefly, literature vehemently became the conveyer and transmitter of political missions as will be exemplified below. In a context where means of mass communication were not yet prevalent and operative, literature was perceived as a suitable medium for those who wanted to construct the trauma narrative of the Balkan Wars in order to make the latter the foundation for forging a new identity and for initiating a new political campaign based on mass propaganda. It is the themes of this literature –mobilized for a political mission- that the following sections will take up and explain according to the logic and ordering of their emergence.

3.2.2. “Imperial Blindness” and the Humiliation of the Enemy

In this section, I will mention a state of mind before the outbreak and during the preliminary phases of the War and therefore the traumatic event, which I shall call “imperial blindness”. We notice how, in all mentions of the Balkan states, an attitude similar to that adopted by a master towards his slaves is prevalent. This supercilious attitude, whereby the people of the Balkans were called “former servants” and “pig herders,” prevented the state from perceiving the change in the balance of power, led to ignorance of the enemy’s strength and capabilities, and, as a result of all this, magnified

şii yazmakla memleketine en güçlü diplomattan daha fazla hizmet etmiştir. Yine eminim ki, bu şiiri okuyan Bulgar askerlerinin kalpleri, geçirdiği o sekiz aylık muharebe hayatına ve sıkıntısına rağmen Sırplarla savaşmak ve onu ezmek için derin, hayat dolu bir ateş ile sızlamıştır.”

¹³⁸ Haşim Nahit, *Necat ve İtila*, 118: “Garplılara benzeyen genç şairler ve muharrirler fikren, ruhen piçtirler.”

¹³⁹ Haşim Nahit, *Necat ve İtila*, 184-185: “Terakki etmek ve yeryüzündeki bütün Müslümanların zulmetler içinde uzaktan hasret ve hicran ile rüyet edilen yegane bir şule gibi baktıkları hilali ellerinde tutan Osmanlı-Türk milletini yükseltmek!.. Bundan sonra şair ve ediplerin, muharrirlerin, gazetecilerin vazifesi bu gayeyi halkın zihnine telkin etmektir. “Sanat için sanat” nazariyesini artık münakaşaya lüzum bile yok. (...)”

the shock brought about by defeat. This mentality, which prevailed among pre-war Ottoman elites and intellectuals, continued to exist even after the defeat.

Funda Selçuk Şirin elaborates on the sense of confidence that characterized the press and the bureaucrats who, on the eve of the war, thought that the Balkans would not even attempt separation from the Ottoman Empire. A few days before the outbreak of the War, foreign minister Asım Bey noted in the parliament that he was certain of the Balkans as he was of his own conscience.¹⁴⁰ Ahmet Ağaoğlu, on the other hand, claimed that the war would mark the utter destruction of Slavism in the Balkans.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the demands of the allied Balkan states were perceived as ‘great insolence, impertinence, and suicide’ and a “reckless, indifferent action.” The proper response would be taking up arms. In depicting the Balkan states the Ottoman press often used expressions like ‘the Balkan parvenus, pillagers.’¹⁴²

In her study analyzing the results of the loss of the Balkans from the point of view of historiography, Ebru Boyar also takes up the historical roots of this disparaging attitude, and shows how Ottoman historiographers identified themselves with the centre and disparaged those at the periphery. For example, according to Mehmed Salahi, Cretans were backward. According to Kamil Kapudan, who wrote a book about Montenegro, Montenegrins were primitive, and not even decent Christians: he refers to them as “half-Christians.” Historian and Doctor of Law Ahmet Cevdet Paşa also described the Montenegrins as “barbarians.”¹⁴³ And the Balkan War intensified this hate-filled, disparaging attitude. In his poem dated 10 Teşrinievvel 1328 [October 23rd, 1912], titled “The Epic of the Balkans,” Ziya Gökalp wrote the following:

God has said, “Wherever you have gone, O Crescent,
That place is Turan: you must reclaim it.
Swineherds cannot be kings;
God’s country is in Turan...”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Cited in Funda Selçuk Şirin, “The Traumatic Legacy of the Balkan Wars for Turkish Intellectuals,” in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 682.

¹⁴¹ Ahmet Ağayef [Ağaoğlu], “Harbin Avrupa Üzerindeki Tesiri”, cited in Şirin, “The Traumatic Legacy of the Balkan Wars,” 682.

¹⁴² Şirin, “The Traumatic Legacy of the Balkan Wars,” 682.

¹⁴³ Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered* (London and NY: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 74.

¹⁴⁴ Ziya Gökalp, “Balkanlar Destanı [An Epic of the Balkans],” *Kızıl Elma* [The Red Apple] (İstanbul: Toker Yayınları, 1995), 106 : “Nereye girmişse hilal / Orası Turan’dır orayı geri al / Domuz çobanları olamaz kral / Tanrı’nın ülkesi: Turan içinde” Ebru Boyar underlines the fact that the “pig herder” metaphor continued to be used also in Republican times. In Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’s 1927 novel *Hüküm Gececi* [The Night of the Decree], in İ. Halil Paşa [Sedes]’s 1936 military history study, in Yusuf Akçura’s *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Dağılma Devri* [The Age of the Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire], and in Ahmed Hasir and Mustafa Muhsin’s 1930 *Türkiye Tarihi* [The History of Turkey] (which was one of the first history text books in the Republic of Turkey), the term “pig herder” is used for the people of the Balkans, and in particular for the Serbians. Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 74-75.

It can be imagined speculatively that if the defeat had happened at the end of a war against one of the great powers of Europe, a country considered to be the equal of the Ottoman State (for example, Britain, France, or Russia), its effects would not have been as traumatic. And true enough, the effects of the final, decisive defeat to Italy in Tripolitania just before the Balkan War were much more limited, to a degree that makes comparison with this war impossible.¹⁴⁵ Notwithstanding all its backwardness, the *Devlet-i Âliye-i Osmaniye* [Sublime Ottoman State] was considered to be in the same category as the great European powers and was described in this way. The poem “Dört Balkanlıya” [To Four Balkan Peoples], written just before the beginning of war by the nationalist poet Feyzullah Sacit, reflects exactly this perception:

O microbes surviving in the body of Turkishness,
 Is it true? You opened your mouth where a bullet wouldn't fit.
 You have spread a bothersome buzzing on the horizon of civilisation.
 O upstart creatures playing the marches of a victorious nation,
 ...
 Stop and think: How many years since you were put in a cradle
 Do you have to behave like children because you are in your
 “infancy”?
 Your soft bones, fresh and trembling arms
 Will merge... So, three or four hands that haven't swung a sword
 Will crush the scions of “Süleyman” ...fat chance!¹⁴⁶

These “small Balkan states”¹⁴⁷ that had won the war had until very recently been Ottoman “subjects”; consequently, they were looked down upon with a kind of imperial contempt, and not taken seriously. And so the defeat suffered at the hands of these states was difficult to accept. The following quotation can be seen as a sign of the way that being defeated by these “small states” magnified the sorrow felt by Turkey:

¹⁴⁵ A similar argument can be made in the case of the National Struggle. While reactions to the occupation of Istanbul by the states of the entente following the Mondros Armistice were rather limited, the occupation of İzmir by Greece came as a great shock, and it can be claimed that it accelerated the process of organization for the National Struggle. For the rallies organized by the Union and Progress Party in reaction to the occupation of İzmir, see Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Unionist Factor: The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905-1926* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), 77-80.

¹⁴⁶ F. Sacit, “Dört Balkanlıya,” *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1, 394: “Ey Tüklüğün bedeninde hayat bulan mikroplar / Gerçek midir? Kurşun sığmaz ağzınızı açtınız / Medeniyet ufkuna bir vızıltıdır saçtınız / Galib millet marşı çalan, ey türedi mağluplar / ... / Düşünün bir: Kaç yıl oldu siz beşiğe düşeli / ‘Çocuk yaşıdayız’ diye çocukluk mu etmeli / Sertleşmemiş kemiğiniz, taze, titrek kolunuz / Birleşecek.. Demek, kılıç sallamış üç, dört el / ‘Süleyman’ın evladını ezecek de Hoş emel! (19 Eylül 1328) [October 2nd, 1912]”

¹⁴⁷ Ebru Boyar underlines the fact that this term of European origin was used also by Ottoman intellectuals so as to stress the central position of the Ottoman State and belittle these states. (*Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 77)

After having dominated with great power in three big continents for six hundred-odd years, destiny expelled us from Rumelia. And what is more, it was those who until very recently had been our shepherds and servants that expelled us. We should not forget the pain of the insulting slap that we received until the Day of Judgement.¹⁴⁸

We must also cite the famous Islamist poet Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873-1936) whose complete oeuvre, *Safahat* [The Stages],¹⁴⁹ has extensive references to the Balkan War. The theme of the Ottomans' "former servants," is manifested in the perception of the enemy in *Safahat*: "Montenegrin bandit, Serbian donkey, Bulgarian snake / And then Greek dog –besieging the country from every side..."¹⁵⁰

The Balkan peoples are also often charged with "crudeness," a quality closely associated with being a shepherd. The words of Raif Necdet [Kestelli], who took part in the war, fell into Bulgarian hands, and later wrote about his internment in Bulgaria in his memoirs titled *Uful* [The Decline], express this point: "Notwithstanding the victorious smile of the West, there is a rudeness and cheapness in the way that the city and nation look that cannot escape from being noticed by a discerning eye. The majority of the population still have the souls of shepherds. Their aesthetic sensibility is barely developed. They possess no apparent inclination towards fashion, majesty, graciousness, or amusement."¹⁵¹

A more significant person, ideologue of Turanism Yusuf Akçura (1879-1935), made a more realistic analysis, once defeat became inevitable and he realised how this imperial contempt made people blind to reality. He noted that what had to be done was not to continue disparaging these people, but to learn a lesson from it all:

Let us be honest enough to confess an extremely painful truth. Up to now it was not us who were victorious in war. The milkman Bulgarians, the pig herding Serbians, and even the tavern running Greeks, whom we belittle, have defeated us; we, the Ottomans, who were the masters of all of them for five hundred years. This truth that we cannot even imagine, can, if we are not completely dead, become a

¹⁴⁸ İbnülhaşim Nurettin Fikri, *Dimetoka'da Kanlı Bir Levha. Bulgar Vahşetlerinden* [A Bloody Picture in Didymoteicho: On the Savageries of the Bulgarians] (Dersaadet: İstanbul Yeni Turan Matbaası, Çiftçi Kütüphanesi, nd.), 30-31.

¹⁴⁹ *Safahat* consists of seven books. The first of these books is entitled *Safahat* [The Stages]. Those that follow have different titles, yet all seven were later published collectively under the title of the first book. In the present study, this title will be used to refer not to the first book, but to the title of the entire oeuvre. All excerpts are based on the following edition: Mehmet Akif Ersoy, *Safahat* [The Stages], 7th ed., ed. Ömer Rıza Doğrul (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1966).

¹⁵⁰ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 205: "Karadağ haydudu, Sırp eşeği, Bulgar yılanı, / Sonra Yunan iti, çepçevre kuşatsın vatanı..."

¹⁵¹ Raif Necdet, *Uful*, 142.

strong slap that will open our eyes and lead our mind to common sense.¹⁵²

Even though he gave a similar message, stating that all citizens should be united and integrated, and that having gained strength from the glorious successes of the past they should eliminate all discord within society, the famous poet Abdülhak Hamit's perception of these countries and their people had not changed: according to him, four states that had been the "servants" of the Ottomans had been incited to revolt by Europe, and, very ungratefully, had pillaged "the goods and property of their masters." But if the Turks were to unite under the banner of Islam and the caliphate, and were to work hard enough, they would have no difficulty in vanquishing these ingrates.¹⁵³

This tendency to belittle, denigrate, and look down upon the peoples of the Balkans also continued during the Republic. Long after the Balkan War, though the Bulgarians had in the meantime become Turkey's ally in the First World War, a member of parliament from Edirne could still use the following language:

This nation with a coarse soul, uncouth, with no refinement of feelings, no affinity for the fine arts, no creative power blossoming amongst them, with a national culture consisting only of enmity against the Turks, whose children are educated with the memorisation of poems describing how an Anatolian Turkish soldier is crucified on the summit of Mahya Hill, how his eyes are extracted, his fingernails pulled out, his fingers broken, and his reproductive organ amputated...this nation, inculcating its children with a lying enmity against the Turks through its cultural texts (in lessons like reading, history and geography), has never added a single brick or roof tile to humanity's accomplishments in the Balkans, and it sticks out amidst contemporary civilisation like a man of the middle ages, merely destructive and disruptive, cruel and thick-headed, with a coarse soul and coarse feelings.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² A.Y. [Akçuraoğlu Yusuf], "Türklük Şunu" [Matters of Turkishness], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 45: "Pek acı bir hakikatı itiraf edecek kadar mertlik gösterelim. Bugüne değin harpte galip gelen biz değiliz. İstihfaf ettiğimiz sütçü Bulgarlar, domuz çobanı Sırplar, hatta meyhaneci Yunanlılar bizi, beşyüz yıldır hepsine efendilik eden Osmanlıları yendiler. Hayalimizin bile alamayacağı şu hakikat, eğer büsbütün ölmemiş isek gözümüzü açtıracak, zihnimizi salim düşüncelere sevkeyleyecek şiddetli bir şamar olabilir."

¹⁵³ Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan, "'Validem'e Zeyl" [Appendix to "My Mother"] in *Bütün Şiirleri 3: Hep Yahut Hiç / İlham-ı Vatan* [Complete Poems 3], ed. İnci Enginün (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1999), 390-392.

¹⁵⁴ Mehmet Şeref, *Bulgarlar ve Bulgar Devleti* [The Bulgarians and the Bulgarian State] (Ankara: Hakimiyet-i Milliye Matbaası, 1934), 55, quoted in Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 104: "Ruh kaba, yontulmamış, duygusu incelmemiş, güzel sanatlar yer bulmamış, yaratıcı kudret aralarında doğmamış, milli kültür yalnız Türk düşmanlığı şeklinde gösterilerek hep mahya tepe üstünde çarmıha gerdiği bir Anadolu Türk askerinin nasıl gözlerini oyduğunu, nasıl tırnaklarını söktüğünü, nasıl parmaklarını kırdığını, nasıl tenasül aletini kestiğini anlatan şiirleri ezberleye ezberleye mekteplerinde de bütün kıraat, tarih, coğrafya gibi, kültür kitaplarında Bulgar çocuklarına hep bu Türk düşmanlığı derslerini yalan yanlış vere vere yetişen bu millet Balkanlar'da asla insanlığın büyük medeni eserine bir

3.2.3. Defeat, Shock and Shame

In his memoirs, writer and politician Kazım Nami Duru (1875-1967) wrote, “This war greatly surprised the Turk. In all of his history, ever since the legendary “Ergenekon”, he had never been vanquished so terribly.”¹⁵⁵ Similarly, Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın] likened the defeat and the mounting death toll to a storm that shook the very foundations of the Empire.¹⁵⁶ You can find such sentiments expressed in hundreds of texts, not only in Turkey, but also in other parts of the Islamic geography. Eyal Ginio, who studied the Egyptian press of the time, states that

All the Ottoman and Egyptian sources describe the outcome of the first Balkan war in the most apocalyptic terms found in the Turkish- Arabic vocabulary: *felâket* (‘disaster’, ‘catastrophe’), *inhizam* (‘defeat’), *mağlubiyet* (‘defeat’) and *girdab* (‘maelstrom’) are the principal keywords that recur in Ottoman writings on the Balkan wars. In Arab journals we find parallel terms such as *nakba fâtika* (‘disastrous calamity’). They all describe the war as a major watershed in the history of the Ottoman nation; a complete catastrophe that could be repaired only if the Ottoman state could draw the right conclusions; a very last warning before the Ottoman state collapsed and disintegrated.¹⁵⁷

“Shock” is no doubt the concept that best describes the feelings induced by the fact that the Balkan War ended very quickly and with a grave defeat for the Ottoman forces. This shock was reflected almost instantaneously in various writings, and the construction of a trauma narrative began immediately. The following is one of the striking examples of this speedy and decisive defeat: while Yusuf Akçura, in the section entitled “Türklük Şuunu” [Matters of Turkishness] in issue 25 of the fortnightly magazine *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland], announced that the Balkan War had begun and made predictions about how the war might evolve,¹⁵⁸ Halide Edip Adıvar, in her article entitled “Padişah ve Şehzadelerimize!” [To the Sultan and to our Princes] at the beginning of the next issue (no. 26), complained that the enemy had reached the gates of Istanbul and that the virtue and independence of the Turkish nation as well as

tuğla, bir kiremit ilave edemeyerek sade yakıcı, yıkıcı, zalim ve kalın kafalı, kalın ruhlu, kalın duygulu, muasır medeniyette orta devir adamı olarak kalmıştır.”

¹⁵⁵ Kazım Nami Duru, “İttihat ve Terakki” *Hatıralarım* [My Memoirs: “Union and Progress”], 62, quoted by Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 131: “Bu harp Türkü çok şaşırttı. Bütün tarihinde efsanevi (Ergenekon)dan sonra bu kadar ağır bir yenilgiye uğramamıştı.”

¹⁵⁶ Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], “İş Başına,” *Tanin*, November 14, 1913, cited in Şirin, “The Traumatic Legacy of the Balkan Wars,” 680.

¹⁵⁷ Eyal Ginio, “Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913): Awakening from the Ottoman Dream,” *War in History* 12, no. 2 (2005): 169.

¹⁵⁸ A.Y. [Yusuf Akçura], “Türklük Şuunu” [Matters of Turkishness], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 30.

the throne of the Ottoman dynasty were in danger, and called on the Sultan to lead his armies.¹⁵⁹

Another writer whose work exposes the catastrophic scenes of the defeat is Mehmet Akif [Ersoy]. The second poem of the third book of his *Safahat (Hakkın Sesleri [The Voices of the Almighty])*, dated January 31st, 1913, reflects the trauma stemming from the horrific consequences of the war. The poet feels himself to be utterly alone and without a country in these lands which have been devastated and flattened. The places which the poet once called home have been turned into a cemetery everywhere he looks. The terrible massacres which have been carried out are beyond belief.¹⁶⁰ As in many texts, here too we can see the scenes of brutality which make up a trauma narrative; there is an especial emphasis on savageries committed against women, children, and the elderly, with mothers whose breasts have been cut off, babies hacked in two, and bodies dismembered:

How many thousands of bodies bayoneted, their blood now frozen!
How many heads, how many arms severed from their bodies!
Newborns taken from the crib and cut to pieces!
How many lives later sacrificed for their honor!
Grandfathers, their white hairs dipped in tar!
Mothers, their breasts chopped off with an axe!
Mounds made of thousands of severed carcasses:
Hair, ears, hands, jaws, fingers...these fragments of human beings.
They wait until children have emerged from their mothers' bellies
And then, like monsters, roast them again and again on skewers!
These are the victims of this catastrophe. Just think:
They have chopped them all up with knives just like dry hay!¹⁶¹

Arguably, one of the main reasons why this state of shock was so quickly and intensely reflected in various texts was that a great majority of these writers were from Rumelia. As we shall see in detail in the conclusion, a large portion of the writers whose work has been analysed in this study (and in particular in Part 5) either were born in the Balkans, or spent a great part of their life, childhood, or career there. Consequently, the loss of the Balkans was perceived in a different way than the loss of any other place, such as Yemen or Libya. Along with the loss of the Balkans themselves, the loss of memories and of a personal past increased people's shock and despair. Mehmet Akif,

¹⁵⁹ Halide, "Padişah ve Şehzâdelerimize" [To the Sultan and to our Princes]. *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 33-34.

¹⁶⁰ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 198.

¹⁶¹ "Süngülenmiş, kanı donmuş nice binlerle beden! / Nice başlar, nice kollar ki cüda cisminden! // Beşiğinden alınan, parçalanan mahlûkat! / Sonra namusuna kurban edilen bunca hayat! // Bembeyaz saçları katranlara batmış dedeler! / Göğsü baltayla kırılmış memesiz valideler! // Teki binlerce kesik gövdeye ait kümeler / Saç, kulak, el, çene parmak... Bütün enkaz-ı beşer // Bakalım, yavrusu uğrar mı deyip karnından, / Canavarlar gibi şişlerde kızarmış nice can! // İşte bunlar o felaket-zedeler ki, düşün! / Kurumuş ot gibi doğrandı bıçaklarla bütün!"

who was of Albanian origin, is one of them. In *Safahat*, he also shows his personal sorrow, i.e. the sorrow this loss has caused him as an Albanian. In the third poem of *Hakkın Sesleri*, addressing his own father, Mehmet Akif tells how Albania is on fire, and has been snatched away from the Empire: “The land which my grandfather plowed, which he sowed with his life, is gone... / It is gone for good, and will never again return!”¹⁶² This couplet aptly expresses the poet’s sincere, personal anguish. The poem also contains frequent references to the *Meşhed* – the tomb of Sultan Murat I, who conquered the entire Balkans by winning the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. A cross has now been erected by his grave, and the small adjoining mosque has been turned into a stable; Croatian soldiers dance upon the roof, and a tavern has been set up in the courtyard. The turbans of thousands of martyrs have been used to wipe the boots of the vile Serbian soldiers.

Another important point made by this poem is that while the Ottomans boast of their heroism, no trace of this heroism actually exists. Those who once refrained from even speaking their wives’ names to the census official, in order not to besmirch their honor, have stood by in silence while their wives have been raped. The cowardice shown in this war is one of the biggest dents the war has made upon the collective psychology of the Ottomans. It is a stain on their honor.¹⁶³

The memoirs of Turkish writer and historian Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976) also expresses his sorrow for this loss:

It means that up to that day we had been living in a world of dreams. All that we believed in was our own imagination. It might be that this empire had actually long been dead. That we had only kept it alive in our imagination. That lost Ottoman Africa perhaps never had been ours. And Ottoman Europe – perhaps it had long ago ceased to truly be ours. Crete, Eastern Rumelia, the Danube provinces, Bosnia-Herzegovina must long since have become part of history as far as we are concerned.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Ersoy, *Safahat*, 203: “Dedemin sürdüğü, can ektiği toprak gitti... / Öyle bir giti ki hem; bir daha gelmez ebedi!”

¹⁶³ We frequently encounter this theme of “the pollution of honor” during this period. We can see that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey, also thought along the same lines, to judge from a letter which he wrote while serving as Military Attaché in Sofia at the start of the First World War: “I kiss your eyes, my brother, waiting for that auspicious time when the Ottoman nation will depart with a smile on its face from this great labor that has been undertaken, and when the stains to the honor of our Army which were smeared on its face during the Balkan War will be wiped clean.” [“Başlanılan bu büyük işten Osmanlı milletinin yüzünün gülererek çıkmasını, Ordumuzun Balkan Harbi’nde yüzüne sürülen namus lekelerinin silineceği kutlu zamanın geleceğini beklerken, gözlerinden öperim kardeşim.”] Quoted in Ahmet Tetik, “Sunuş” [Presentation], in Fevzi Çakmak, *Batı Rumeli’yi Nasıl Kaybettik?* [How Did We Lose Western Rumelia?] (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2011), ix.

¹⁶⁴ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* [The Man in Search of Water] (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1965), 57-58: “O güne kadar demek ki biz, bir hayal âlemine yaşamıştık. Bütün inandığımız şeyler demek ki bir vehimdi. Bu imparatorluk aslında belki çoktan ölmüştü. Biz onu belki de sadece, vehimimizle yaşatmıştık. Şu kaybolan Osmanlı Afrikası, belki hiçbir zaman bizim olmamıştı. Şu

As for the following narrative by Raif Necdet, it can be taken as an example of a refusal to accept the reality of a sad event. The writer had fallen into Bulgarian hands at the beginning of the war, had not received any news from the front for a long time, and then had read about the sad truth in a newspaper:

So it means that apart from the forts, nearly all of Rumelia is being trampled by the boots of invading allies, is that so? But from what kind of a cursed luck must we suffer that we should experience such a tremendous defeat, that we should be routed so absolutely... It is impossible; a defeat of such magnitude cannot fit into a month and a half... It is impossible; such black misfortune cannot be real... Also, all this news must contain the exaggerations, intrigues, and ambitions of journalism. Ottomanness, Turkishness are not completely gone, are they? Our armies have not disappeared from the face of the earth through a supernatural, extraordinary blow! Even if we have been defeated in a couple of places, in a couple of battles, surely we have made our presence felt in a few places, and having been victorious, we must surely have advanced. There is no way that Turkishness could endure such a damning curse. There is no way that the Ottomans could have had such horrible luck. But then what is this news, O Lord, these articles that sting my eyes like wild thorns?¹⁶⁵

You can observe this shock not just in the works of writers with a clear political position, but also in those of writers like Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, who gave precedence to a completely different set of aesthetic values. In his article titled “Hatırat ve Tahassüsattan: Sada-yı İncil” [Memoirs and Emotions: The Voice of the Gospels],¹⁶⁶ Uşaklıgil narrates a dream he had during the Balkan War. The writer, who at the time was residing in Ayastefanos (Yeşilköy), which was a village in Çatalca county, had the opportunity to witness the effects of the war at first hand. The columns of miserable refugees fleeing from war first arrive in Ayastefanos, where they found shelter in the empty church in the square. The terrible scene is rounded off with broken skulls,

Osmanlı Avrupası, belki çoktan beri artık bizim sayılmazdı. Girit, Şarki Rumeli, Tuna eyaletleri olan Bosna-Hersek, demek ki çoktan beri, bizim için artık tarihe karışmıştı.”

¹⁶⁵Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 92: “Demek kaleler dışında hemen hemen bütün Rumeli müttefiklerin işgal çizmesi altında, öyle mi? Ama böyle birinci sınıf bir yenilgiye, böyle müthiş bir bozguna uğramak için nasıl uğursuz bir talihe sahip olmamız lâzım... İmkânı yok, bu kadar büyük bir felâket bir buçuk ayın içine sığamaz... Mümkün değil, bu kadar kara bir uğursuzluk gerçek olamaz... Bunda da, bütün bu haberlerde de gazetecilik mübalağaları, entrikaları ve ihtirasları var. Osmanlılık, Türklük tümüyle batmadı ya... Ordularımız bir mucize, olağanüstü bir darbe ile yerin dibine girmedi ya! Bir iki yerde, bir iki muharebede mağlûp olsak bile herhâlde birkaç mevkide de varlığımızı göstermiş, zafer kazanarak ilerlemiştir. Türklük, imkânı yok, bu kadar kahredici bir belâyâ tahammül edemez. Osmanlılara, imkânı yok, bu derece müthiş bir uğursuzluk bulaşamaz. O hâlde nedir ya Rabbi, bu haberler, nedir vahşi bir diken gibi gözlerime batan bu yazılar...”

¹⁶⁶Metin Kayahan Özgül, *Türk Edebiyatında Siyasi Rüyalarda* [Political Dreams in Turkish Literature] (Ankara: Akçağ, 1989), 142-145.

amputated legs, dangling ears, extracted kidneys, and broken spines. In the dream, there are mothers with foetuses coming out of their slit bellies, young girls who have been raped, old people strangled with ropes, and women, whose burned flesh is stuck to their bones, imploring Jesus in the church. These are the results of a war waged in His name. Later, the “others” arrive, holding a bloodied cross, and turn towards Jesus. But Jesus rejects them, opening his arms to embrace and commiserate with the victims. In this way, Uşaklıgil stresses how terrible were the ferocious acts committed in the name of Jesus, a symbol of compassion.

We shall see how, further on, hopes for the future would blossom again once the shock of defeat was overcome, and how this defeat would be perceived as an opportunity to rise again. However, the shocking sadness of this initial moment did not leave any space for hope. For example, Kazım Nami wrote a poem immediately following the defeat, entitled “Umutlanma!” [Do not Hope!]:

As if it were lying on red ambers,
My poor heart is once more aching.
My enemies look at me and laugh,
*I think my ideals are dying.*¹⁶⁷

And there is also the other side of the coin: shame. This shock was not just caused by being defeated, but by being defeated in “this way.” At least as hurtful as losing territory was the fact that at many points during the war, on various fronts, Ottoman soldiers should have been afraid, should have run away from the enemy and refrained from fighting, in a manner not at all in accordance with values like gallantry and heroism. Hearing this kind of news, even belatedly, triggered reactions like anger, sadness, and shame. In another of his poems, Kazım Nami expresses this “disgrace” and shame:

That the sons and grandsons of Osman should have fled!
Nobody on the face of earth has seen this!

Isn't there a Yıldırım, a Sultan Selim?
Let us die and cleanse this shame with blood!¹⁶⁸

Another example can be found in nationalist writer Aka Gündüz's (1886-1958) story titled “Piç” [The Bastard]. In this story, written in letter format, Pala Bıyık Ali's father violently insults and curses his son, who has fled from the enemy, thus making the

¹⁶⁷ Kâzım Nâmi, “Umutlanma” [Do not Hope], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 65: “Konmuş gibi üzerine kızıl kor, / Yine benim garip gönlüm sızlıyor. / Düşmanlarım bana bakıp gülüyor, / *Saniyorum emellerim ölüyor.* (25 Teşrin-î sani 1328) [December 8th, 1912]” Italics are mine.

¹⁶⁸ Kâzım Nâmi, “Bu da Yurt Kaygısı” [This too is a National Concern] *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, : 35: “Kaçsın ha, Osman'ın oğlu, torunu! / Dünyada kimse görmemiş bunu! / Yok mu bir Yıldırım, bir Sultan Selim? / Ölelim bu ayıbı kanla silelim!”

entire company flee and leading to the death of many soldiers. According to Pala Bıyık Ali's father, if someone lacks courage, he is not a Turk, he is not a Muslim; he is a bastard. His son has soiled the entire family's honor and deserves to be killed.¹⁶⁹

Another story by Aka Gündüz, "Tarih İçin Bir Hikâye" [A Story for History], describes another shame-inducing war scene. At the centre of the story is the murder of the young wife of a Turkish captain fighting in the war. But the source of shame is that the person murdering the woman and stealing her bracelets and belongings is a Turkish reserve soldier.¹⁷⁰

One should not minimize the role played by this shame in the way the Balkan War was perceived and reflected. This was "a stain that had to be cleansed." Ubeydullah Esat describes this complex very clearly: "Everything has died. Undoubtedly, in the near or distant future, this stain will be cleansed by this generation or by future generations, and we shall be purified of it."¹⁷¹ As historian Tarık Zafer Tunaya has also stressed, the nation entered the First World War with this shame complex.¹⁷² Up to a point, this may also explain the under-representation of the Balkan War in Turkish historiography.

3.2.4. The Hope for a Savior or Leader

At this point we should mention another motif that we shall encounter frequently in the works to be examined in Part 5. This point is the quest for a guide, savior, or leader similar to a "messiah," who will guide the nation which has lost its way, and lead it to salvation. In his memoirs, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu describes this very well.¹⁷³ Karaosmanoğlu writes, "Our early youth was spent with a longing for a national hero," adding, "We – those who are now in their fifties or older – gained our first awareness of the world amidst an air of defeat." This longing was caused by people's helplessly witnessing the gradual collapse of the country, which had become a sort of semi-colony.

The awaited "national hero" did not appear. The Tripoli War, and especially the Balkan War, raised this expectation to its peak: "By then, the building in which we were living had begun to creak all over. A wave of terrible panic was running through

¹⁶⁹ Aka Gündüz, "Piç" [The Bastard], in Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 99-104. Another piece by Aka Gündüz that appeared in *Tanin* a week later is the continuation of this story. In "Hakikatin Hikâyesi" [The Story of Truth], we realize that the soldier fleeing from the enemy was not actually Ali, but was a Bulgarian soldier dressed up as Ali. As for Ali, he had martyred himself by blowing up the ammunition store of the enemy. The message of the story is that a Turk, or a Muslim, does not flee. Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 105-110.

¹⁷⁰ Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 122-133.

¹⁷¹ Quoted in Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, v. 3, 562: : "Her şey öldü. Yakın veya uzak bir gelecekte şüphe yok ki, bu lekeyi yine bu nesil ya da gelecek nesiller temizler, arındırır."

¹⁷² Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Partiler*, 592.

¹⁷³ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Atatürk: Biyografik Tahlil Denemesi* [Atatürk: an Attempt at a Biographical Analysis], ed. Atilla Özkırımlı, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1998), 17-28.

the entire country; from the shores of the Vardar to the mansions of the Bosphorus and of Anatolia. Within a few weeks, the capital city had become the setting of apocalyptic scenes.” It was like waiting for a Messiah: “We were just like the Children of Israel during the great persecution. We were waiting for a Messiah to descend from the sky, but the national hero, for whom we had been desperately yearning for two centuries, was still nowhere to be seen.” Later, the writer explains how Atatürk rose to the rank of savior.

The expectation of a savior appears also in a poem by Kazım Nami. In this poem, this expectation does not merely result from desperation, but is linked to Turkish culture. A Turk will always follow his leader:

Where is that tough fellow?
Who will free the Red Apple from the enemy?

Thus was the Turk raised: he does not proceed without orders.
He cannot act alone, even if you crush him.

If the Turk is preceded by his *paşa*
Facing death will be a feast for him¹⁷⁴

And true enough, Turgut, the hero of Nami’s novel *İş Ordusu* [The Army of Labor], initiates a push for development with his successful business enterprises, and is compared to the grey wolf, which, according to legend, saved the Turks from the valley of Ergenekon, where they had been trapped. (40)

By 1916, this quest had become even more urgent, partly due to the fact that the Ottomans were not faring well in the war. The following words by writer and publisher Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığırçan (1876-1963) express this expectation:

Where are our great patriots and heroic commentators, who will carry out intellectual and social reforms as soon as possible? Who will hold the torch that will show us the way to salvation? (...) What brave soul will nail the command of our Prophet, “Truth has appeared, let lies disappear” onto our heads, which have been corrupted by the rubbish of the East, and swollen by the legends of the East?... (...) The great commander of this continual war will be our greatest reformer! We shall be able to accomplish a social reform in our minds, thanks to such a reformer, who will emerge from our midst. O future leader of these reforms! Let me wish this for you: let the way to salvation and truth be always illuminated!¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Kâzım Nâmi, “Bu da Yurt Kaygısı” [This too is a National Concern]. *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 35: “Hani ya nerede o kabadayı? / Kurtarsın düşmandan Kızılelma’yı? / Türk öyle büyümüş, emirsiz gitmez / Kendinden yapamaz, istersen bas ez. / Önünde paşası giderse Türkün / Ölümle çarpışmak ona bir düğün”

¹⁷⁵ It should be noted that while İbrahim Hilmi keeps his distance from Europe in his book titled *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (published in 1913 during the Balkan War), in this 1916 book he points

As we shall see further on, Ömer Seyfettin's story titled "Mehdi" [The Mahdi]¹⁷⁶ was based on this same premise. The general idea in the text is that every nation will generate its own savior, and that these saviors will awaken their own nations; an "Islamic internationalism" will thus be created, leading to the formation of an Islamic Union, and creating the possibility of salvation. Along the same lines, the narrator¹⁷⁷ states that Turks should also wait for their own savior, as this is promised in the Qur'anic verse which reads "wa-li-kulli qawmin hādin" [and there is a guide for every people].¹⁷⁸ The guide will eventually come.

In Yaşar Kemal's 1963 novel *Yer Demir Gök Bakır* [Iron Earth, Copper Sky], the peasants who have been driven to desperation by the oppression of their feudal lord, lack of money, and drought, begin to fear that they will not be able to survive. They proclaim one of their number, a certain Taşbaş (who speaks differently and more sternly than the others), as the Mahdi, even though he himself does not wish to take on such a role. In this way they resist the pressure to which they are subjected. The increase after the Balkan War in texts featuring an expectation of a savior must be due to a similar mechanism. What is more, as Karaosmanoğlu also mentions, it is possible to see the traces of such a state of mind in the way Atatürk was perceived, as well, following the extremely difficult period of 1912-1922.

3.2.5. The Awakening

During this time, the concept of an "awakening" (*intibah*) was widely introduced as a motto to mobilise the population. As Mustafa Aksakal underscores, "[t]his mobilization required a comprehensive, or total, process, a process that could equip the people with patriotic passion and industry to fend off the dangers the empire faced. In books,

to Europeanization as the path to a solution. Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Avrupalılaşmak: Felaketlerimizin Esbabı* [Europeanization: The Cause of our Catastrophes], ed. Osman Kafadar and Faruk Öztürk (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1997), 180-181: "Fikri ve toplumsal inkılâpları bir an önce gerçekleştirecek büyük vatanperverlerimiz, kahraman müçtehitlerimiz nerededir? Bize kurtuluş yolunu gösterecek meşaleyi kimler tutacak? (...) Hz. Peygamber'in "Hakikat tecelli etti, yalan ortadan kalksın" emrini, Doğu'nun safsatalarıyla çürümüş, hurafeleriyle şişmiş kafalarımıza hangi cesur çivileyecek!... (...) Bu sürekli savaşın büyük komutanı en büyük ıslahatçımız olacaktır! Aramızdan çıkacak böyle büyük ıslahatçılar sayesinde bir toplumsal zihniyet inkılâbını gerçekleştirebileceğiz. Ey geleceğin yetiştireceği inkılâp reisi! Benden sana dua: Hidayet ve hakikatin yolu, daima aydınlık olsun!"

¹⁷⁶ Ömer Seyfettin, "Mehdi" [Mahdi] in *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler I* [Complete Works: Short Stories 1], ed. Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergah, 2001), 238-245..

¹⁷⁷ Quoting Genette, Manfred Jahn defines narrator as "the speaker or 'voice' of the narrative discourse." "He or she is the agent who establishes communicative contact with an addressee (the 'narratee'), who manages the exposition, who decides what is to be told, how it is to be told." (Jahn, *Narratology*). He also makes a distinction between "homodiegetic (first person) narrator" who is also one of story's acting characters and "heterodiegetic (third person) narrator" who is not present as a character in the story. (Jahn, *Narratology*.) In Ömer Seyfettin's story, the narrator is a homodiegetic one.

¹⁷⁸ *Al-Quran*, Surat Ar Ra'd, 7th Verse, <http://al-quran.info/#13:7> (Accessed 13 August, 2014).

journals, and newspapers appearing in Istanbul and elsewhere, writers and politicians referred to this process as *hareket-i intibahiye*, “the movement of awakening.”¹⁷⁹

The following list is significant in that it shows how the number of books on the theme of awakening increased in a short amount of time, and how this increase accelerated after the Balkan War. This list is the result of a simple search carried out only among published books (mostly political tracts), and it can be readily imagined that the list would have been much longer had the research also encompassed publications in other formats like poems, short stories, articles, etc.:

- Hafız Cemal, *Sevgili İslâmlarım Artık Uyanalım* [My Dear Muslims, Let Us Now Awaken]. Nicosia: Mir’at-ı Zeman Matbaası, 1906.
- Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ], *Uyanınız! Uyanınız!* [Awaken! Awaken!] Cairo: Matbaa-i İctihad, 1907.
- Muhammed Ghuri, *Müslümanlar Uyanın: İkaz-ı Müslim* [Muslims, Awaken: An Islamic Admonition] (Translated by: Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ]). Cairo: Matbaa-i İctihad, 1907.
- Kâzımpaşazâde R. Nüzhed, *Uyanalım* [Let Us Awaken]. Istanbul: Hikmet Matbaa-i İslâmiyesi, 1327 [1911].
- Hasan Azmi, *Hâtürât-ı Elime - İntibaha Davet. Dilsûz Balkan Cinayetleri* [Painful Memories – an Invitation to Awaken. The Heartrending Balkan Killings]. Istanbul: Hürriyet Matbaası, 1329 [1913].
- İsmail Sıdkı, *Hayye ale'l-intibah* [Come, Let Us Awaken]. Istanbul: Hikmet Matbaası, 1329 [1913].
- Remzi Ayıntabî, *İntibah-ı Millî* [The National Awakening]. Samsun: Şems Matbaası.
- İbnü'n-Nabi Sami Hafız, *Uyan ve Çalış* [Awaken and Work]. Kastamonu: Kastamonu Matbaası, 1329 [1913].
- Mehmed Emin [Yurdakul], *Ey Türk Uyan* [O Turk, Awaken]. Istanbul: Babikyan Matbaası, 1330 [1914].
- Tüccarzâde İbrahim Hilmi [Çığıraçan], *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken]. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913].
- Kerküklü Müridzâde Mahmud Hicri, *Terci-i Bend Ya İntibah-ı Millet* [Terci-i Bend,¹⁸⁰ Or the Awakening of the Nation]. Kirkuk: Havadis Matbaası, 1333 [1917].

¹⁷⁹ Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 19.

¹⁸⁰ The *Terci-i Bend* was a verse-form in classical Ottoman poetry.

At the very beginning of the war, on 25 Teşrinievvel 1328 [November 7th, 1912], Kazım Nami issued a call for an awakening, in his article in *Türk Yurdu* titled “Yeni Hayata Doğru” [Towards a New Life]. Nami claims that ignorance, imitation of the West, and laziness are the reasons for Turkey’s downfall.¹⁸¹

Similarly, Yusuf Akçura saw an awakening as a precondition for “resurrection”:

(...) As we have been trying to explain, Turkishness is awakening both individually and socially. It can be said that by now the danger of the social destruction of Turks has been overcome. To survive individually and socially, to set one’s heart on survival, is clear proof that it is possible to regain life, politically speaking. A nation that survives both individually and socially will sooner or later regain the independence that it lost; “resurrection after death” (*ba’su ba’de’l-mevt*) is a right for all political Turkishness.¹⁸²

Mehmet Akif, too, sees the disaster of the Balkan War as a last chance for Turkey, and implies that this defeat ought to serve as a sort of “foundational catastrophe.” People must awaken and join the nations who are racing towards the future; from now on, it is death to remain asleep. The country’s true enemy is the sleep of ignorance which has lasted for centuries. Indeed, the poem ends with the cry, “Rise Up, O Nation!”:

“The ultimate lesson of disaster” – what does this mean? It means this:
If the nation does not come to its senses, it will perish!
The nation can no longer bear another shock;
This time, sleep is death, from which no one will awaken.

The eternal human race, like a huge tumultuous flood,
Progresses with great speed as it races towards the future;
Mountains, cliffs, do not want to give way to it...
But it knows neither high or low, obscuring the two.
Nations are like individual streams feeding into that great river...
Of course they all join in...which one of them wishes to remain
behind?
(...)

¹⁸¹ Kâzım Nâmi, “Yeni Hayata Doğru” [Towards a New Life], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2. 35-37.

¹⁸² Salnâme-i Servet-i Fünûn” [Yearbook of the “Wealth of Knowledge” Movement] 1328 [1912/1913]; “Türklük” [Turkishness], Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, 187-196, quoted by T.Y., “Matbuat: Ba’su Ba’de’l-Mevt” [Printed Materials: Resurrection after Death] *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 176: “(...) Türklük yukarıda izaha çalıştığımız vechile, ferden ve içtimaen uyanmaktadır. Artık Türklerin içtimaen mahvolmaları ihtimali mündefi olmuş sayılabilir. Ferden ve içtimaen ölmek, ölmemeye azmetmek, siyaseten tekrar iktisab-ı hayat olunabileceğine kavî bir delildir. Ferden ve içtimaen yaşayan bir millet, zayi olmuş istiklâlini er geç bulup kazanacaktır; Bütün siyasî Türklük için bir "ba'su ba'de'l-mevt" haktır.”

Rise up, O nation! You are making yourself a victim of your
ignorance.¹⁸³

Even when the day-to-day developments of the Balkan War is left behind; all the same, this catastrophe and the need for awakening continues to inform the poet's outlook on life, society, and the future. In this context, a poem entitled "Uyan!" [Awaken!], dated January 1915, is worthy of mention: Written in a tone of self-critique, the poem argues that the supineness of the Muslims is the reason for the catastrophes they have experienced; therefore, they now must awaken:

You slept for the longest time; it wasn't enough.
There was nothing you didn't suffer; you didn't come to your senses.
They've torn apart your homeland from top to bottom,
And still you haven't stirred even once!¹⁸⁴

It is now time to leave off mourning, Ersoy implies, and "march towards the future." Interestingly, since Ersoy has loaded the concept of "civilization" with an exceedingly negative signification, he now replaces it with the concept of the "future," as a goal which people are trying to reach:

What you hear is no lullaby, but a roar...
Bellowing as it flows towards the future.
It is an eternal torrent, whose name is time;
Hurry! You too must join that ebullient torrent.
(...)
The life of the nation that looks to the past
Will be a continual disaster.
God has set up a future before you
For you to see – but you're still not so inclined.¹⁸⁵

As can be seen in these passages as well as in the works we will analyze in Part 5, the Balkan War, the trauma of defeat and the fear of a total collapse paved the way for a campaign of awakening, although the connotations of this concept may vary from writer to writer.

¹⁸³ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 217-218: "Son ders-i felaket" ne demektir? Şu demektir: / Gelmezse eğer kendine millet, gidecektir! // Zira, yeni bir sadmeye artık dayanılmaz / Zira, bu sefer uyku ölümdür: uyanılmaz! // Coşkun, koca bir sel gibi, daim beşeriyet, / Müstakbele koşmakta verip seyrine şiddet, // Dağlar, uçurumlar ona yol vermemek ister... / Lakin o, ne yüksek, ne de alçak demez örter! // Akvam o büyük nehre kapılmış birer ırmak... / Elbet katılır... Hangisi ister geri kalmak? // (...) // Ey millet, uyan! Cehline kurban gidiyorsun!"

¹⁸⁴ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 303: "Bunca zamandır uyudun, kanmadın; / Çekmediğin kalmadı, uslanmadın. // Çiğnediler yurdunu baştan başa, / Sen yine bir kere kımıldanmadın!"

¹⁸⁵ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 303: "Ninni değil dinlediğin velvele... / Kükriyerek akmada müstakbele, // Bir ebedi sel ki zamandır adı; / Haydi katıl sen de o coşkun sele. // (...) // Gözleri maziye bakan milletin, / Ömrü temadisi olur nekbetin. // Karşına müstakbeli dikmiş Huda, / Görmeye, lakin daha yok niyetin"

3.2.6. Never Forget!

It was necessary that the experiences undergone in the Balkan War should not be forgotten, in order that this disaster might turn into an advantage, and become an opportunity for an awakening and a leap forward, as well as a foundation stone for a new national identity (or, according to some, in order that irredentist policies might be carried out). It is within this context that the message “Do not forget!” was frequently repeated. For example, during the inauguration of the 1914 session of parliament, parliamentary speaker Halil [Menteşe] repeated this message, reminding his audience of the cities of Rumelia that had been lost: “I ask our teachers, writers, poets, and all intellectuals to remember that beyond the border there are brothers and sisters to be saved, and pieces of the motherland to be freed, and to remind present and future generations about this, through their lessons, writings, poems, and all their moral influence.”¹⁸⁶

Raif Necdet also mentioned the issue of remembrance, but treated this as an obligation rather than as a recommendation. A nation responsible for its own disaster, Necdet argued, should at least preserve that disaster in its memory: “The nation should never forget this disaster of last year, which began in September and ended during the same month, and should memorise this historic tragedy as if it were a national Qur’an. This is the nation’s own doing, in any case. It is the nation itself that is the owner and author of this historic disaster, or disastrous history.”¹⁸⁷

In the poem “Ah Rumelia!” composed by a contemporary poet named Nedim presents the necessity of “remembering” as a prerequisite for revenge:

Do not forget, know the insult you received,
Preserve in your heart your hatred, do not let it slumber;
Do not cry, dry your tears,
Bide for time, but do not forget.

Do not forget, the time for revenge will come,
So long as the Ottoman name exists in the world;
Their sons and daughters will know the way for revenge,
Let the memory of today live on in your heart.

Do not forget your hatred, let not your views turn;
It is hatred and ideals that ensure a nation’s survival.
Blow on the fire of your hatred, so that it might not die out,

¹⁸⁶ Quoted from Tunaya by Köroğlu, *Propagandadan*, 122: “Muallimlerimizden, muharrirlerimizden, şairlerimizden, bütün fikir adamlarımızdan hududun öte tarafında kurtarılacak kardeşler, tahlis edilecek vatan parçaları bulunduğunu bugünkü ve yarınki nesiller önünde, dersleriyle, yazılarıyla, şiirleriyle bütün manevî nüfuzlarıyla daima canlandırmalarını rica ederim.”

¹⁸⁷ Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 179: “Eylülde başlayan ve yine aynı ayda son bulan bu bir senelik facia-yı millet hiçbir zaman unutmamalı, o tarihî trajediyi millî bir Kur’an gibi dimağında hıfzetaşmalıdır. Zaten bu kendi eseridir. Bu tarihî faciyanın yahut bu feci tarihin sahibi, yazarı kendisidir.”

Hatred is the foundation of the building of the state.

Do not forget the Bulgarian, the Serb, or the Greek;
Brand your heart with the fire of your hatred,
Do not forget the blood that flowed like a surging stream,
If you die, have all this written on your tombstone.”¹⁸⁸

Like the utopian works that we will study in Part 5, all these works underline the necessity of remembering for the salvation of the nation.

3.2.7. Hatred

One of the long-term results of the Balkan Defeat was the systematic discourse of hatred which was cultivated against the people and states of the Balkans, and was later directed at the non-Muslim populations of Turkey. Historian Ebru Boyar has underlined the way that the discourse of the violence inflicted in the Balkans employed a feeling of victimhood to create a sense of belonging to a group:

Narrating violence as an inherent part of the image of “the enemy” and portraying this violence, enacted against a group of which the narrator was a member, is one method of creating group unity, which may, in turn, result in a united reaction against the common enemy. (...) In the late Ottoman and early Republican era, too, violence narration was important in the Ottoman/Turkish image of the Balkans. Nurturing fear, disgust and hatred through graphic narrations of rape, torture, massacre, and assault on the holy places created an image of the Balkans and those elements which formed it, the Bulgarians, Greeks, Montenegrins and Serbians, as an agent of evil in Ottoman Turkish histories, literary works and memoirs.¹⁸⁹

We must consider this point, which became one of the most basic characteristics of Turkish nationalism, separately from the temporary anger and situational enmity felt towards a warring state. To make this distinction clear, we should recall the ups and downs in Turco-Italian relations over the last century as an example of such “situational anger”. The Tripoli War, which broke out in 1911 when Italy occupied Tripolitania, the

¹⁸⁸ Nedîm, “Ah Rumeli” [Ah Rumelia], *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap* [The Red and Black Book], quoted by Karakışla, “Balkan Savaşı’nda,” 60-63: “Unutma, gördüğün hakareti bil, / Kinini kalbinde sakla, uyutma; / Ağlama, gözünün yaşlarını sil, / Bekle zamanını, fakat unutma. // Unutma, intikam günleri gelir, / Durdukça dünyada Osmanlı adı; / Evladın intikam yolunu bilir, / Yaşasın kalbinde bugünün yâdı. // Unutma kinini, fikrin dönmesin; / Milleti yaşatan kindir, emeldir. / Üfle ateşini kininin, sönmessin, / Devlet binasına kin bir temeldir. // Unutma Bulgar’ı, Sırb’ı, Yunan’ı / Kinini kalbine ateşle yazdır, / Unutma: sel gibi çağlayan kanı, / Ölürsen bunları taşına kazdır.”

¹⁸⁹ Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks*, 108.

last territory in Africa held by the Ottoman State, most certainly brought anti-Italian sentiments to unprecedented heights. At the time, the nationalist writer Mehmet Ali Tevfik [Yükselen] (1851-1949) described the wish to avenge Italy's act in his poem "Türk Genci" [Turkish Youth], as follows:

Revenge... Its love fills my heart;
To crush that miserable Italy. To see that nation
With her fields in blood, her seas in blood, her skies in blood!¹⁹⁰

This anger might crop up in unexpected places. For example, even though questions in cross-word puzzles are mostly related to factual information, a question asked in a puzzle that appeared during the Tripoli War in 1912 went against this convention. The question was: "Which is the vilest nation in the world?" And the required answer was: "The Italians."¹⁹¹

The systematic hatred developed after the Balkan War and directed towards the Bulgarians, the Greeks, and other non-Muslim elements in the region was different, because it could not be attributed to temporary clashes, and having been generated through schooling, the press, and other media, had become part of the national identity.

The claim that this war was a holy war, or a war of the Crescent against the Cross, was one of the main cornerstones used in the generation of this hatred. Boyar refers to the use of religion as a means of mobilization in the following way:

In the short period during and after the Balkan Wars, popular journals designed for a wider readership which advocated the strengthening of Turkishness, such as *Genç Kalemler*, *Halka Doğru* and *Türk Yurdu*, all used themes of violence within a religious framework as a symbol of differentiation from the Balkan nations which had formed an alliance against the Ottoman Empire. Anger over the defeat in the Balkans spurred such journals on to attempt to draw the people together and wield the Turkish masses into a common unity in the face of this Balkan enemy in order to galvanize and mobilize them to re-conquer the lost lands.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Mehmet Ali Tevfik "Türk Genci" [Turkish Youth]. (Mart 1328 [March/April 1912]) in *Genç Kalemler Dergisi* [Journal of Young Pens], ed. İsmail Parlatır and Nurullah Çetin (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 398: "Öc almak... İşte kalbimi aşkıyla dolduran; / Ezmek sefil İtalya'yı. Görmek o milleti / Sahrası kan, denizleri kan, asumanı kan!"

¹⁹¹ *Rübâb Mecmuası ve II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Türk Kültür, Edebiyat Hayatı* [A Compendium from the Journal *Rübâb*, and Turkish Culture and Literary Life in the Second Constitutional Period], ed. Nazım H. Polat (Ankara: Akçağ, 2005), 49. This anger was rekindled after the First World War, when the Italians occupied south-western Anatolia, and then calmed down once again because of the normalisation of relations which occurred when the Italians ended the occupation in June 1921, thus becoming the first country to evacuate Anatolia. These ups and downs in relations also continued later: relations got tenser in the 1930s, because of Mussolini's expansionist ideals concerning Anatolia, or because Italy granted PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan temporary asylum in Italy in 1999. However, once the problems are solved, relations improved again. .

¹⁹² Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks, and the Balkans*, 109.

This stance was natural for publications with an Islamic perspective, like *Sebilürreşat* [The True Path]¹⁹³, but it was also adopted by authors with different views. Some quatrains of the abovementioned poem “Ah Rumelia” are examples of the way this theme was expressed:

Honest heads have been stoned,
Pregnant women’s stomachs slit;
Mosques burned, stones broken,
Even tombs have been disturbed.

Crosses were nailed in mosques;
The word of the Almighty was thrown on the ground.
Bells took the place of the call to prayer,
The armies of the Cross crushed Islam.¹⁹⁴

Forced conversion was indeed a common practice in order to homogenize the population during the Balkan War. The “Carnegie Report”, for example, mentions many instances of this sort carried out especially by Bulgarians and Greeks.¹⁹⁵ However, the important point here is that among many atrocities of the war, these Turkish propaganda texts put forward this element into the foreground and attach them a greater importance than others.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³ For an article expressing this perspective see Görüceli Hafız Ali, “Sabr ü Sebat Mucib-i Zaferdir” [Patience and Determination is the Cause of Victory] *Sebilürreşat* [The True Path], v. 9 (November 1st, 1912): 167-168.

¹⁹⁴ Nedîm, “Ah Rumeli”, 62: “Çalındı taşlara namuslu başlar, / Gebe kadınların karnı deşildi; / Yakıldı mescidler, kırıldı taşlar, / Ölülerin bile kabri eşildi. // Minbere, mihraba haçlar çakıldı; / Atıldı yerlere hakkın kelamı. / Ezan yerlerine çanlar takıldı, / Salib orduları ezdi İslamı.”

¹⁹⁵ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars” (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, 1914), 77, 155-156, 201, 233, 272, 342. And for a case study of the forced conversion of Pomaks, see Fatme Myuhtar-May, “Pomak Christianization in Bulgaria during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913,” in Yavuz and Blumi (eds.), *War and Nationalism*, 316-360.

¹⁹⁶ While the Turkish propaganda accused Bulgarians of forced conversions, Bulgarian nationalists, suggests Fatme Myuhtar-May, employed a similar argument during this campaign by imposing on the Pomaks the label “descendants of forcibly converted Bulgarian Christians.” Myuhtar-May, “Pomak Christianization in Bulgaria”, 354-355.



Illustration 4: A photo of forced conversion to Christianity in Bulgaria¹⁹⁷

Rape was an important element in the image of the Balkan peoples as barbaric aggressors. Women were as much a part of a man's private and sacred values as religion, and a rape was an attack on a man's inviolable sphere, since, according to tradition and religion, the most important element in the honor of a community was that a woman should have sexual relations only with her husband.¹⁹⁸

From women's point of view, being raped was not the only terrible consequence of this side of war. Boyar tells how women would not talk about it even if they were raped, because if this were to be known, they would be shunned from society for being "soiled" and would not be able to marry. The issue of having one's honor soiled was expressed in a rather disturbing way in Mehmet Emin Yurdakul's poem "Vur!" [Strike!]:

Oh Turk, strike those who sewed a shirt of sin,
For the virgins of the country, strike them;
Strike those who drank the blood of martyrs
Rather than wine, with cups of bone.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Akyol, *Rumeli'ye Elveda*, 178.

¹⁹⁸ In the novel *İş Ordusu* [The Army of Labor], which we shall study in Part 5, we see one of hundreds of examples of this approach, as stated by Hasan the Blacksmith: "Think of what we are left with of all those places that we conquered with the sword... And then imagine those martyrs, those who died of hunger and illness, those women whose bellies were slit, those milk-fed babies who were killed by having their legs severed and being thrown against the walls, those poor girls who lost their virtue in the dirty embrace of the enemy, reeking of wine and pigs." ("Bütün kılıçla zaptettiğimiz o yerlerden elimizde kalanı bir düşün... Sonra o şehitleri, o açlıktan, hastalıktan ölenleri, o karnı deşilen kadınları, o bacakları ayrılarak, duvarlara çarpılarak öldürülen süt kuzusu yavruları, o düşmanın şarap ve domuz kokan pis kucaklarında ırzları bozulan kızcağızları aklına bir getir.") (27)

¹⁹⁹ Quoted in Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 112: "Ey Türk Vur, vatanın bâkirlerine / Günahkâr gömleği biçenleri vur / Kemikten taslarla şarap yerine / Şehitler kanını içenleri vur."

The poem is an admonition to kill enemy soldiers who have raped Muslim women, because rape was as big a crime as killing a Muslim soldier. But according to this mentality, women who were raped became “sinners.” In other words, not only were women raped by enemy soldiers, but, as if this were not enough, they were also declared to be sinners by their own people, with the result that even though they were absolutely innocent, they suffered two catastrophes in succession. What was expected of women was that they should resist, and, if need be, die.²⁰⁰

As we have already mentioned, this feeling of hatred became an indispensable element in the dominant discourse and one of the essential pieces of the new Turkish identity. The following paragraph from a history textbook written during the Republican period reflects this hatred, even if in a relatively implicit way:

Since ancient times, no matter which land we reached or which nation we subjugated, we Turks never disturbed other people’s languages or religions; [*] we did not even disturb their community organisations. So much so that they were living perfectly well amongst us, as if they were an autonomous government or nation. Since they did not serve in the army or fight in battles, their populations increased. Thanks to their schools, their knowledge increased. Since they controlled trade and the arts, they filled their pockets with our money. After all of this, and with European support, they began to talk about “nationality.” This was a current of thought at the time. Through this current, they revealed their enmity towards the Turks, which, up to then, they had hidden in their hearts. And our enemies helped them. In this way, one by one they stopped being our subjects and became states, like Montenegro, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Greece.²⁰¹

In the footnote at the point where there is an asterisk in the text, it reads “We understood what a great mistake this had been when the English occupied Istanbul and our Greek and Armenian subjects tore even the fezzes from our heads.”²⁰² Ebru Boyar interprets this “self-victimization” approach in the following way:

²⁰⁰ Quoted by Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 113-114.

²⁰¹ İhsan Şeref, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Tarih Dersleri* [History Lessons Given to Children of the Republic], quoted from 51-52 by Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 141: “Biz Türkler, eskiden beri, hangi diyara inmiş, hangi kavmi idaremi altına almış isek onların ne dillerine, ne de dinlerine hiç ilişmemişiz, [*] hatta cemaat teşkilatlarına bile dokunmamışız. Bir halde ki içimizde adeta başlı başına bir hükümet, bir millet gibi pek ala yaşıyorlardı. Asker vermedikleri, muharebelere gitmedikleri için nüfusları çoğalıyordu. Mektepleri sayesinde bilgileri artıyordu. Ticaret, sanat ellerinde olduğu için paralarınıyla cebleri doluyordu. Bundan sonra Avrupalıların teşvikiyle ortaya bir “milliyet” lafı çıkardılar. Bir bir ceryan idi. Bu ceryan ile o zamana kadar yüreklerinde sakladıkları Türk düşmanlığını meydana çıkardılar Düşmanlarımız da onlara yardım etdi. Böylece tebamızdan her biri birer devlet olarak ortaya çıktı. Karadağ, Sırbistan, Romanya, Bulgaristan, Yunanistan gibi.”

²⁰² Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 142: “Bunun ne yaman bir hata olduğunu İngilizler İstanbul’u işgal ettiği, Rum ve Ermeni tebamızın başımızdaki feslere kadar yırdıkları zaman anladık.”

This perception of being a victim, unjustly wronged and misunderstood, formed a fundamental element in Ottoman-Turkish mentality, and was important in developing a sense of unity among the Turks. The Balkans played a major role in the creation of this victim mentality, for it was here in particular that the Turks felt themselves to have been betrayed. The continuous references in the history texts, as well as in other writings, to the injustices, violence and betrayal inflicted on the Ottomans by their Balkan subjects, the graphic scenes of violence and descriptions of migration, together with the expressions of an acute sense alienation from what had been their soil, of expulsion from what had formed part of their mental *vatan*, from the bone-strewn banks of the river of life, the Danube, all fed into the creation of the victim as part of the national identity. The Ottomans/Turks felt too that, unjustly, the Balkan peoples had always “hidden hatred in their hearts,” and that they were faced constantly with an implacable hostility from the Balkan states.²⁰³

Hatred is by far the most frequently seen concept in the works of the post-war period. And it will prove to be the longest lasting one, as the Republican ideology will continue to nourish this feeling against non-Muslim minorities.

3.2.8. Rancor and Revenge

At this point we come to what might be the most intense aspect of the trauma narrative. The shock, feelings of shame, and hatred induced by the defeat eventually turned into a desire for revenge, and a vast body of writings was generated about this motif. Among these, there are some that might be considered relatively moderate. For example, Hafız Hakkı Paşa,²⁰⁴ a gallant officer who was born in Manastır and who took part in the Balkan War, wrote a book titled *Bozgun* [The Defeat], in which he analysed the reasons for this defeat; in the preface, dated October 28th, 1913, he wrote, “What made it possible for me to live on after so many tragedies and dark times, what gave me the courage to appear in front of the public with this uniform after so many stigmatizing defeats, was the fire burning inside me, (...) and the light of hope for the future that I saw in the youth of the nation and of the army.”²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 142.

²⁰⁴ Erik Jan Zürcher states that Hafız Hakkı Paşa (1879-1915), who graduated at the top of his class at the Military Academy in 1908, and who was one of the heroes (*Hürriyet kahramanı*) of the movement of 1908, resulting in his rise to the rank of *paşa* when he was still in his thirties, was one of the officers who might have competed with Enver Paşa. The *paşa* died of cholera at the age of 36 at the Caucasus Front. Zürcher, *Unionist*, 47, fn.11.

²⁰⁵ Hafız Hakkı Paşa, *Bozgun* [The Defeat] (Istanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, n.d.), 31: “Bu kadar elemelerden, bu kadar kara günlerden sonra beni yaşatan, bu kadar lekeli bozgunluklardan sonra bu



Illustration 5: The Revenge Stone erected in the Havsa county of Edirne²⁰⁶

It might be comprehensible that a commander who had taken part in the war and had experienced personally the pain of defeat should reason in this way, and should write texts full of motifs like stigmatization, revenge, and hope for the future; however, as we shall see further on, these feelings were not limited to war veterans, but rather were expressed by people from almost every walk of life. In another memoir we see that a connection is made between the catastrophe of the Balkan War and a desire for revenge. The catastrophe which Turkey had suffered was so big as to make people deny the existence of God:

Once things had got a bit calmer and a few hope-inducing and encouraging events had come in quick succession, the first reaction consisted of a wish for revenge that enveloped everyone's soul. This wish was strong enough that it made people even consider God responsible for the disaster that had been suffered. It was so harsh that it made people say to Him:

- O greatest cause of the Bulgarian savagery and monstrosity!

This was part of a rebellious and angry song, which was taught in all the schools. A wish for revenge might not be a constructive feeling.

üniforma ile milletin karşısına çıkmak cüretini veren, içimi yakan, (...) intikam ateşi ve milletle ordunun gençliğinde gördüğüm ümid-i istikbal nurudur.”

²⁰⁶ <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/42400021>. The monument in the above picture is located on the grounds of the Historic Sokullu Mosque in the Havsa district of Edirne. This mosque, built in 1577, had two minarets, but one of these minarets was demolished during the Bulgarian invasion during the Balkan War. Southeast of this mosque, but within its grounds, there is this monument called the “Revenge Stone,” erected to perpetuate the memory of the years of occupation and of the massacres. The monument was erected in 1939 by Dirik Paşa, Regional Governor of Thrace (who was from Rumelia, having been born in Manastır). On the monument there are the following verses: “We sacrificed our beloved lives for our country / When the time comes avenge us / Do not erase from your heart the massacres of the enemy / Do not begrudge our souls your prayers.”

But in those days, this feeling could encourage souls to hope for new things.²⁰⁷

In his poem “Cenk Türküsü” [Battle Ballad], the famous Turkist intellectual Ziya Gökalp did not miss the opportunity to link all of these experiences to feelings of hatred and revenge:

To the Turkish Sons:

Once more the enemy has attacked your motherland,
Your ancestors handed you a sword from their tomb;
March on, they say, cruelty has wounded justice,
Do not forget, you are Atilla’s son!

Do not call “Civilisation!” She is deaf, and will not hear you;
Let no stone remain on top of another, break all;
May all hills be flattened with skulls,
Do not forget, you are Atilla’s son!

Run! May the red flag flutter once more over “Plevna,”
May the Danube run red with blood day and night.
May your curses burn all the Balkans.
Do not forget, you are Atilla’s son!²⁰⁸

Apart from these individually written texts, there were also more systematic attempts to spread feelings of hatred. For example, the *Rumeli Muhacirîn-i İslamiye Cemiyeti* [Rumelian Muslim Refugee Society] printed and sold the following poem by poet, writer and mystic Tahirü’l-Mevlevi [Mehmet Tahir, 1877-1951] for the society’s benefit:²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* [, 59: “Biraz ortalık durulup da biraz ümit, biraz cesaret veren birkaç olay birbirini kovalayınca ilk reaksiyon, ruhları saran bir intikam duygusu oldu. Bu duygu, uğradığımız felaketten, hattâ Allahı bile mesul tutacak kadar kuvvetliydi. Ona:

- Ey Bulgar vahşet ve canavarlığının en büyük amili!

diyecek kadar azgındı. Bu parça, âsî ve kızgın bir şarkının, bir parçasıydı. Bu şarkı bütün mekteplerde okutuluyordu. İntikam duygusu belki yapıcı bir şey değildir. Fakat bu duygu o zaman, yeni bir şeyler ümitlemek için ruhları besliyebiliyordu.”

²⁰⁸ Gök Alp [Ziya Gökalp], “Cenk Türküsü” [Battle Ballad], in *Genç Kalemler Dergisi* [Journal of Young Pens] (2 Teşrinievvel 1328 [October 15th, 1912]), ed. İsmail Parlatır and Nurullah Çetin (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1999), 571: “Türk Oğullarına / Düşman yine öz yurduna el attı, / Mezarından atan kılıç uzattı, / Yürü, diyor, hakkı zulüm kanattı, / Attila’nın oğlusun sen, unutma! // “Medeniyet!” deme, duymaz o sağır; / Taş üstünde taş kalmasın durma, kır; / Kafalarla düz yol olsun her bayır, / Attila’nın oğlusun sen, unutma! // Koş! “Plevne” yine al bayrak taksın, / Gece gündüz Tuna suyu kan aksın. / Yaksın, kahrın bütün Balkan’ı yaksın. / Attila’nın oğlusun sen, unutma!”

²⁰⁹ Ağanoglu, *Göç*, 157-158.: “BULGAR MEZALİMİ / İntikam Levhası / Kulağında Küpe Olsun Unutma // Rumeli’nin dağı taşı ağlıyor! / Kan içinde her subaşı ağlıyor! / Parçalanmış gövdelerin yanında! / Can çekişen arkadaşı ağlıyor! // Bak şu yurda tek bir ocak tütmüyor! / Issız kalmış bülbülleri ötmüyor! / O sevimli ovaları kurt almış! / Bir çobancık davarları gütmüyor // Kara toprak kandan olmuş

THE BULGARIAN MASSACRE

A Revenge Plaque

Tie a knot and don't forget

The mountains and stones of Rumelia are crying!
Every fountain is weeping blood!
Near broken bodies,
Friends in agony are crying!

Not a single stove is alight in that land!
Lonely nightingales are not singing anymore!
Those pleasant plains have been overrun by wolves!
A small shepherd has lost his flock!

The black earth runs red with blood
As Turkish women and Turkish girls are chopped up!
They've attacked your beloved home like monsters,
Packs of virtue- and honour-soilers!

Crosses nailed onto mosques, and the calls to prayer
Silenced with the din of bells!
The holiest parts of mosques demolished!
Qur'ans trampled upon with booted feet!

Oh Muslim, do not fool yourself!
Do not calm your heart before revenge!
Tie a knot and don't forget
How your country is moaning!

kırmızı! / Doğrandıkça Türk kadını Türk kızı! / Can evine canavarca saldırmış! / Sürü sürü ırz ve namus hırsızı! // Mihraplara haç asılmış, ezanlar! / Susturulmuş güm güm ötüyor çanlar! / Camilerin minberleri yakılmış! / Çizme ile çiğneniyor Kuranlar! // Ey Müslüman kendini hiç avutma! / Yüreğini oç almadan soğutma! / İnim inim inleyişi yurdunun! / Kulağında küpe olsun unutma! // Tahirü'l Mevlevi (14 Ağustos 1913)"



Illustration 6: Poem titled “The Bulgarian Massacre”²¹⁰

As you can see, it was mostly the Turkists who initiated this radical campaign for revenge. It was unthinkable that Mehmet Emin [Yurdakul] should begrudge this campaign his support:

As for your hatred: Since you nourish hatred it means that you are very strong. This being so, preserve this hatred as if it were a sharp sword and brandish it against those against whom you would brandish a sword. Know those who dug dark precipices of death under the feet of your country! Learn about those who prepared the balls and chains for the arms of your nation. Recognise those who want to tear apart with their treacherous hands the glorious flags of your states. Mark those who trample with their dirty boots the bloodied tombs of your ancestors. And never forgive them; keep your hatred for them alive. May this hatred of yours never be extinguished in your free mind, and may it burn eternally like the fires *seven* levels underground! May this hatred of yours never be silenced in that manly heart of yours, and may it always roar like lions in vast deserts. May this hatred of yours become your most sacred love! Do you want to learn who these enemies of yours are?... Do not ask me, read your history. It will tell you about them...²¹¹

²¹⁰ Aġanoġlu, *Göç*, 372

²¹¹ Mehmed Emin, “Kin” [Rancor], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1, 213: “Kinine gelince: Mâdem ki kincisin; demek ki pek kuvvetlisin. Öyleyse sen bu kinini keskin bir kılıç gibi sakla ve bir kılıcı kimler için

Feyzullah Sacit also underlined the fact that a desire for revenge was a debt of honour:

Light your bayonet with the fire of hatred, and turn it into lightning,
Come and roar, march on...May recitation silence the sound of bells;
May the Balkans burn and fill with blood that feeds scorpions...
Extinguish with blood the volcano of revenge in your soul:
O grand nation, make the face of honour smile once again!²¹²

Religious sensitivities were mostly used to incite a wish for revenge; while in general religion was used to prove the necessity for revenge, there were also examples where religion was perceived as an element obstructing this useful desire. For example, Haşim Nahit expressed the need for hatred and revenge by saying “An infernal impulse admonishing your identity as if it were whipping fire, so as to strengthen your personality!.. When it is planted like an iron nail deep in the heart of Turkish-Ottoman individuals, then will they be real people!” Nahit added that the religious principle that goes “he who controls his hatred and is forgiving towards people” had been misunderstood, with the result that this desire had died out.²¹³

Another striking example of the intensification of these feelings of hatred and revenge comes from the perspective of a woman writer. In her article titled “Osmanlı Kadınlığının Ulvi Vazifeleri” [The Noble Duties of Ottoman Womanhood], Bedia Kamuran championed the idea of instilling these sentiments in children by means of lullabies:

When singing lullabies to our children, let us not say things like “may my son be a *paşa* or a *bey*,” as we did in the past. In our lullabies, let us say to our children, “your motherland is Rumelia...grow up and become a soldier, and if need be, ‘die’ for your motherland, for this cause.” Let us know our duty, and let us educate our children so that they might love their motherland, because a nation lacking love and

kullanacak isen bu kinini de onlar için kullan. Vatanının ayakları altına karanlık ölüm uçurumları kazanları bil! Milletinin kollarına ağır güllenin zincirlerini hazırlayanları öğren. Devletinin şanlı bayraklarını hain ellerle parçalamak isteyenleri tanı. Ecdadının kanlı mezarlarını kirli çizmelerle çiğneyenleri belle. Ve bunları hiç bir vakit affetme, bunlar için kin besle. Senin bu kinin o hür alınının altında hiç bir zaman sönmesin *yedi* kat yerin altındaki ateşler gibi her vakit yansın! Senin bu kinin o erkek yüreğinin içinde hiç bir zaman susmasın, geniş çölün içindeki arslanlar gibi her vakit haykırınsın. Bu kin senin en mübarek bir aşkın olsun! Bu düşmanların kimler olduklarını öğrenmek mi istiyorsun?... Bana sorma, tarihini oku. O sana bunları haber verir...”

²¹² Feyzullah Sâcî, “Öç Marşı” [Revenge March], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 3, 301: “Kin ateşi ver süngüne, bir yıldırım olsun, / Çık kükre, yürü... Çan sesi ra’dınla boğulsun / Balkan yanıp akrep yuvası kan ile dolsun.. / Ruhundaki öç volkanını kan ile söndür: / Namus yüzünü, ey ulu millet yine güldür!”

²¹³ Haşim Nahit, *Necat ve İtila*, 92: “Şahsiyeti yükseltmek için ateş kırbaçlar gibi hüviyeti ikaz eden cehennemî saîk!.. Türk-Osmanlı ferdinin a’mâk-ı kalbine demir bir çivi gibi saplandığı zaman, onlar tam birer insan olacak!”

affection for the motherland is like a soulless body, or a soldier without a rifle.²¹⁴

Mehmet Akif, too, attempts to keep people's feelings of revenge alive, if nothing else:

Even if we do not take our revenge upon the foe,
God, who has written your name in the ledger of the righteous and
unrighteous,
Will one day call down from these mountains, for sure,
A hale and hearty nation that will take its revenge!²¹⁵

Hence, revenge seems to be an essential component of the trauma narrative and a burning desire for all the writers and poets regardless of their political stance.

3.2.9. Envyng the Enemy

Another main element of the trauma narrative shaped in the aftermath of the Balkan War, and of the ideal future envisioned as part of this narrative, was an envy of the enemy, and in particular of the Bulgarians.²¹⁶ This might seem to be a contradiction, since, at times, these same texts also express hatred towards the enemy, and put forth avenging the acts committed by the enemy as their final objective. But, in reality, there is no such contradiction. The Balkan War was the death sentence of the pan-Ottoman ideology. Since this ideology could not be championed anymore,²¹⁷ the search for possible paths to follow also caused the Turks to study the victorious enemy, and to consider the enemy as a model to be copied in order to be successful. The train of

²¹⁴ Bedia Kamuran, "Osmanlı Kadınlığının Ulvi Vazifeleri" [The Noble Duties of Ottoman Womanhood], *Şehzadebaşı* [Crown Prince], no. 133 (1 Mart 1330 [March 14th, 1914]: 5-6, quoted by Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* [The Ottoman Women's Movement], 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1996), 235: "Bizler evlatlarımıza ninni söylerken eskisi gibi, "oğlum paşa olsun, bey olsun" gibi sözleri söylemeyelim. Yalnız evladımıza, senin vatanın Rumeli'dir... Asker ol, bu yolda icap ederse vatanın için "öl" diye ninni söyleyelim. Vazifemizi bilelim, evladımızı vatan muhabetiyle terbiye edelim. Çünkü vatan aşkıdan, vatan muhabetiyle terbiye edelim. Çünkü vatan aşkıdan, vatan muhabetinden mahrum bir millet; ruhsuz bir cesede, tüfeksiz bir askere benzer."

²¹⁵ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 292: "Biz almasak bile a'dâdan intikamınızı; / Huda ki defter-i ebrara yazdı namınızı, // Günün birinde şu dağlardan indirir elbet, / O intikamı alır kanlı canlı bir millet!"

²¹⁶ Manifestations of this attitude increased after the war, but it is possible to see earlier examples as well. Musa Kazım [Karabekir] recalls how, on 25 April 1906, in Manastir, a group of Bulgarian nationalist guerilla fighters were full of joy while being sent into exile. Seeing this, he says, "That is what you call a national ideal. The day our nation shows this kind of existence it will have been saved." Quoted in Eric-Jan Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia: The Importance of the Macedonian Roots of the Unionists for their Policies in Anatolia after 1914," *Middle Eastern Studies* 50, no. 6, 961. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2014.933422> (Accessed 27.11.2014).

²¹⁷ In his story titled "Hürriyet Bayrakları" [Flags of Liberty], Ömer Seyfettin sarcastically describes an Ottoman officer's naïve faith in the pan-Ottomanist ideology, and, at the same time, a Bulgarian peasant's lack of interest in the idea of Ottomanness and the ideal of Ottoman unity, on July 10th (Liberty Day). Ömer Seyfettin "Hürriyet Bayrakları" [Flags of Liberty] in *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler I* [Complete Works: Short Stories 1], ed. Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergah, 2001), 229-237.

thought expressing this state of mind goes something like this: in order to destroy the enemy, who has managed to build a strong army and defeat “us,” despite being a smaller country, we should emulate their ways; their destruction should become our national ideal, and great effort should be expended to this end.

It should be observed that when we say “envy of the enemy,” we especially mean the Bulgarians. Even though there were similar views concerning other Balkan countries as well, admiration for the Bulgarians was particularly noteworthy. What is more, this admiration existed even before war broke out. Articles signed “Can Bey” that appeared in the first issues of *Türk Yurdu* are an indication of this:

A hundred years ago, there wasn't a nation in Europe called the Bulgarians. Or, in other words, nobody was aware of the existence of such a nation. Read Voltaire's famous *Candide*; he refers to the Bulgarians as “an extinct nation.” And yet Voltaire was one of the most knowledgeable and cultured people. In Voltaire's time, this was what everybody thought of Bulgarians. And true enough, in those days, this nation was fast approaching extinction; but how was it that the “non-existent” Bulgarian nation became “existent,” and not only that, but that it became famous within Europe, and gained status amongst civilised European nations? The answer to this is very simple: the wish to survive was present in all of the young and healthy individuals of the Bulgarian nation. Even if in a foggy and imperceptible way, every Bulgarian was aware of the fact that if things continued as they were, Bulgarianness would disappear, and they suffered and were saddened because of this. However, they were not able to express in an explicit way either the reasons for this gradual extinction, or how to stop it. Once they attained awareness, this ideal spread throughout the nation. Everybody read and understood what was written about this ideal. The great ideal filled the souls of all sensitive Bulgarians, and a nation that was getting ready for eternal sleep awoke...revived...and mobilised. Everybody was filled with new hope, and the perception of life...of the future changed. And the hope of surviving as a nation was added to everybody's limited ideal of surviving as individuals.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Can Bey, “Büyük Millî Emeller” [Great National Ideals], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1, 29: “Bundan yüz sene evvel. Avrupa'da Bulgar nâmında bir millet yoktu. Yani böyle bir milletin vücûdundan kimse haberdar değildi. Voltaire'in meşhur "Ma'sûm-Candide" eserini okuyunuz; Bulgarlardan bahsederken "Münkarız olmuş bir millettir." diyor. Halbuki Voltaire en mâlumatlı, en vâkıf adamlarından birisidir. Voltaire zamanında Bulgarlar hakkında herkes bu fikirde idi. Filhakika o esnada bu millet inkırâza doğru sür'atle yuvarlanmakta idi; lâkin nasıl oldu da Bulgar milleti "yok"dan "var" oldu, var oldu da bütün Avrupa'ya kendisini tanıttı, medeni Avrupa milletleri arasına hukuk sahibi olarak girdi? Bunun cevabı pek kısa: Yok olmamak arzusu, bütün genç ve sağlam Bulgar milletinin efrâdında mevcut idi. Her Bulgar, dumanlı ve mübhem bir surette, şâyet hâlleri bu suretle devam ederse Bulgarlığın kaybolacağını hissediyor ve bundan dolayı mustarip ve mükedder oluyordu. Lâkin ne bu tederîcî inkırâzın esbâbını, ne de buna sed çekmenin müessir bir şekilde izah eyledi. Bir kere bu hâle geldikten sonra bu emel, bütün millette umûmiyyet kesbetti. Herkes bu emel hakkında yazıları şeyleri okudu, anladı. Büyük emel bütün hassas Bulgarların rûhunu doldurdu, ebediyen uyumağa hazırlanmakta olan bir millet uyandı... canlandı...

Especially in the stories of Ömer Seyfettin, the author is envious in relating the way in which the Bulgarians instilled a sense of national awareness into their people beginning as early as elementary school, and injected enmity towards Turks into Bulgarians' minds, ultimately becoming so united in their struggle that they ended up defeating the Turks. According to Seyfettin, Turks should follow their example. "Beyaz Lale" [The White Tulip], the story of how the Bulgarian Major Radko Balkaneski savagely tortures and kills a Turkish girl, Lale [Tulip], is a good example of this. One would expect that Balkaneski, who treats Lale so atrociously that it is difficult to even read, would be the villain of this story written by a Turkish nationalist. But, in reality, the following statements by Balkaneski, who ridicules compassion, converts elderly Muslims to Christianity, gives small Turkish children to Bulgarian village priests, and massacres everybody else, also reflect Seyfettin's views:

It needs to be reflected upon. We are not going to massacre children. We are going to massacre the adults of the future. A young woman can produce fifteen enemies from her belly. Killing a young woman, or a girl, is the same as killing fifteen enemies with a single blow. If the Turks had listened to their wise men and had massacred all of us when they invaded our lands, would there have been a Bulgaria today? Would we have been able to chase them away? They made a mistake. They did not massacre our women and children when they had the opportunity to do so. The unmassacred Bulgarians coupled, increased, and grew in strength. They shook off compassionate – or, in other words, weak – masters. And now they are on top of them.²¹⁹

It can be said that from the point of view of expressing a similar message, the story titled "Bomba" [Bomb]²²⁰ is even more effective; like many other stories by Seyfettin, this one is also very savage and gory, but there are no Turks in it, and everything transpires among Bulgarians. Boris and his wife Magda are socialists. They do not wish to support the nationalist partisans, though they are under great pressure to do so. They decide to sell all of their belongings and go to America. The night before their departure, their house is raided by partisans, who rape Magda, steal their money and decapitate Boris. All this savagery notwithstanding, Seyfettin does not feel any

harekete geldi. Herkeste yeni ümitler doğdu, hayata ... istikbâle karşı nazarlar değişti. Herkes için şahıs olarak yaşamak emel-i mahdûdundan başka, millet olarak yaşamak imkânı açıldı."

²¹⁹ Ömer Seyfettin, "Beyaz Lale" [White Tulip] in *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler 1* [Complete Works: Short Stories 1], ed. Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergah, 2001), 302: "Düşünmek ister. Biz çocukları kesmeyeceğiz. Yarının büyük adamlarını keseceğiz. Genç bir kadın, karnından on beş tane düşman çıkarabilir. Bir genç kadını, yaut bir kızı öldürmek, on beş düşman birden öldürmek demektir. Eğer Türkler buralarını aldıkları vakit ihtiyaçlarının laflarını dinleyip hepimizi kesselerdi bugün bir Bulgaristan olacak mıydı? Biz böylece onları önümüze katıp kovalayabilecek miydik? Yanıldılar. Fısat ellerindeyken kadınlarımızı, çocuklarımızı kesmediler. Kesilmeyen Bulgarlar, çiftleşe çiftleşe çoğaldılar, kuvvetlendiler. Merhametli, yani zayıf hâkimlerin altından kalktılar. İşte şimdi de tepesine bindiler."

²²⁰ Ömer Seyfettin, "Bomba" [Bomb] in *Bütün Eserleri: Hikâyeler 1* [Complete Works: Short Stories 1], ed. Hülya Argunşah (İstanbul: Dergah, 2001), 147-164.

sympathy for this couple who, while war against the Turks was raging, chose to follow a socialist and internationalist ideology rather than serving their nation; he therefore has a greater affinity for the partisans.

Moreover, this approach was not just limited to nationalism. The praises of Bulgarian rationality by Abdullah Cevdet, who was of Kurdish origin, and who served for years as a spokesman of pro-Western ideology through his magazine *İçtihat*, were no different: “[Bulgarians] made preparations for thirty-odd years, strengthened their race, (...) laid the basis for victory and independence; they put their faith in their country, in liberty, and in the belief that their country had a future.”²²¹ On the other hand, in Turkish schools children were told to follow the instructions of the *Şeyhülislam* [an Ottoman official with jurisdiction over religious affairs], and to repeat a prayer for the victory of the Ottoman army 4,444 times.²²²

In other articles of his, Abdullah Cevdet took his interest in the success of the Bulgarians even further: “The strength and future of Bulgaria lie in its mass of peasants. Bulgaria is actually a democracy of peasants. In other words, it is a government of the people with peasants as its base.”²²³

Raif Necdet, who would later gain visibility with his socialist views, adopted a similar position. Moreover, his words were based on first-hand observations. His memoirs of the days when he was a prisoner in Bulgaria are a testimony to this:

It is evident that the Bulgarian capital follows national movements and social currents on a daily basis, rather than fashion. Yes, we must make a confession, and from this bitter confession, acquire the desire for an awakening, for notwithstanding all their ferocity and roughness, the Bulgarians are a nation of clear-eyed, hard-working people, who are truly idealistic, patriotic, and self-sacrificing – this we must confess...²²⁴

While he expresses his admiration for the Bulgarians (whom he continues to disparage at the same time), he also criticizes his own nation, implying that the Turks should learn from the Bulgarians:

²²¹ Abdullah Cevdet, *İçtihat* [Jurisprudence], no: 54: 1221: “[Bulgarlar] otuz bu kadar sene kadar çalıştılar, ırklarını kuvvetlendirdiler, (...) zafer ve istiklâl esbabını hazırladılar: Vatana, hürriyete, memleketlerinin bir istikbale malik olduklarına iman ettiler.” Quoted by Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 123.

²²² Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans*, 123.

²²³ Abdullah Cevdet, “Bulgarya’nın Şevketi – 1” [The Greatness of Bulgaria – 1], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1, 345: “Bulgarya’nın kuvvet ve istikbali köylülerin kütesinde mek’indir. Bulgarya esasen bir köylü demokrasisidir. Yani esası köylüler olan bir hükümet-i enamdır.”

²²⁴ Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 142: “Bulgar başkentinin günü gününe modayı değil; onun yerine ulusal hareketleri, sosyal akımları takip ettiği anlaşılıyor. Evet, itiraf etmeli ve bu acı itiraftan derin bir uyanış hissesi kapmalıyız ki bütün vahşetleri, bütün kabalıkları ile Bulgarlar gözü açık ve çalışkan, cidden idealist, vatanperver ve fedakâr bir millet...”

I talked with Bulgarians from the lowest to the highest social classes. I observed that all of them shared a common feeling, outlook, and ideal. And this is the only force that will reform nations and eliminate the disadvantages of the hatred and anger that naturally exist between various political and social classes: reuniting for a national objective! You will not meet any Bulgarian shepherd or woman whose heart does not beat with historical emotion, or whose mind does not sparkle with a patriotic education that has been imposed since childhood. Alas, while we Turks mostly do not know our history and are not able to establish a sincere and enthusiastic bond between our history and our soul, they, who up to yesterday were mere shepherds, know that history much better than we do; this knowledge gives them superiority, life, and strength for their souls, which they can use against us.²²⁵

Envy of the enemy in this period can be seen as an intensified version of the age-old approach towards the West, the schizophrenic love-and-hate attitude that has also been inherited by the Republican regime.

3.2.10. The Need for a National Ideal

A main concern which all these elements of the trauma narrative inspired in many writers was the need for an objective, an ideal, and a dream for the future. This need for a shared, supreme ideal comprised the conceptual basis for the texts dealt with in this thesis, all of which contain an image of an ideal future, as well as the dream of a happy, alternative life devoid of present-day problems.

This appeared as a new and very powerful need, so much so that there was not even a word suitable to express this need in Turkish. At the time, Ziya Gökalp proposed the concept of the *mefkûre* [ideal], a word which was created according to the rules of Arabic grammar, but which up to then had not existed in Arabic. In the title of Hasan Ruşeni's book, which will be studied in Part 5, the expression "*gaye-i hayaliye*" [an imaginary objective] is used together with the Greek expression *Megali Idea*, which, being new, made Ruşeni worry that it might not be understood. Haşim Nahit expressed this linguistic problem in the following way:

²²⁵ Raif Necdet, *Ufûl*, 143: En alt tabakadan en üst sosyal sınıfa kadar Bulgarlarla konuşup göruştüm. Hepsinde ortak bir duygu, ortak bir düşünce, ortak bir ideal gördüm. İşte milletleri ihya, çeşitli siyasî ve sosyal tabaklar arasında bulunması gayet doğal olan kin ve hiddetin zararlarını imha eden yegâne kuvvet: Millî bir amaç etrafında toplanmak! Hiçbir Bulgar çobanına, hiçbir Bulgar kadınına tesadüf edemezsiniz ki kalbi tarihî heyecanlarla çarpmasın, dimağı çocukluğundan beri empoze edilmiş vatanî eğitim ışıltıları ile parlamasın. Ah biz Türkler, çoğumuz tarihimizi bilmez, tarihimizi le ruhumuz arasında samimî ve ateşli bir bağlantı kuramazken onlar, o dünkü çobanlar, o tarihi bizden çok daha iyi bilir ve bu bilgidan ruhları için bizim aleyhimizde ne üstünlükler, ne hayatlar, ne kuvvetler çıkarırlar."

Strong nations have first of all a strong “ideal”. We translate the word ideal as *gaye-i emel* [desired objective], *gaye-i hayal* [imaginary objective] and lately as *mefkûre*. This word contains elements of concepts like *maksat* [aim], *gaye* [objective], *hayal* [dream] and *emel* [goal]. Which of these should we use in place of “ideal”? This, is a matter for experts in linguistics. “Ideal” is an attribute; its essential core is “ide”. “Ide” expresses concepts like “idea,” “intelligence,” “comprehension,” “delusion,” “dream,” “conception,” “presumption,” etc. In Turkish, one of these words might be a substitute for “ideal.” But the real problem is to find a word that will express in Turkish the strong and wide-ranging meaning that the word ideal expresses in French. It is because compound words like *gaye-i emel* or *gaye-i hayal* were not deemed sufficient to express the wished-for meaning that the word *mefkure* was invented. But there are those who object. They say that there is no such word used in Arabic. Whichever of these words or combined words we decide to substitute for “ideal,” we should be sure that it has a personality. I consider *aksa-yı emel* [an ultimate goal] to be more suitable, because *aksa-yı emel* has a strength of expression close to “ideal.” (...)

The number of those who understand the Turkish-Ottoman nation’s need for an *aksa-yı emel* is increasing day by day. (...)

May the first objective of the Turkish *aksa-yı emel* be the Turkish-Ottoman renaissance and the Turkish union.²²⁶

This concept was such a pressing priority that the first article of the first issue of *Türk Yurdu*, which in those days was a highly influential magazine, was titled “Büyük Milli Emeller” [Great National Ideals]. This article, authored by Can Bey, begins with an attempt to carry out a kind of ‘conceptual house cleaning’:

A person should always live in expectation of something, and desire a particular state of affairs. There is nobody who does not wish for a particular state of affairs or thing. In European languages this is called an aspiration. If the wished-for thing is important and has an exalted status, then they call it an ideal (*idéal*). I think that our Turkish

²²⁶ Haşim Nahit, *Necat ve İtila*, 152-154: “Kavî milletlerde herşeyden evvel kuvvetli bir “ideal” var. Bizde ideali, “gaye-i emel”, “gaye-i hayal” ve en son “mefkûre” diye tercüme ediyorlar. Maksat, gaye, hayal, emelden bu kelimedede birer parça şey var. Bunlardan hangisini ideal yerine ikame etmeli? Bu, lisan mütehassıslarının işidir. “İdeal” bir sıfattır, madde-i asliyesi, “ide”dir. “İde”, fikir, akıl, idrak, vehim, hayal, tasavvur, zan, ilh. manasına geliyor. İdealin Türkçe mukabili bu kelimelerden biriyle ikame olunabilir. Lakin asıl mesele idealin Fransızca ifade ettiği mananın kuvvet ve şumulünü, tesirini Türkçe ifade edecek bir kelime bulmaktadır. Gaye-i emel, gaye-i hayline kastolunan manayı ifadeye kafi görülmediği içindir ki “mefkure”yi buldular. Lakin buna itiraz edenler var. Arapçada müstağmel öyle bir kelime yok diyorlar. Bunlardan hangi kelimeyi veya terkibi olursa olsun evvelemirde ideal yerine ikame etmek ve ona bir şahsiyet icap eder. Ben “aksa-yı emel”i daha mufavik görüyorum. Çünkü aksa-yı emel, ideale yakın bir kuvvet-i ifadeyi haizdir. (...)

Türk-Osmanlı milletinin bir “aksa-yı emel” ihtiyarını idrak edenler günden güne çoğalıyor. (...)
Türk aksa-yı emelinin ilk hedefi, Türk-Osmanlı itibahı ve Türk ittihadı olsun.”

language does not possess a word that corresponds exactly to this. However, if we translate it as the word *emel*, we shall have approached this meaning. In our terminology, *emel* is something that a person wishes existed, or a state of affairs that he or she expects will come into being or be realised.

The word *emel* should not be confused with the word *ümit* [hope]. *Ümit* and *emel* are not the same thing. *Emel* is a wished-for thing or state of affairs; *ümit*, on the other hand, is a joy deriving from faith in the accomplishment of this *emel*. For a merchant, having a shop in a big city is an *emel*. For a pupil in a professional school, even graduating from this school and becoming a doctor, an engineer, or a lawyer is an *emel*. For a journalist, owning a newspaper is an *emel*. For a young person who feels in himself a talent for literature or poetry, becoming a writer or poet is also an *emel*...etc.²²⁷

The author then underlines how vital this concept is:

The progress of nations will be possible thanks solely to the existence of this type of great idealist. If all of the individuals in a nation were to live at the level of limited and ordinary ideals, if nobody were to rise above the ordinary and rough ideals of his or her environment, then that nation would be condemned to silence and decline, and later to complete extinction and collapse.²²⁸

Once this concept had been described and its necessity underlined, various writers proceeded to flesh out this concept in various ways. Once the pain of the Balkan

²²⁷ Can Bey, "Büyük Millî Emeller" [Great National Ideals], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1. 14: "İnsan için her zaman beklediği bir şey, arzu ettiği bir hâl olmalıdır. Hiç bir insan yoktur ki onun arzu ettiği bir hali, istediği bir şeyi olmasın. Avrupa lisanlarında buna aspiration diyorlar. Eğer istenilen şey bir nevi mühim ve âlî heyete mâlik ise ona da ideal (idéal) nâmını veriyorlar. Bizim Türk lisanında buna tamâmen mukabil bir kelime yoktur zannederim. Maamâfih "emel" kelimesi ile tercüme edersek bu manâya yaklaşmış oluruz. Demek bizim ıstılahta emel, bir insanın vücudunu arzu ettiği bir şey yahut meydân-ı fiile çıkmasını, tahakkukunu beklediği bir hâl oluyor.

Emel kelimesi ümîd sözü ile karıştırılmamalıdır. Ümîd ile emel bir değildir. Emel, arzu olunan şey yahut hâl; ümîd ise bu emele visûle inanmadan neş'et eden meserrettir. Bir tüccar için büyük şehirlerde mağaza sahibi olmak bir emeldir. Bir mektep şâkirdi için büyük mektebi ikmal ederek doktor, mühendis yahut avukat olmak dahi emeldir. Bir gazete muharririne bir gazete sahibi olmak yine bir emeldir. Kendisinde kuvve-i edebiyye veya şi'riyye hisseden bir genç için edîb yahut şiir olmak da bir emeldir... ilh."

²²⁸ Can Bey, "Büyük Millî Emeller" [Great National Ideals], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1. 15: "Milletlerin terakkîsi ancak bu gibi büyük emel sahiplerinin vücûdu sayesinde mümkündür. Eğer bir millette bütün efrâd-ı millet mahdut ve âdî emeller dâiresinde yaşayacak olursa, hiç kimse muhidinin âdî ve kaba emellerinden yukarı yükselemezse o millet sükût ve tenedîyye, sonra büsbütün inkirâz ve izmihlâle mahkûm demektir." Later, Yusuf Akçura also made similar statements: "Gentlemen, this failure also tells us in a clear, definite, and urgent way that if our social structure is to survive, it must have a sound and positive ideal. Yes, we should find, we should create, such an ideal. We should provide our youth and children with a methodical, homogeneous, sound education and faith, within the framework of this ideal. In other words, we should put this ideal into action and cause it to be realized..." Akçuraoğlu, "Emel ve İdeal" [A Goal, an Ideal], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 1, 268.

catastrophe had passed, there would be ideals with longer-term, more utopian visions. But in the heat of war, even a moderate like Halide Edip Adivar would find herself radicalised:

These catastrophes befell us because of carelessness, ignorance, laziness, and a lack of love for our country. To escape this situation, we should educate our children and prepare for our future. Let us make an effort to introduce civilisation among us, which is the only thing that ensures the survival and dominance of a nation, with its machines, trade, science, and everything else. But all of this should be done for an objective and an ideal. And that is to create strong and free Turks, a strong and free Turkey. Later, we should crush the enemies whose strength prevents us from expanding and growing, and who are attacking our lives. I shall repeat what the Romans said: regardless of whether or not there is peace, Bulgaria is now at a distance of only three hours. "Bulgaria must be destroyed!"²²⁹

Before continuing with the following chapter, it will be beneficial to make some concluding remarks. The above themes and topics will arise frequently in the works which constitute the corpus of this thesis, i.e., the gist of these works, which will be dealt with in Part 5, is determined by these themes and concepts. Hence this chapter can be seen as a thematic guide for the works covered in Part 5. Our choice of concentrating here on fictional and non-fictional works other than utopian ones aims at underlining the fact that the campaign for constructing a trauma narrative was not limited to utopian works that this thesis deals with.

In Part 5, we will concentrate on the traumatic rupture caused by the Balkan War and will analyze how the themes we outlined above were used in the service of imagining a new future by the writers of utopian works. We need also, however, to evaluate utopian works preceding the Balkan War in order to highlight the rupture in projections of the future created by this war. This is what the following Part 4 will focus on.

²²⁹ Halide Edip Adivar, "Felâketlerden Sonra Milletler" (Darülfünun salonunda hanımlara irad edilmiş bir hitabe) [Nations after Catastrophes: an Address to Women in the Hall of the *Darülfünun*], *Türk Yurdu*, v. 2, 287-291: "Bize bu felaketler gafletten, cehaletten, tembellikten, vatanımızı sevmediğimizden geldi. Bundan kurtulmak için çocuklarımızı okutmalı, yollarımızı yapmalıyız. Milletleri yegâne yaşatan ve hâkim eden medeniyetin makineleriyle, ticaretiyle, ilmiyle, her şeyiyle, aramıza girmesine gayret edelim. Fakat bunları hep bir gaye, hep bir emel için yapıyoruz. O da kuvvetli ve hür bir Türkiye ve Türkler vücuda getirmek. -Sonra, sonra kuvvetiyle, tevesüü ile büyümemize mani olan, hayatımıza göz dikmiş olan düşmanları ezmek,- Romalıların dediğini tekrar ediyorum: Sulh olsun olmasın, Bulgaristan üç saat öteye geldi. "Bulgaristan mahvedilmelidir!" The last sentence refers to the Roman senator Cato's statement during the wars between Carthage and Rome: *Carthago delenda est* [Carthage must be destroyed] (the abbreviation of the phrase *Ceterum autem censeo Carthaginem esse delendam* [Furthermore, I consider that Carthage must be destroyed]).

4. VISIONS OF THE FUTURE IN PRE-BALKAN WAR LITERATURE

This part will deal with texts in pre-Balkan War Ottoman Turkish literature which offers a vision of the future. The time period in question can be traced back as far as the middle of the 19th century. In other words, the first texts of this sort were produced during the period of modernization by the Ottoman Turks. Accordingly, it will be useful to keep that context in mind in discussing this subject.

Clearly, this period of modernization represented a systematic, paradigmatic transformation for the Ottoman Empire. This long, painful process, which had begun with military reforms (prompted by concerns about the survival of the Empire) in time also showed its effects in the field of education²³⁰, and eventually in culture. Prior to this period, we do not encounter a tradition of writing about utopia (as defined in the present study), or a proclivity for producing fictions that propose an alternative to existing conditions, in Ottoman Turkish literature. Here I am using the term “utopian thought” in the broadest possible sense, for until the beginning of the 20th century, at the earliest, there are no works which would be considered utopias according to the definition provided in Part Two. One reason for this is that nearly all the Tanzimat-era²³¹ literati were also bureaucrats, as a result of which their utopias have no oppositional stance. Another reason, as pointed out by Uğur Tanyeli, is that as the goal of catching up to the West became an unassailable one, these figures transformed their utopian vision into an ideology – into a “road map” which needed to be followed.²³²

However, as the process of modernization continued, the transformation of the military and administration gradually seeped into the field of culture as well, and culture itself became subject to Western influence. In this climate, utopian thought made its entry into Turkish literature along with other innovations. Seeing a connection between print culture and utopianism, Şerif Mardin links the entry of utopian thought into 19th century Ottoman culture to the successful education reforms of the Tanzimat. According to Mardin, because books were hard to come by in the pre-Tanzimat education system, a teacher who had memorized a book in the manner of a *hafız* [an Islamic scholar who learned the Qur’an by heart] would transmit this knowledge to the

²³⁰ Zürcher, *Turkey*, 41.

²³¹ “Tanzimat Fermanı” or the Edict of Gülhane is an imperial edict issued on 3 November 1839, by which Sultan Abdülmecid a number of political, social and legal reforms. This edict is seen as an important cornerstone in the history of Ottoman modernization, and the period following this edict is known as the “Tanzimat era”.

²³² Tanyeli, “Zihinsel Yapımız” [Our Intellectual Makeup], 24.

students. However, the “textbook” model of modern education did away with such “differing accounts,” allowing everyone access to the same information, making criticism possible, and giving rise to a “world of principles.” These are among the necessary preconditions for utopianism.²³³

Influence of Western Literatures

In this connection, an important piece of data is supplied by the choice of the first book of Western literature to be translated into Turkish. This was the 1699 work *Les aventures de Télémaque* [The Adventures of Telemachus] by François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon. Translated into Turkish by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa in 1859 – under the title *Tercüme-i Telemak* [A Translation of “Telemachus”]²³⁴ – Fénelon’s work is a didactic political novel with utopian characteristics. Defending a constitutional order against a regime of absolute monarchy, the novel deals with subjects which had equivalents in the Ottoman context as well. In his choice of a book to translate, Yusuf Kamil Paşa chose a work which, while not contemporary, nonetheless expressed a longing for a new order through a utopian vision; this can be taken as a bellwether of the Ottoman cultural climate of the period.

Although it is quite hard to get a complete picture of the influence of Western authors on the visions of the future in Ottoman-Turkish literature, it is obvious that Fenelon was not the only inspiration. In addition to Fenelon who presented a utopian scheme for an ideal political and social order, others influenced Ottoman writers with their pictures of ideal future through scientific progress. Literary historian Fatih Andı underlines the fact that in the process of Westernization certain concepts like progress [terakki], renewal [teceddüt], civilization [medeniyet] gained particular popularity, and among them was the term “fen” [pl. “fünun”] meaning “science” or “scientific knowledge”. He points out that many newspapers and magazines of the post-Tanzimat period contains this term, e.g., *Servet-i Fünun* [Wealth of Sciences (or Scientific Knowledge)], *Hazine-i Fünun* [Treasure of Sciences], *Mecmua-i Fünun-ı Askeriye* [Journal of Military Sciences], etc.²³⁵

In this framework, we see other utopian or science fiction writers being read and/or published in the Ottoman cultural sphere and inspiring Ottoman writers in

²³³ Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye’de Toplum ve Siyaset* [Society and Politics in Turkey], 3rd ed. (Istanbul: İletişim, 1992), 225–227.

²³⁴ François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Tercüme-i Telemak* [A Translation of “Telemachus”], trans. Yusuf Kamil Paşa (Istanbul, 1275 (hijri) [1859]). The book was transliterated into Latin script in the following edition: Yusuf Kamil Paşa, *Tercüme-i Telemak* [A Translation of “Telemachus”], ed. Gonca Gökalp-Alpaslan (Istanbul: Öncü Kitap, 2007). It must be noted that Yusuf Kamil Paşa’s “translation” was very different from the translations as we conceive of them today. For a thesis examining this translation from the standpoint of intellectual history, and dealing with the reception of certain concepts in Turkish, see Arzu Meral, “Western Ideas Percolating into Ottoman Minds: A Survey of Translation Activity and the Famous Case of Télémaque,” PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2010.

²³⁵ M. Fatih Andı, “Fenni Roman” in *Roman ve Hayat* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999), 97-98.

imagining their own visions of ideal future. An influential figure in this period is Voltaire and his 1752 science fiction short story “Micromégas”.²³⁶ The work has been translated into Turkish four times between 1869 and 1908.²³⁷

Another example would be H.G. Wells. As can be seen in Section 5.4, H.G. Wells’ science-fiction novel *The Time Machine*²³⁸ is quoted in Yahya Kemal’s “Colloquy under the Pines” and inspired that work.

Nevertheless, a special reference must be made to the exceptional influence of the French writer Jules Verne on one or two generations of intellectuals in the 19th century Ottoman Empire. Between 1875 and 1927, more than forty translations were made from Verne’s works (including multiple translations of certain works).²³⁹ Apparently Verne’s works were very popular and they helped the Ottoman intellectuals and writers imagine their ideal future along the lines of scientific advancements.²⁴⁰ In this context, maybe we may not verify it in every single instance but, many of the imaginary adventures, journeys, gadgets, vehicles and scientific inventions that are encountered in the works to be analyzed in Part 5 were, to a certain extent, arguably inspired by Jules Verne’s works.

It must also be underlined that French writers and French works of literature were more accessible to the Ottoman readers and therefore the Western influence was basically through French language. That was mainly because, as Johann Strauss states, French “attained the status of a semi-official language”,²⁴¹ and it

occupied the first place as a source language of translated novels. English played a rather insignificant role—much to the chagrin of the American missionaries. Even the works of English, Italian or German authors were usually translated from their French versions but, in fact, the situation was more complex. (...) The choice made by the translators (who had in view their prospective readers) often seems rather surprising to those accustomed to a well-established canon of classical authors. Most of what was translated into Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Judaeo– Spanish and other languages were the works of French

²³⁶ Voltaire, “Micromégas.” (Berlin: 1852).

²³⁷ For the list of translations and an analysis of the perception of Voltaire in this period, see Secaattin Tural, “19. Yüzyıl Türk Aydınında Voltaire İlgisi,” [19th Century Turkish Intellectuals’ Interest in Voltaire] *Tarih Kültür ve Sanat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, vol. 2, no. 4 (November 2013): 147-156. <http://kutaksam.karabuk.edu.tr/index.php/ilk/article/view/292/274> (Accessed 7.12.2014)

²³⁸ H.G. Wells, *The Time Machine* (London: William Heinemann, 1895).

²³⁹ For a full list of Turkish translations of Verne’s works, see Seda Uyanık, *Osmanlı Bilim Kurgusu: Fenni Edebiyat* [Ottoman Science Fiction: Scientific Literature] (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013), 45-46.

²⁴⁰ For an account of Jules Verne’s influence on Ottoman Turkish Literature, see Uyanık, *Osmanlı Bilim Kurgusu*, 42-50.

²⁴¹ Johann Strauss. “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?” *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no.1 (2003): 42.

novel writers who are forgotten today, but who were extremely popular in their time.²⁴²

Dream Narratives

Below, I will examine the literary manifestations of the visions of the future in Ottoman culture, in parallel with the process of modernization. In the Young Ottoman period, texts offering visions of the future often took the form of a dream. Before examining these texts, it is essential to point out that the dream narrative is a frequently employed genre in Ottoman Turkish literature of the classical period. In fact, the *habname* [dream book] was a recognized genre in classical Ottoman literature; one of its most famous specimens, which has been a source of inspiration to many dream narratives in Turkish literature, is the *Habname* of Veysi (1561–1628).²⁴³



Illustration 7: The first page of Veysi's *Habname*²⁴⁴

The narrator of the *Habname*, pondering the troubles faced by the state, is beset by feelings of grief, and wishes that he could meet the Sultan. At this point, he falls asleep and begins dreaming. Following this introduction (a common feature of later dream narratives, as will be explained below), we see all the Ottoman sultans down to the author's own era (including the reigning sultan at the time, Sultan Ahmet I) sit and converse with İskender-i Zülkarneyn, a mythical figure in Islamic tradition usually

²⁴² Strauss, "Who Read What," 51-52.

²⁴³ For the critical edition of Veysi's *Habname*, see Veysi, *Habname-i Veysi*, ed. Mustafa Altun (Istanbul: MVT Yayıncılık, 2011). For an in-depth study of the *habname* genre as well as Veysi's *Habname*, see A. Tunç Şen, "The Dream of a 17th Century Intellectual: Veysi and His *Habname*" (MA Thesis, Sabancı University, 2008).

²⁴⁴ Private collection (E.K.)

identified with Alexander the Great. Sultan Ahmet complains of the Celali revolts, expressing his sadness at the fact that his own era is worse than those of all the previous sultans; however, sultans are the heart of this world, he says, and any discomfort in the heart will lead to a malfunction (literally “an uprising”) in the body. By way of answer, Alexander the Great counsels him to hold on tight to the “strong rope” of the *sharia* of the Prophet; the previous Ottoman sultans, Alexander says, made great gains by adhering closely to the *sharia*, and if Sultan Ahmet does likewise, the state will remain free of disorder until Judgment Day.²⁴⁵ Öztürk states that there are two basic messages inherent in the genre of the *nasihatname* [advice letters]²⁴⁶: 1. a return to the Golden Age, and 2. an embrace of *sharia*.²⁴⁷ Veysi’s *Habname* clearly recommends the latter course of action.

While its form and/or function may have changed over time – and while fictional devices like having the King of Macedon recommend a return to the *sharia* are rarely encountered in later dream narratives – the dream genre was always highly prized in Turkish literature. Utopian literature in Turkish began with works in the form of a dream, and this was the preferred choice for a long time. This choice may be associated with some of the appealing features of the dream as a literary form. As it is believed that dreams come from God, they both absolve the dreamer of any responsibility for their contents, and also possess importance and authority due to their divine origin, thus making it possible to say things which normally could not be said.

Dream narratives as found in *Habname* will be the most popular form used by later modern utopian works that will be examined below. The works which will be dealt with first in this study are accordingly short texts in the form of dreams by Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal, the leading members of the Young Ottoman movement, who can be considered as the pioneers of a mindset which made the emergence of utopian works possible.

²⁴⁵ Nurettin Öztürk, “Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatında Ütopya” [Utopia in Contemporary Turkish Literature] (MA thesis, İnönü University, 1992, 14–15).

²⁴⁶ In this framework “nasihatname” can be considered as a broader term that encompasses all kinds of books of advice like *habnames*, *siyasetnames* [books of government] etc. For instance, in her article on nasihatnames, Heather Ferguson considers Veysi’s *Habname* as an example of *nasihatnames* (Heather Ferguson, “Genres of Power: Constructing a Discourse of Decline in Ottoman *Nasihatname*.” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, no xxxv (2010): 81-116.

http://english.isam.org.tr/documents/_dosyalar/_pdfler/osmanli_arastirmalari_dergisi/osmal%C4%B1_sy35/2010_35_FERGUSONH.pdf (Accessed 26.11.2014.)

²⁴⁷ Öztürk, “Çağdaş”, 17-18.

4.1. The Dream of Ziya Paşa as a “Transitional Text”

The Young Ottomans did not leave behind any full-fledged literary utopias or visions of the future. Having said that, they arguably carried out the transformation in mindset which made this sort of vision possible. These intellectuals, critical of any tendency towards “heedlessness about the future”²⁴⁸ (as it was termed by economist and sociologist Sabri Ülgener in connection with pre-Tanzimat Ottoman Turkish culture and literature), shifted the public’s gaze precisely towards the future. The following words of Namık Kemal (referring to a well-known couplet exhorting people to “seize the day”) are testament to this Young Ottoman sentiment: “So you would give credit to the saying, ‘Make merry today, forget tomorrow’s worries / Let this rotten world look after itself’ – ? If you don’t think about tomorrow, then tomorrow who will think of you?”²⁴⁹



Illustration 8: Ziya Paşa²⁵⁰

Ziya Paşa was one of the foremost figures among the Young Ottomans (one of the most important groups to oppose the prevailing interpretation of Westernization in the post-Tanzimat period). In 1869, the newspaper *Hürriyet*, which he and his associates had founded in London, published a piece of his entitled “Abdülaziz Han, Ziya Bey, Âli Paşa.”²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Sabri Ülgener, *İktisadi Çözülmenin Ahlak ve Zihniyet Dünyası* [The Moral and Intellectual World of Economic Disintegration] (Istanbul: Der, 1981), 67, quoted in Öztürk, “Çağdaş”, 6.

²⁴⁹ Quoted in Öztürk, “Çağdaş”, 7: “‘Ays u nuş eyle bugün, anma gam-ı ferdayı / Sana ismarladılar mı bu yalan dünyayı’ kavline itibar eder misin? Ya sen yarımı düşünmezsen yarın seni kim düşünecek?”

²⁵⁰ <http://ziyapasa.kimdir.com/>

²⁵¹ There are many manuscripts and printings of this piece, and the text has different titles in these different versions. Its first printing in book form, for example, bears the title *Edib-i Muhterem Ziya Paşa'nın Rüyası* [Dream of the Honorable Man of Letters, Ziya Paşa] (İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1910). The following edition has been used in this thesis; here, the editors refer to the text simply as “Rüya”: Ziya Paşa, “Rüya” [Dream] in *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi II: 1865–1876* [Anthology of New Turkish

In this narrative – which is reminiscent of the introduction to the *Habname*²⁵² – the narrator sits in the gardens of Hampton Court Palace, brooding over his own misfortunes and those of his country, only to fall asleep and dream that he finds himself in the presence of Sultan Abdülaziz.

At the heart of this text – which takes the form of a dialogue between Sultan Abdülaziz and Ziya Paşa – is the latter’s main concern of communicating to the Sultan his wish for a transition to a parliamentary system. Ziya Paşa – citing European examples – argues that this would not diminish the Sultan’s authority, but that, in essence, it would serve as a measure to prevent corruption on the part of his ministers.²⁵³ Ziya Paşa alleviates Abdülaziz’s fears that a parliament will lead to separatism, by assuring him that this danger can be prevented through “science and education,” but that freedom must exist first. Moreover, the administration ought to be centralized, discipline ought to be brought to the economy, and the regime ought to act more decisively in its foreign affairs.



Illustration 9: The cover of *The Dream of the Esteemed Writer, the Late Ziya Paşa*²⁵⁴

Discussing the Eastern Question, the author asserts that the European states see the Ottoman State as a “lifeless corpse,” that they do not have faith in the current reforms,

Literature, II: 1865-1876], ed. Mehmet Kaplan, İnci Enginün, Birol Emil, 2nd. ed. (Istanbul: M.Ü. Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1993), 109–129.

²⁵² Another sign of the influence of Veysi’s *Habname* on later dream narratives can be seen in the fact that Namık Kemal, while discussing the *Dream* of Ziya Paşa in a letter to Zeynelabidin Reşid, requested that the latter give him a copy of the *Habname*. Excerpted from the *Edebiyat Kumkuması* [The Jug of Literature] in Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*, 24.

²⁵³ Ziya Paşa, “Rüya” [Dream], 111-112.

²⁵⁴ Private collection (E.K.)

and that, if not for their fear that the Russians would occupy Istanbul, they would long ago have sent the Ottomans back to Anatolia. Within the empire, too, the situation is horrific. Bulgaria is seething with rebellion. Anatolia is in ruins. The people are oppressed by state bureaucrats, officials are going hungry, and the artisan class is bankrupt. What lies behind all of this is the corruption of the previous Grand Vizier, Fuat Paşa, and the current one, Ali Paşa. The damage wrought by Ali Paşa is so great that, in Ziya Paşa's phrase, things could hardly be worse "even if a coolie were brought in to fill his post."²⁵⁵ In fact, under a constitutional system, there would be no need for a Grand Vizier. The remainder of the dream sees Ziya Paşa – with the Sultan's approval – going to the waterfront villa of Âli Paşa, informing him (with no small pleasure) that he has overstepped his bounds, and sending him into exile.

The Dream of Ziya Paşa does not contain a detailed formula for salvation, or a depiction of the ideal life. Rather, as Kayahan Özgül has pointed out, it is a text in which animosity towards Âli Paşa, as well as a personal desire for revenge, predominates.²⁵⁶ However, this brief work, which uses the traditional literary forms of the dream narrative and advice letters, and does not possess a religious frame of reference, can be seen as a transitional work, opening the door to later works of its kind by its message of salvation for the state through prioritizing the parliamentary system, science and education.²⁵⁷ In fact, the language used in Ziya Paşa's text shows that European values are now the main reference point of such works: "...seeing that even the Sublime Ottoman State is part of the European family, it is impossible for us to remain in this condition perpetually, in opposition to the entire world."²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ Ziya Paşa, "Rüya", 111: "onun yerine bir sırık hamalı getirilse".

²⁵⁶ Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*, 23

²⁵⁷ Due to this hybrid structure, there exists some confusion about the classification of this text. The famous writer Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar calls it a fantasy, a work of polemic, and the first successful short story in Turkish. According to the literary historian Nihat Sami Banarlı, on the other hand, the *Dream* should be termed an interview. Cited in Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*, 24-25.

²⁵⁸ Ziya Paşa, "Rüya," 111: "...mademki Devlet-i Aliyye dahi Avrupa familyasından madüttür, bütün âleme muhalif olarak bizim bu halde bekamız imkân dâhilinde olamaz"

4.2. Namık Kemal and his *Dream*: a Utopian Figure?

Another modern work which uses the traditional dream narrative is the “Dream” of Namık Kemal, recounting a dream which the author claims to have had on the night of 14 Safer 1289 [April 23rd, 1872].²⁵⁹ Arguably, the *Dream* of Namık Kemal – rather than that of Ziya Paşa – can be termed the first text to display a utopian tendency and present a vision of the future.²⁶⁰



Illustration 10: Namık Kemal²⁶¹

Similar things could be said of the author himself. One of the most important of the Young Ottomans, Namık Kemal presented a vision of the future not only in this seminal work, but in many others as well, combining a political project with an imaginary future, and turning it into something tangible via his literary oeuvre. For instance, in his essay entitled “Terakki” [Progress],²⁶² which has remained largely unknown in comparison to the *Dream*, he also presents a utopian vision. He starts with

²⁵⁹ As with the *Dream* of Ziya Paşa, this text also possesses many manuscripts and printings. In this study, the following edition will be used: Namık Kemal, “Bin iki yüz seksen dokuz senesi saferinin on dördüncü gecesi görülmüş bir rüyadır” [A Dream That Was Had on the Fourteenth Night of the Month of Safer, 1289 [April 23rd, 1872]], Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 251–266.

²⁶⁰ The taxonomical confusion surrounding Ziya Paşa’s *Dream* only increased with the *Dream* of Namık Kemal. The writer and translator Şerif Hulusi regards it as a piece of political writing, while the writer Necip Fazıl Kısakürek sees the *Dream* as a novel written in the manner of a fairy tale. Linguist and literary historian İbrahim Necmi Dilmen, by contrast, identifies it as a piece of journalism. According to the writer and historian İbnülemin Mahmut İnal, the *Dream* is a political pamphlet. Nihat Sami Banarlı and Önder Göçgün call this text a “prose pamphlet.” The *Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Famous Turkish and World Figures], unable to resolve this dilemma, puts it in the category of “Various.” Finally, Atilla Özkırımlı, Kenan Akyüz, et al., in listing the works of Namık Kemal, give no space to this work. Quoted in Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalarda*, 33.

²⁶¹ http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Namık_Kemal (Accessed 15.08.2014)

²⁶² Namık Kemal, “Terakki” [Progress], *İbret* [The Example], No: 45, 3 Ramazan 1289 [November 5, 1872]. Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 193-202.

the description of London, but after a point the narrative can no longer be termed “description,” but rather fantasy or utopia. We meet sailors who study the laws of gravity during their leisure time, as well as professional scribes who study German philosophers’ views on the philosophy of law. After extravagant descriptions of museums, zoos, observatories, and libraries, the narrative turns to a description of mechanized industry. The machines in factories are the size of mountains. There are printing presses manned by 50,000 workers, and breweries with 15,000 carthorses. Later on, the author discusses mining: towns of 4,000-5,000 people apiece have been founded beneath the ocean for this purpose. There are orderly marketplaces located beneath rivers, and splendid bridges in the sky. What lies behind all this development? The country has advanced, the author writes, thanks to the extraordinary effort it has expended in developing printing presses, freedom, equality, cooperation, money-making, steam power, fast communications, and energy. Namık Kemal states that it will be impossible to reach such a state of civilization in a short period of time; however, given that the nations of Europe have taken this route and have reached this state within two centuries, he hopes that the Ottomans, too, will be able to embark on the same journey and reach the same goal within two centuries, at most. As for the two preconditions for reaching this goal, they read like the Young Ottomans’ ideological slogan: education and work.

In short, Namık Kemal’s decision to portray London (where he himself lived for a time) in “Progress” is an indication that he has taken Europe as his model. His portrait of London as a utopian city is presumably intended to evoke a desire for such a utopia on the part of his readers. His praise of humanity’s mastery over nature, and his view of development as a linear process undergone by European modernity, sheds important light on the writer’s understanding of civilization.

Let us approach the *Dream* in this context. Like Veysi’s *Habname* and Ziya Paşa’s *Dream*, it starts with the narrator once more brooding over the woes of his country and people, and falling asleep. In the dream, the narrator finds himself in a crowded field at sunrise, when suddenly a beautiful young woman descends from among the clouds. The author realizes that this young woman is Liberty. He first salutes Liberty – who is at the center of all political struggle – with the famous couplet which is part of his poem “Hürriyet Kasidesi” [Ode to Liberty]:

How bewitching you are, O Vision of Liberty,
We’re enslaved to your love, though freed from slavery.²⁶³

Liberty reprimands the people for their supineness, abjection, servility, victimhood, negligence, and slavery – and for merely complaining about these evils, rather than seeking remedy through action. She expresses her anger at their being fixated on the

²⁶³ Namık Kemal, “Kaside,” in *Batı Tesirinde Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, ed. Kenan Akyüz (Ankara: Doğu Matbaası, 1958), 47: “Ne efsunkâr imişsin ah ey didâr-ı hürriyet / Esir-i aşkın olduk gerçi kurtulduk esaretten.”

past, when they ought to turn their eyes to the future, and work.²⁶⁴ They need to think about their children, not their ancestors.

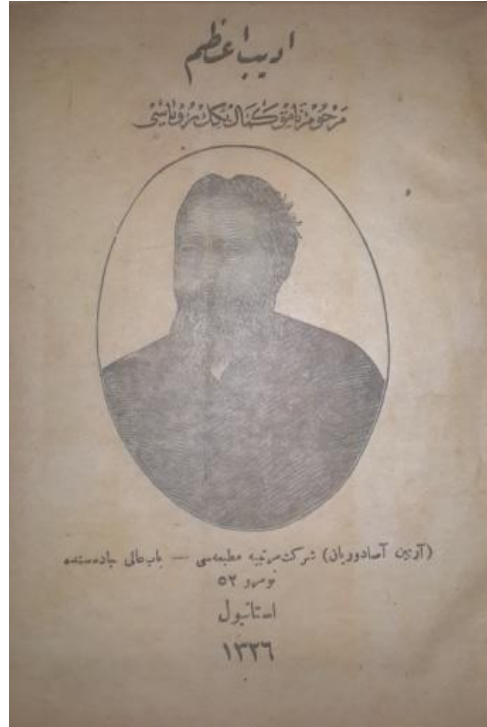


Illustration 11: The cover of the 1908 edition of the *Dream*²⁶⁵

Such a reference to the future rather than the past is the fundamental point of triangulation in this text. This is a work which – perhaps for the first time in Turkish literature – concretely portrays the implications of a specific political viewpoint, and strives to evoke enthusiasm to that end among its readers. This is the reason why it is such an important text, why it was copied out by hand during periods when it was illegal to do so, and why it was later printed time and time again, exerting a profound influence over political cadres in future generations. Moreover, Namık Kemal clearly states the direction this enthusiasm is taking: the old civilization dying, and, in the author’s words, “the sun of knowledge has risen in the west.”

Indeed, after her angry outburst, Liberty goes on to praise this group of progressive, patriotic, liberal citizens who have turned their attention to the “sun of knowledge.”²⁶⁶ Thanks to their efforts to attain a higher state of civilization, the nation will be a “paradise full of felicity” in the future. To demonstrate this, Liberty suddenly begins to tremble, and the cloud in which she is wrapped turns into a red crescent-and-star flag with the following couplet written around its edges: “The flag of Ottoman

²⁶⁴ Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 256-258.

²⁶⁵ Private collection (E.K.)

²⁶⁶ Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 262-263.

prosperity is the defender of your freedom / Thanks be to God, the Ottoman future era has arrived.” As the flag begins to wave, the crowd begins to see the future of the Ottoman Empire.

This is a nation of rich, prosperous cities, of ornate, sturdy houses. As we will see in many other texts, Namık Kemal’s first priority in terms of development is transportation. The transportation problems endemic to a large country with a small population constitute one of the chief issues which many utopian texts dream of solving. Indeed, in this text we see a system of railways, highways, rivers, and canals as numerous and tangled as the veins and arteries in the body. There are vehicles which can swim at the bottom of the sea, and ones which can fly in the air. In short, humanity has brought liquids and gases – just like solids – under its control.²⁶⁷

Even the least clever student in this work possesses more knowledge than can be found in the most impressive libraries of the time. All the ores of nature, all the secrets of wisdom have been revealed for the benefit of the *ummah* [Muslim community]. Accordingly, even the most wretched pauper lives a more pleasant, opulent life than the most powerful sultan. As will be seen later, this also reflects another common feature of Turkish utopias, namely a desire for wealth.

The political demands of Namık Kemal’s group have materialized in the Ottoman Empire of this future period: the principles of “popular sovereignty” in the administration, and separation of powers, are in force. With the perfect operation of these institutions, society treats each individual like a sultan. The justice system works very well, but there is no longer any need for judicial institutions anyway: thanks to the educational system, principles of law and personal responsibility have been completely internalized.

There is complete freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly. Consequently, new ideas are thought up daily, leading to many discoveries which are beneficial to humanity. Everyone over the age of puberty has a printing press, so that every new idea can reach millions of people within a few days. Thanks to this abundance of ideas, a single person is as knowledgeable as an entire nation. All citizens feel as close to one another as Siamese twins; as a result, millions of people can gather and debate every kind of issue without fear. Moreover, every house has all the facilities a family could need, such as schools, libraries, museums, offices, and recreation areas. Additionally – since there is total freedom of communication – each house has a telegraph office.

At the end of the text, the author, in sum, states that everyone is ready to sacrifice everything he has – to sacrifice his life itself – for his country. However, such a sacrifice is unnecessary. Every citizen is supremely powerful, and every legitimate demand on the part of the citizenry is met by the state. Contemplating this picture with awe and in joy, the author awakes from his dream. The “Ode to Liberty” with which the

²⁶⁷ Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 264.

text concludes features two couplets which express the essential theme of this work – “hope for the future”:

O hope for the future, what a dear friend you are,
You are the one who saves mankind from a thousand worries and
troubles.
The age of government belongs to you: rule over the world,
May God preserve your good fortune from every kind of destruction.²⁶⁸

In short, in this text, which once more employs the literary device of the dream, the author creates a fantasy – full of intriguing, exaggerated details – of the positive developments which will accrue if political freedoms are won. He also emphasizes the motifs of wealth, power, and progress. In this respect, his work differs from that of Ziya Paşa, and constitutes a starting point for texts which will be dealt with later. Again, it should be pointed out that the future depicted by Namık Kemal distinctly recalls the London which he had depicted in his article “Progress”, and also that the different elements comprising the *Dream* are largely inspired by, or adapted from, the cultural repertoire of the West. Namık Kemal’s *Dream* became a cult favorite among later generations, and a considerable literature was produced regarding this text. In fact, after the founding of the Republic, it was even said that Atatürk had realized the dream of Namık Kemal.²⁶⁹

When the “dreams” of Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal are read as a group, it becomes apparent that they are representative works as far as showing how the Young Ottomans – and Namık Kemal in particular – reacted to the problems of the Ottoman Empire during that period, and offered a vision of the future. Moreover, they reveal a need for transformation in the political and cultural institutions of the time. Combining old literary forms with new content, these works served as a bridge in Turkish utopian literature, and, in a sense, became foundational texts.

²⁶⁸ Kaplan et al., *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı*, 266: “Ne yar-ı can imişsin âh ey ümmid-i istikbâl / Cihanı sensin azad eyleyen bin ye’s ü mihnetten; // Senindir devr-i devlet hükümünü dünyâya infâz et / Hudâ ikbalini hıfz eylesin her türlü âfetten”

²⁶⁹ For various editions of Namık Kemal’s *Dream* and comments on them, see Öztürk, “Çağdaş”, 25–26, 32–42.

4.3. Utopia in Andalusia: *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort*

In this chapter we will examine a utopian novel written by a Crimean Tatar writer, İsmail Gaspıralı. Starting at the end of the 19th century, Muslims of the Russian Empire such as Yusuf Akçura, İsmail Gaspıralı (or Gasprinski), Mizancı Mehmet Murat, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu (to name the most prominent examples) left their mark upon the cultural world of the Ottomans, playing a significant role in the formulation and development of various Ottoman currents of thought, especially that of *Türkçülük* [Turkism]. It should be noted that some of these figures also penned works of literature with a utopian vision. The works of İsmail Gaspıralı and Mizancı Murat Bey will be dealt with in this and the following chapters; in addition, Ahmet Ağaoğlu also wrote the utopian work *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* [In the Country of Free Men] several decades later in 1930.



Illustration 12: İsmail Gaspıralı²⁷⁰

İsmail Gaspıralı (1851-1914) was a Crimean Tatar thinker who founded the newspaper *Tercüman* [The Interpreter] in circulation between 1883 and 1918. *Tercüman* was very influential in Turkist circles, and served as a vehicle for spreading Gaspıralı’s views. Gaspıralı’s Turkist-Turanist position can best be summed up by his formulation “Unity in language, thought, and action,” a slogan which even today is very popular in Turkist circles.²⁷¹

Gaspıralı’s work largely focused on the area of education. In his view, educational methods of little practical value, as well as the predominantly religious nature of education, were the main reason for Muslim ignorance and, therefore,

²⁷⁰ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f7/Ismail_Gaspirali.jpg (Accessed 15.03.2015)

²⁷¹ “Dilde, fikirde, işte birlik.” This expression is also the motto of the still-current journal *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland], an important nationalist publication. <http://www.turkyurdu.com.tr/>

backwardness. Therefore, he developed a new educational method, known as the *Usul-i Cedid* [New Way]. This method allowed children to learn to read and write more easily, put a cap on the length of each class taught by a teacher as well as on the number of students, set precise requirements for other administrative and infrastructural matters, and – most important of all – included lessons in secular education in addition to religious instruction. This method became especially popular among the Muslims of the Russian Empire, coming to be known as *Cedidçilik* [the “New Way Philosophy”].²⁷²

It should be added that Gaspıralı was equally concerned with the status of women: he worked to improve female education and women’s standards of living, publishing a journal called *Âlem-i Nisvan* [Women’s World].

Moreover, given that the author was an intellectual born and raised outside the Ottoman Empire, it seems worthwhile to point out one factor favoring the inclusion of his work in this study. Aside from the deep historical ties to the Ottoman State held by the author’s homeland of the Crimea, Gaspıralı always had an Istanbul-centric worldview as well, and produced works within the orbit of Muslim Ottoman Turkish culture. He began working as a journalist and writer in Istanbul,²⁷³ and – in keeping with his principle of “unity in language, thought, and action” – adopted, and tried to promote, a literary style very close to Istanbul Turkish. Gaspıralı also became close to many writers such as Ahmet Mithat Efendi. Moreover, given that Gaspıralı was one of the most prominent figures in Turkist thought, his works found a positive reception in Ottoman territory, and – at least in certain circles – were widely known, appreciated, and read. Consequently, it seems logical to deal with Gaspıralı’s work within this literary tradition.

Gaspıralı’s writings were published serially in his newspaper *Tercüman*, in a period beginning in 1887 and lasting (with some interruptions) until 1908. These texts, with titles like *Frengistan Mektupları* [Letters from the Land of the Franks], *Darürrahat Müslümanları* [The Muslims of the Land of Comfort], *Sudan Mektupları* [Letters from the Sudan], *Kadınlar Ülkesi* [The Country of Women], and *Molla Abbas Fransevi’ye Tesadüf* [Encountering Mullah Abbas Fransevi], all share a hero, Mullah Abbas Fransevi; as a result, they share a certain (admittedly slight) narrative unity.

As Gaspıralı’s *Letters from the Land of the Franks* sets the stage for the story told in *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort* (the main subject of this chapter), it will be useful to give a brief plot-summary of the former. In *Letters from the Land of the Franks*, Mullah Abbas of Tashkent, having decided to travel to Istanbul, falls in love with a French woman he meets on the way; the two get married, and Mullah Abbas goes with her to Paris. One day, he sets out for Poitiers to see the graves of the Forty

²⁷² Hakan Kırımlı, “İsmail Bey Gaspıralı (Gasprinskiy) – 1851-1914,” http://ismailgaspıralı.org/ismailgaspıralı/?page_id=4. For detailed analyses of Gaspıralı’s thought and works, also see Hakan Kırımlı, ed. *İsmail Bey Gaspıralı İçin* [For İsmail Bey Gaspıralı] (Ankara: Kırım Türkleri Kültür ve Yardımlaşma Derneği, 2004).

²⁷³ Yavuz Akpınar, “İsmail Gaspıralı: Hayatı” [İsmail Gaspıralı: His Life] in İsmail Gaspıralı, *Seçilmiş Eserleri 1* [Selected Works 2], ed. Yavuz Akpınar et al. (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2003), 25.

Saints; on the way, he is robbed, and decides to return home. Arriving back at the house, he finds his wife talking and laughing with four male friends of hers; he cannot tolerate this kind of casual behavior, and the two become divorced. Later, he enters into a relationship with another woman, a private student of his. The woman’s father forbids this relationship. Subsequently, Mullah Abbas finds himself accused in a murder investigation. Even though Mullah Abbas was with his female pupil at the time the murder was committed, his desire not to besmirch the woman’s name prevents him from revealing this information. As a result, he risks being put to death. Thanks to the woman – who comes to court wearing a veil, and explains what actually happened – Mullah Abbas is saved in the end, and the work draws to a close.

There is one important point to be made in connection with the preceding work. Mullah Abbas has a great fondness for Europe, one matched only by his fondness for the epithet “French.” However, in order to do eliminate any inappropriateness in a Muslim mullah feeling such partiality towards Europe, he states that the Europeans acquired the seeds of their advanced civilization from the Muslims, and that there is consequently nothing objectionable about the Muslims’ taking back what they themselves once gave. In this way, the author attempts to lay the foundation for a legitimization, so to speak, of Westernization.



Illustration 13: The cover of a 1906 printing of *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort*²⁷⁴

Indeed, *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort*, which we will deal with in detail now – and which can be seen as a continuation of the author’s *Letters from the Land of the Franks* – has Mullah Abbas travel to Andalusia in Spain, a choice which is also tied to this search for legitimacy. The utopia in this text also has clear parallels with the Golden Age of Muslim tradition, the *Asr-i Saadet* [Age of Felicity]; while *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort* does not contain a literal return to this Age of Felicity, it does

²⁷⁴ Kırımlı, “İsmail Bey Gaspiralı,” 168.

envisage a model of progress which is based on it. It is evident that Gaspıralı chose the Umayyad State of Andalusia as the setting for this narrative because he believed it to be the location of the Age of Felicity which had occurred in the past, and which would light the way for the future.

The text,²⁷⁵ whose introduction presents it as “a report on the state and condition of a hitherto unknown Islamic society” (169), begins with Mullah Abbas’s trip to Spain in order to see Andalusia. After giving his general impressions of France and Spain, along with some information about the history of Andalusia, Mullah Abbas visits the two most important surviving monuments of Andalusian civilization: the Great Mosque of Cordoba, followed by the Alhambra Palace in Granada (173-183). Mullah Abbas greatly admires the Alhambra; having obtained permission to stay there for as long as he likes, he decides to spend the night at the Lion Fountain, located inside the palace. Then, all of a sudden, in the middle of the night, 12 Arab Muslim young women appear. Water starts to spout out of the mouths of the lions, for the first time in centuries. The young women perform their ritual ablutions and go to pray.

Startled, Mullah Abbas recognizes someone standing among the young women: a *şeyh* known as Şeyh Celal, whom he knows from Paris. Şeyh Celal returns the way he and the women came, taking Mullah Abbas with him. Entering into an underground tunnel, via a secret entrance near the Harem Pavilion, they descend to a place used as a treasury during the Caliphate; from there, they go through a second secret passageway called the *Bab-ı Selamet* [Gate of Salvation], and emerge to discover a world entirely unknown to Mullah Abbas. They have arrived at the mystical *Darürrahât*, the Land of Comfort, located among the mountains. Guided by Şeyh Celal, Mullah Abbas learns all about this land, relaying all of the information to the reader.

In utopian literature, in order to give greater plausibility to the land and way of life which are being put forth as an ideal, it is customary to give a rational explanation of how they changed from their original state to reach their current condition. In this text, a woman named Feride Banu – a university graduate and a doctor – recounts the fall of Andalusia and the foundation of the Land of Comfort to Mullah Abbas.

According to her account, the state of Andalusia, which had been ruled for centuries by a glorious sultanate, began to collapse due to depravity, laziness, carelessness, arrogance, animosity, and separatism. Before Ferdinand, the king of Castile, delivered the coup de grâce, a tunnel was dug beneath the Sierra Nevada Mountains all the way to the other side. Over time, everyone, except for an old gardener, forgot that this tunnel even existed. Following the martyrdom of a commander named Musa (who had refused to hand over the city) and the fall of the city itself, 130 friends and relatives, both men and women, gathered in Musa’s house. All of them took as many books as they could carry, as well as personal belongings and whatever tools and implements they might have need of later; in accordance with the

²⁷⁵ The following edition will be used in this study: İsmail Gaspıralı, “Darürrahât Müslümanları” [The Muslims in the Land of Comfort] in *Seçilmiş Eserleri 1* [Selected Works 1], ed. Yavuz Akpınar et al. (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2003), 167-274.

deceased Musa's advice, they left their houses at nighttime and made their way to the Alhambra. They were met by the old gardener, who was aware of what was going on, and passed through the underground tunnel to emerge amidst the mountains, in the Land of Comfort. They then took all other necessary books and other belongings from the palace, and carried them to their new homeland. Neither the inhabitants of the city, nor the Spanish who entered the city later on, received word of any of this (201-202). Moreover, Commander Musa had left a will, which he had stipulated must not be read until the year 1500 (Hijri) [AD 2075]; he also had stipulated that none of the inhabitants of the Land of Comfort depart from their new home until then. This is why the Land of Comfort must remain a secret. (205)

How, then, did they reach such an advanced state of civilization following their initial escape? We learn this part of the story from Feride Banu's father, a professor of history and philosophy named Şeyh Abdullah. According to him, due to the water flowing from the mountains, the field which the Andalusian refugees reached after traveling underground was mostly covered in swamps. The poor refugees could not proceed very far upon emerging from underground, and so set up tent-like dwellings on the foothills of the mountains. Later, they closed off the secret passageway by which they had come, and started to make their new homeland a more pleasant place to live. There were 180 refugees in all, of whom 78 were women. At first, this Muslim community declared Yakub (a relative of Musa) its leader and head of state, and chose a special six-person assembly. Every one of the refugees was knowledgeable and expert about some subject; among them, there were skilled gardeners, doctors, and engineers. All of them, in coming here, brought as many tools and other belongings as they could carry; consequently, they had nearly everything they needed to go on living. At the suggestion of the deceased Commander Musa, the gardener of the Alhambra had also brought 40 sheep, as well as many chickens, through the underground passageway. It brings to mind the story of Noah's Ark. Like the prophet escaping from the flood, Yakub led his people to salvation.

Thus, they established and settled in two villages on the foothills of the mountains. But since the field and pastures were covered in swamps and marshes, the air was noxious, and many of the refugees caught malaria. After much struggle, they managed to drain the swamps and marshes. The air was thus purified and the diseases which had afflicted them disappeared one by one. Within a very short period of time, this strange little community of Muslims started to thrive, to be happy, to be comfortable – and also to advance as a civilization.

The first village founded in the Land of Comfort was named New Granada, in memory of the city of Granada which the refugees had abandoned. Two mosques, a religious school, and a hospital were built in this village. The inhabitants subsequently began to acquire scholarship and scientific knowledge communally, and to learn the arts and crafts, so that there was not a single ignorant or lazy person among them. Their grain-fields, cotton-fields, and rice-fields expanded, their gardens and vineyards grew in number, and their sheep and birds increased as well, procuring a stable livelihood for

the community. Thus, over 30 years, the original community of refugees grew to a population of 400 people, dividing itself into three separate villages. In one of these villages, they constructed a building where they convened their Council of the Learned. Here, the most learned and senior members of the community would gather once a week to hold various meetings and discussions. Special scribes took minutes of these meetings, which were published in book form.

A hundred years after the initial migration, the population had increased so much that the whole country was crammed to capacity with villages. The inhabitants began to build the city known as *Dâr-ı Saadet* [The Abode of Felicity].²⁷⁶ These émigrés, already in possession of all the scholarship, scientific knowledge, and skills of the Andalusian Muslims, now took their accumulated knowledge a few steps further. Since they were all hard-working, industrious, and skilled, they were also highly virtuous, moral, and prosperous.

At the time²⁷⁷ of the narrator's visit to the Land of Comfort, the entire population has reached 300,000; the inhabitants live in 40 villages as well as one big city. Through the directives issued by the descendants of Sayyid Musa (*sayyid* being an honorific for a descendent of the Prophet Muhammad), the land is governed wisely and justly; its inhabitants' devotion to service and scholarship has led them to become examples to all. (241-245)

The Social Order of the Land of Comfort

While conversing with Şeyh Celal, Mullah Abbas asks how the Land of Comfort is run. Şeyh Celal replies that its administration is based upon the *sharia*, common sense, and what he terms "general accord," meaning a general consensus of opinion. (206) Moreover, it is said to be a meritocratic, classless society: "Because the Land of Comfort is truly a Muslim land, its population is not divided into classes or groups; as all its citizens are equal, they are distinguished from one another solely by their natural abilities, i.e. the learning and prestige which they have acquired." (257) Because everything can be accomplished easily – because one person can do the work of ten – there is no need for slaves or servants. (248)

One detail concerning the justice system of this country is very striking: there are no prisons in the Land of Comfort. Once someone's guilt is established, the entire country treats him like a stranger. No one greets him; rather, they shun him as they would the plague. If the offender remains within society, he feels lonelier than if he

²⁷⁶ Interestingly, the name (*Dar-ı Saadet*) the author chooses for this ideal city was also used for Istanbul in the Ottoman era.

²⁷⁷ "Time" is a critical concept in narratological analysis. In his "time analysis", Manfred Jahn indicates that "[t]ime analysis is concerned with three questions: When? How long? and How often? Order refers to the handling of the chronology of the story; duration covers the proportioning of story time and discourse time; and frequency refers to possible ways of presenting single or repetitive action units." For a detailed account of the use of time in narratives, see Jahn, "N5.2. Time Analysis," *Narratology*, <http://www.uni-koeln.de/~ame02/pppn.htm#N5.2>

were in prison. The offender’s wife, too, breaks off relations with him until he feels remorse and has been cleansed of sin. In short, until the guilty party has reformed himself, he is cast out of human society. In such situations, he sometimes, if he chooses, withdraws to a special place in a remote corner of the land and improves his character by devoting himself to worship and scholarship. Later, he returns home, and is accepted by society. Henceforth, he no longer practices wickedness, but behaves more ethically, walking on the path of salvation. As a result, aside from one man who received a poor upbringing in his youth, not a single crime has been committed over the past four years. (223)

Respect for privacy is not the main priority in the governance and the overall culture of the Land of Comfort, as is clear from the following example: The postal service in the Land of Comfort is free; but letters are sent without envelopes, on the grounds that “in our community, there are no immoral, illegal words or deeds that would need to be hidden beneath a cover.”²⁷⁸ (224, 227)

Similarly, a device (one which recalls similar instruments like Bentham’s Panopticon²⁷⁹ or the telescreens of Big Brother in Orwell’s *1984*²⁸⁰) also exemplifies the way that “privacy” is understood in this society. The leader of the country, by use of a mechanism made up of binoculars and mirrors, can see all parts of the country at all times:

The length and width of the seat was 7-8 spans. The top portion was all like blown crystal; the legs were made of marble and brass. The seat seemed to be a mirror. I looked at it and was beside myself. In this mirror, you could see all the villages and gardens in the Land of Comfort, as well as all the people walking on the roads or in the countryside. Likewise, all of their comings and goings, all of their daily tasks, were reflected in the mirror.²⁸¹ (251)

Besides, drinking tea, coffee, or alcohol is considered not as a personal choice but as a public health issue, and thus consuming such drinks is prohibited. Mullah Abbas must make do with butter and milk for breakfast, for tea and coffee are unobtainable in the Land of Comfort; likewise, it is impossible to find any kind of alcoholic drink there. (216)

²⁷⁸ “aramızda ahlaka ve kanuna aykırı iş ve fikir olmaz ki kap içinde saklanmaya hacet olsun”

²⁷⁹ Jeremy Bentham, *Panopticon*, <http://cartome.org/panopticon2.htm>

²⁸⁰ George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four. A Novel*. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949).

²⁸¹ “[Kürsünün] boyu ve eni yedi sekiz karış ölçüsünde idi. Bu kürsünün üstü bütün dökme billur gibi olup ayakları mermer ve sarı tunç idi. Şu kürsü meğer ayna imiş. Bir göz atıp alımı kaybetmiş oldum. Darürrahat’ın bütün köyleri, bahçeleri ve yolda, kırdı yürüyen halkları aynada görünüyorlar idi. İnsanların yürüdüğü ve işledikleri aynen yansıyor idi.”

Education

Utopian texts, while lauding the ideal life of the society they depict, at the same time serve to directly or indirectly criticize the conditions, way of life, political system, traditions, and other aspects of the age in which they are composed. Likewise, while Gaspıralı's text praises the Land of Comfort, it routinely contrasts its high level of development with the comparative backwardness of Islamic nations. Education, according to this text, is one of the main reasons for the backwardness of the Islamic world. This is not very surprising, given the central role accorded to education in İsmail Gaspıralı's "New Way Turkism."

In this work, Mullah Abbas converses with a village imam. The imam asks Mullah Abbas about the status of education in his own homeland. On learning that education in Mullah Abbas's homeland is primarily religious, the imam is shocked, and offers a harsh criticism in response:

Do you not need doctors, chemists, architects, and engineers there? Do not your heads of state and government offices require public management? Does not the state have need of administrative regulations, fiscal expertise, competent officials, and laws? To judge from what you say, nothing is learnt in your schools apart from religious knowledge, and – apart from religious functionaries – public officials and experts are not being trained...is this so?²⁸² (209-210)

When Mullah Abbas replies that secular knowledge is not taught because it is believed it will lead to a corruption of morals, the imam sees this as a grave form of negligence. Religious education is also necessary, he says, but it will not direct troops, produce medicine, or run a nation. These things require a knowledge of other sciences. (210-211) Later, the *qadi* [Islamic judge] is also surprised to hear that in 12 years of education in a religious school, Mullah Abbas only received instruction in languages, literature, and religion, without any lessons in arithmetic, geometry, physics, history, medicine, engineering, chemistry, architecture, the fine arts, and so forth (219).

Reading a newspaper, Mullah Abbas learns some ominous news about Zanzibar and Egypt. These countries have reached such a desperate state that they will obviously be enslaved by the Europeans within 15-20 years. There is only one reason for this: ignorance. (229-230) Indeed, the reason why Mullah Abbas's own homeland of Turkistan has fallen behind and become a prey to the Russians is nothing other than its neglect of non-religious branches of knowledge. Ignorance can never give rise to victory and heroism. (228)

²⁸² "Sizin orada tabip, kimyager, mimar ve mühendis gerek olmuyor mu? Sizin hanlar ve hükümetler idare-i mülk ve devlet için umur-ı idareye, fûnun-ı maliyeye, mahir memurlara ve törelere hacet görmüyorlar mı? Senin sözüne göre medreselerde ulum-ı diniyeden maada bir fen tahsil olunmayıp, ehl-i ruhaniden maada erkân-ı mülk ve millet yetişmiyor, böyle mi?"

By contrast, the education system in the Land of Comfort is highly advanced. All children between the ages of eight and 12 go to school. There is no unisex education: boys and girls study separately. Primary education lasts four years, during which children learn reading and writing, arithmetic, and religion. Later, they learn agriculture (as well as the related subject of chemistry), and philosophy. They also learn the arts and crafts necessary to village life. As for the girls, after learning how to read and write they learn household tasks, sewing and embroidery, and lessons in medicine and health education to prepare them for motherhood. (212) Everyone in the Land of Comfort knows how to read and write, and university education there is highly advanced.

Women

It is known that another topic of great importance to İsmail Gaspıralı – in addition to the question of education in general – was women’s education, as well as the improvement of women’s living standards. Indeed, this is one of the subjects which are treated exhaustively in *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort*. The women in the Land of Comfort do not flee from men: they are equal to them, and possess the same right to an education as they do. The leader of the Land of Comfort has a single spouse, the Honorable Hatice Banu, who takes part in the administration of the country. She is, so to speak, the sultan of the women, overseeing women’s rights, upbringing, and education. (256)

There are just as many girls’ schools as boys’ schools. However, the lessons taught in girls’ schools are specific to women. Women perform as well as men in their studies of pedagogy, medicine, and law. Women can even serve on courts: female *kadis* preside over suits between one woman and another.

Because the legal rights of men and women have been maintained in this way, the Muslim women in the Land of Comfort are neither the “talking animals” they are in Turkistan, nor the instruments of shamelessness they are in the West. They neither resemble the concubines of Asia and the East, nor the courtesans of the West. (256-257)

The institution which Mullah Abbas most marvels at is that of the marriage contract. (257) According to this contract, from the start of the marriage onwards, the woman has a right to whatever money the husband earns. Before getting married, both parties need to provide documentation regarding their age and any health problems they may have. Additionally, old men are not allowed to marry young women. In the event that the man and his wife do not get on, divorce is permitted. The institution of marriage is so firmly established that the pederasty found in Bukhara and the prostitution found in London are equally unheard of. (259)

The Advanced Civilization of the Land of Comfort

Utopias typically aim to make their readers envious of what they depict, and to evoke a desire on their part for such a way of life. Accordingly, the ideal, carefree life portrayed in such texts, and the advanced level of civilization reached by their societies, is also described in detail in the “Land of Comfort.” Mullah Abbas is first startled at seeing electric torches in the hands of young women (191). Later, he boards electric trains, and learns that there are telephone lines between each village and city. The roads are paved with a substance resembling cement or asphalt, and are completely smooth (212-213). Cities are lit up at night with electricity (214). Some other examples that give an idea of the level of development here include intercoms (215), motion sensor lamps (216), artificial incubators (225), air-powered machines which can draw water 75 meters out of the ground (230), a salt made from a mixture of minerals and bone broth, invented to increase the yield of the soil (230), and advanced surgical operations. (231)

In relation to these advancements, another conspicuous theme in the text is the comparison between the civilization of Europe and that of the Land of Comfort. Şeyh Celal’s son states that, in past ages, the Europeans were ignorant, while progress was the preserve of his own ancestors; in time, however, the Europeans overtook the Muslims. At present, the civilization of the West – which rules over the world – is full of defects, and its possessions are not as secure as people imagine. (233) Looking at the extraordinary improvements he reads about in the newspaper – in particular, the brilliant successes achieved in the areas of machine technology, chemistry, agriculture, and medicine – Mullah Abbas concludes that life here is more advanced than life both in Muslim countries and in the West. Making a direct appeal to his readers, he encourages them to think along the same lines. This point is crucial, for, in a sense, it contains the basic argument of the text: there is no need to emulate Europe in order to make progress and live happily. If they make certain improvements to their own culture, it will be a fairly simple matter for the Muslims to reach a standard of living superior to that of Europe. In the process, Gaspıralı offers an interesting argument based on “historical determinism.” Şeyh Celal says that once one possesses sufficient data about a nation, it is possible to know how that nation will fare in the future. When Mullah Abbas, in response, objects that it is “destiny” and “God’s will,” Şeyh Celal attempts to prove, from a rationalist perspective, that there is no contradiction between the workings of nature and God’s will. (235-237)

The Muslims in the Land of Comfort presents its readers with a relatively comprehensive vision, one that adheres more closely to the typical conventions of literary utopias. The narrative occurs in a place²⁸³ unlike any known to humanity; the narrator is also accompanied by a guide. There is an attempt to provide a rational explanation of how this ideal society arrived at the level of development portrayed in, and promoted by, the text. The text also contains a criticism of the existing order, and

²⁸³ The terms place, setting of fictional space must be clarified. Manfred Jahn defines “literary space” as follows: “The environment which situates objects and characters; more specifically, the environment in which characters move or live in.” (Jahn, *Narratology*)

aims at creating a desire for an ideal life. Its criticisms fundamentally lie in the area of education; as for the ideal life, Gaspıralı's work attempts to provide concrete evidence for the claim that it is possible to exceed the level of development found in Europe without abandoning Muslim cultural and religious traditions, by giving priority to education, work, and unity. To an extent, *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort* can be described as a lively attempt to illustrate, via literature, the likely outcome of the "New Way" approach which Gaspıralı promoted all his life. In contrast to the "dreams" of Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal, the work of Gaspıralı provides us with a full-fledged picture of an imaginary future which is shaped on the basis of an idealized Islamic society.

4.4. Transition to the Young Turks: *Is It New or Is It Nonsense?*

Like İsmail Gasprinski, Mehmet Murat (also known as Mizancı Murat) (1854-1917) was born within the Russian Empire, hailing from the region of Dagestan; he was also one of the more influential thinkers during the last period of the Ottoman Empire. A powerful force within the Young Turk movement, and for a while the leader of the movement itself, Mizancı Murat is known as a controversial figure by virtue of his seesawing relationship both with the regime of Abdülhamid II and with the Young Turks who opposed the sultan. Also famous as a history teacher, Mizancı Murat took part in the ideological debates of his day through the newspaper *Mizan* [The Balance] which he published (with some interruptions) between 1886 and 1909. Mizancı Murat was involved in politics of an Ottoman and Islamist stripe; due to his writings on such critical topics as freedom and constitutional government, he was subjected on occasion to censorship or even exile. Mizancı Murat can be seen as one of the links in the chain connecting the Young Ottomans to the Young Turks.



Illustration 14: Mizancı Mehmet Murat²⁸⁴

After providing some essential information about the author's one and only novel, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* [Is It New or Is It Nonsense?]²⁸⁵ (1891), I will address his criticism of the existing order and his proposed solution.

²⁸⁴ <http://www.turkeyswar.com/cup.html> (Accessed 01.08.2014)

²⁸⁵ [Mizancı] Mehmet Murat, *Turfanda mı Yoksa Turfa mı?* [Is it New or is it Nonsense?] (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası, 1891[1308]). There have been many editions of this novel. This study will employ the following edition: Mizancı Mehmet Murat, *Turfanda mı Turfa mı?* (Ankara: Elips, 2006).

Is It New or Is It Nonsense? is the author's sole novel, one which clearly possesses autobiographical aspects. And while love stories full of conspiracy and intrigue may comprise the bulk of the novel, it is evident that Mizancı Murat's true aim was to flesh out, in a work of literature, the scheme for social and political emancipation which he had advocated in his other writings.



Illustration 15: The first edition of *Is It New or Is It Nonsense?*²⁸⁶

Mansur, the novel's hero as well as its ideal human type, is of Turkish descent, but comes from Algeria, outside the borders of the empire. (His mother was born in the mountains of Circassia, and grew up in Istanbul.) After Mansur's father is killed in an attack by the French, his elder uncle looks after him. Zehra, the daughter of his younger uncle, shares the same fate as Mansur. Zehra also represents the author's notion of the ideal woman in this novel.

Mansur receives his secondary schooling and university education in France; he is a very well-read, cultured, sincere, idealistic, and ambitious young man, with a keen sense of honor. After completing his medical training, Mansur comes to Istanbul. Here, he agrees to stay at the residence of his uncle Şeyh Salih, on condition that he serves as the family doctor. Şeyh Salih's daughter Zehra is also living there.

After acquiring Ottoman citizenship, Mansur begins to work as a doctor in the College of Medicine, and as an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the latter being his true ambition. Along the way, he turns down any offer from his uncle to intervene on his behalf, pull strings for him, or help him along.

²⁸⁶ Ekrem Işın, 75.

A Crumbling Empire

The first thing that strikes Mansur about the Ministry is that all the tasks are carried out by just three of the 30 officials employed there, while the other 27 do no work at all. This makes him extremely uncomfortable; when he learns that the same is true in other governmental departments, he leaves the state service. But the impressions he forms during this period of state service are nonetheless invaluable: the defects in the society of his day are much more numerous than he thought, and the solutions are much fewer.

Many of these issues can be encountered at the beginning of the novel. Though Mansur has dreamed all his life of coming to Istanbul – the seat of the Caliphate, the capital of the empire – as soon as he arrives there by ferry, he meets one disappointment after another. On seeing the missionary school of Robert College perched on the same hill as the sacred Rumeli Hisarı (Rumeli Fortress), that relic of Mehmet the Conqueror, Mansur becomes distraught. Disembarking from the ferry, he becomes angry on being told that the price of a hotel room is five francs. (It is not the price that angers him, but the fact that francs are being used instead of *kuruş*.) Right from his first day in the city, Mansur is incensed by various little annoyances: the fact that the customs official trusts him enough not to search his luggage (i.e., fails to perform his duty) and addresses him with the informal pronoun *sen*; the filthiness of the roads; the presence of numerous non-Muslims in the city; the fact that the hotel has a French name; and much more. Added to all these are the social and cultural problems encountered as the novel unfolds: laziness, favoritism, bribery, hypocrisy, and, most important of all, lack of education. These, we learn, are the fundamental criticisms which Mizancı Murat is leveling against his own age.

A Solution

Needless to say, a character²⁸⁷ as driven as Mansur could hardly be expected to remain indifferent to these problems. The Ottoman Empire is collapsing in every sense, beginning with the bureaucracy in which it has become temporarily entangled. Its national culture – which rewards supplication, nepotism, and submission rather than expertise, talent, and self-confidence – is at fault, and must be changed. Education lies at the heart of it all, and countless passages in the novel testify to the author's insistence on this fact. Germany, Russia, and Italy²⁸⁸ – which put a high priority on education – are developing swiftly. By such means, the Ottoman State, too, can develop, and a

²⁸⁷ For Manfred Jahn, “[a] character is not a real-life person but only a ‘paper being’ (Barthes 1975 [1966]), a being created by an author and existing only within a fictional text, either on the level of action or on the level of fictional mediation.” He states that although the terms “character” and “person” are sometimes used indiscriminately, they should not be confused, for a “person” means “a real-life person; anyone occupying a place on the level of nonfictional communication. Hence, authors and readers are persons.” (Jahn, *Narratology*)

²⁸⁸ It should be noted that the countries which the author cites as examples all began the process of modernization later than Britain and France.

population of 300 million can be governed properly through the Caliphate. (127-131) Additionally, a discussion which Mansur has with his uncle shows that he shares the latter's irredentist ideals. However, unlike his uncle, Mansur does not believe this irredentism will be achieved through revolt and war. Such things will only bring more repression, cruelty, and death, he believes. The way to win back the lost territories is to educate Muslims who are living under subjugation and occupation, train more imams, teachers, farmers, doctors, and engineers, and increase prosperity and awareness. (134-137) Not the sword, but education will bring about the founding of the Islamic Union. (144)

Moreover, among Muslims, and especially in the Turkish nation, qualities such as loyalty, capability, faith, conviction, heroism, and patriotism are much in evidence. The only thing missing is education. (145, 207)

Mansur's uncle dies, leaving his fortune to his nephew, and stating in his will that he wishes him to marry Zehra. The two become married, and Mansur puts all his energies into the service of education. The university which he attempts to set up in Tunisia closes as a result of pressure by the French. Mansur tries to open a school in Beirut in order to thwart the activities of missionaries, but this venture, too, is unsuccessful.

At last, he finds success in Manisa. In fact, this small-scale experiment in social progress which we encounter at the end of the novel – this little vision of utopia – is the reason for including *Is It New or Is It Nonsense?* in the present study. Therefore, it will be necessary at this point to give some details regarding this part of the novel.

From the very start of the novel, we can observe Mansur's utopian leanings. More significant is the fact that the author himself is aware that he is taking part in a utopian intellectual project. At the start of the novel, Mansur's friends jokingly suggest that they call Mansur's forehead the "Place de l'Utopie." Mansur is pleased with this joke, and from then on, he has another nickname: "Utopiste" [The Utopian]. (38-39) In all likelihood, this is the first use of the term "utopia" in a Turkish novel. Mizancı Murat is aware that he is inventing a utopia via the figure of Mansur.

References to the "future," which crop up so frequently in the novel, give further credence to this impression. Right at the start of the novel, Mansur recalls the glorious Ottoman past full of sultans like Osman and Orhan Gazi, Mehmet the Conqueror, and Selim I, as well as prominent families like the Sokollus and Köprülüs; expressing his belief in the future, he exclaims, "There is no doubt in my mind: our future will be a source of envy even to our past." (20) Moreover, in another passage, it is said that the time is not ripe for Mansur's talents and labors to give fruit, but that he is the "man of the future." (124) Conversing with his idealistic friend Ahmet Şunudi, Mansur also exclaims that "the future is ours!" (146) These repeated references to the future also reinforce the novel's vision of utopia.

This vision turns to reality at the Veliler Farm in Manisa, where Mansur goes to live after he realizes that none of his efforts in Istanbul will be successful. Mansur immediately wins over the villagers living on this 14 million square meter plot of land

left to him by his uncle. On Fridays, he goes into town for Friday prayer; afterwards, he provides a free medical examination to anyone who requests it, giving the patient medicines as well. Mansur helps the poor and needy, gives loans without interest to those who have fallen on hard times, and finds work for those who are unemployed. (250)

Later on, he founds two schools, and has two teachers invited from Manisa; he has these teachers use his own novel educational methods in the classroom. The villagers now have complete confidence in Mansur, and they send their own children to his schools. When the number of students reaches 150, Mansur has two more teachers invited to the schools. He becomes more enthusiastic as he sees that the children are talented and willing to make progress. In a letter to his friend Mehmet, he writes the following lines: "They say, 'Reform must begin from below.' It is true. In Europe, the first steps towards development were taken in provincial cities, before they reached the capital." (251) The amount of progress that is made within three years is truly impressive. Besides reading and writing, the village children learn mathematics, geography, and history.

In addition, Mansur turns the school into a "School of Agriculture," and sets up a model farm next to it. He has the overseer of a farm in Holland invited to this model farm. (265)

Needless to say, Mansur's activities are not limited to education. In order to free the villagers from the tax officials who are always pestering them, he pays the taxes himself in a single lump sum; the villagers then pay him back whenever it is convenient for them. In this way, the taxes are paid in full, and the villagers need not worry about interest or fees; moreover, the officials' strategy of robbing the villagers through oppressive taxation has been thwarted. The tax officials, and even the district governor, become uneasy about this; the state bureaucracy in rural areas has become like a gang of robbers, so to speak. (266-268)

In the next stage, we see Mansur opening a yarn factory, thus putting a stop to the exploitation that occurs when the villagers sell cotton to Europe, and then buy yarn from Europe at inflated prices. Mansur also takes a villager as his business partner, even though he is capable of opening the factory by himself. (269)

We might have expected these efforts to go even further and produce even more brilliant results, but unfortunately we have no way of knowing the fate of the Veliler Farm. In 1877-78, the Russo-Turkish War breaks out. Mansur goes to the front as a volunteer. But even there, he cannot suppress his honesty and his habit of speaking the truth at all times; there are complaints about him, and he is sent to Damascus, where he falls ill and dies.

In short, as of 1891, the three ideologies of pan-Ottomanism, pan-Turkism, and pan-Islamism were fused together in Mizancı Murat's mind in set proportions, and were put forth by the author as an ideology of national salvation. Mizancı Murat believed that this statist ideology ought to be accompanied by a policy of development based on the nation's own resources, and that a meritocratic bureaucracy ought to put it into

practice. But most important of all was the need to carry out a comprehensive education campaign. Besides, reading about what Mansur accomplished on his Manisa farm, it is clear that the author intended them to convey the following message: the success which has been obtained on a small scale, on one farm, can be obtained on a national scale as well, if the necessary improvements are made. In this way, salvation is possible for the entire country. We will encounter this approach later, in other utopian texts as well. For example, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir's 1963 novel *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy]²⁸⁹ also tells the story of a teacher who brings about a similarly miraculous process of development in an Anatolian village called Ekmeksizköy. There, too, the development of a single village is presented as a model for the development of a nation.

We should not forget that Mizancı Murat's childhood and youth were spent in Tsarist Russia, and that he received his education there. During those same years – the 1860s and 1870s – a form of populism known as the “Narodnik” movement was spreading throughout Russia. The basic principles of this movement were addressing the problems of the peasantry, seeking to solve these problems through a universal education campaign, and trying to achieve progress through the establishment of village communes. When all of this is taken into account, it becomes clear where Mizancı Murat's source of inspiration lay.²⁹⁰

Mizancı Murat's vision of the future which incorporates the three ideological tendencies of his generation, namely Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism, also aims to offer a solution for national progress. As in Gaspıralı's utopian work, he depicts the society of the future as a “developed” one largely after the successful example of the West. Optimistic projections about the future of the Ottoman “nation” in these works serve as critiques of the existing state of affairs.

²⁸⁹ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy] (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi 1963).

²⁹⁰ Ekrem Işın, “Jöntürk İdeolojisinin Türk Romanına Etkileri: Mizancı Murat Bey ve Toplumsal Ütopyası” [The Effects of Young Turk Ideology on the Turkish Novel: Mizancı Murat Bey and Societal Utopia], *Sanat Olayı* [The Event of Art] no. 5 (1981): 75.

4.5. A Young Turk's Nightmare: What Lies in Store

Optimistic projections about the future of the Ottomans also serve as critiques of the existing state of affairs. There is, however, another way of critiquing the existing regime by projecting a negative image of the future, i.e. a dystopia. This chapter will focus on a dystopic work which reflects the concerns of the Young Turk generation.

Neler Olacak!... [What Lies in Store]²⁹¹ is a 24-page work of unknown authorship, published at the Cairo office of the Committee of Union and Progress. The first person to draw attention to this work was Kayahan Özgül, who states that it gave him the impression of having been written in a moment of despondency.²⁹² Dedicated to the memory of Mithat Paşa, who promulgated the first Ottoman constitution, this text has decidedly dystopian characteristics. Basing its visions of the future on fear rather than desire, this work imagines the bleak future towards which it believes Abdülhamid's tyranny is steering the country.



Illustration 16: The inner cover of *What Lies in Store*²⁹³

The book envisions a future in which Istanbul has been conquered by the Russians – in fact, the name of the city has even been changed to “Tsargrad.” As in many other depictions of the future in Ottoman literature, this story also features a suspension bridge over the Bosphorus, the Nicholas Suspension Bridge (presumably named in honor of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia). This magnificent bridge, which can be crossed by train, by car, or on foot, has recently been completed, and receives much attention. (2)

²⁹¹ *Neler Olacak!...*[What Lies in Store] (Cairo: n.p., 1314 [1897]).

²⁹² Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*, 90.

²⁹³ Private collection (E.K.)

Moreover, promenades have been built from Sarayburnu to Yedikule, and from Üsküdar to Kadıköy. (3)

The story begins with large festivities held to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the fall of the Ottoman Empire at an unknown future date. These celebrations take place in what was once Beyazıt Square, now called “Politics Square,” referring to the nearly 40-50 thousand political prisoners who have been executed there since the capture of Istanbul. (3) Beyazıt Mosque has become a church, as well. (7) On the day of the festivities, a huge statue will be inaugurated in the square; this statue, which will be described in detail below, is a symbolic expression of the book’s basic message.

The book also provides us with information about the social structure of this bleak Istanbul of the future. Fifty years ago, before the occupation of the city, 700 thousand Muslim Turks lived in Istanbul; now their numbers have shrunk to five or six thousand (7), and they too will soon disappear through exile or execution. Islam and Turkishness are being systematically eliminated. In order to give a sense of how poorly the Russians treat the Turks, the author writes “They respect the Gypsies more than us.” (7) The prevailing slogan of the era is “Become Russian, or get lost!”²⁹⁴ (7) Education in Turkish has been outlawed, and Islamic institutions have been dissolved.

Historical Background

The narrator recounting these events then meets a shoe-shiner, who offers us a chance to learn what brought about this radical departure from the history with which we are familiar. Sitting in a corner with a porter, a day-laborer, and other Muslims, the shoe-shiner describes the present state of his country as a curse, as a calamity sent from God. He believes that previous generations – his and his compatriots’ “fathers” – are the ones to blame.

According to the shoe-shiner, Abdülhamid decided to take revenge upon his people, who were not pleased with him as a ruler, and went about stirring up conflict between his Muslim and Christian subjects. Meanwhile, Russia was backing a coup d’état, to set the stage for their occupation of the country. Entering into an agreement with Sultan Abdülhamid, the Russians sent their fleet to Istanbul; they then wiped out the entire resistance in one stroke, and occupied the city. This was followed by an invasion of the entire country. (8-12)

Criticism of the existing order

As we know, utopian or dystopian works take a critical stance towards the social, political, and/or economic order of the era in which they are written. This text, as well, uses a nightmarish, imaginary future to send a message to the readers of its day.

For instance, the narrator is arrested during a commotion, and has a chance to see the inside of a prison, which is filled mainly with Turks as well as Ottoman

²⁹⁴ “Ya Rus olunuz, yahut defolunuz!”

Armenians and Greeks. The officer in charge believes that the prisoners have been punished through the wrath of God. He heaps abuse upon them, saying that although they believe the last sultan was solely at fault for the fall of the Ottoman state, they are the ones who are truly responsible. (17) They were in possession of the most beautiful, most bountiful country in the world, he says, and yet did not oppose their tyrannical sultan, or execute him. (18) This can be seen as an open invitation to the readers to get rid of Abdülhamid, in order not to have to live through such a future.²⁹⁵

A similar critique occurs concerning corruption and moral decline. Describing this historical process of decline to the narrator, the shoe-shiner asserts that everyone in his own time behaves dishonorably. His own father, he says, took the attitude of “since the state’s days are numbered anyway, I should make a fortune and save my family,” destroying many families by slanderous accusations; as a result, he was inducted into the palace service, and made a minister. With all the presents and privileges he received, before five years were up he possessed luxurious mansions as well as funds totaling 400-500 thousand lira. Nonetheless, the person telling this story is a shoe-shiner; his father’s attempts to secure a future for his family by dishonest means fell flat in the end. Indeed, the shoe-shiner himself comments that “Even if we had a fortune today, it would be of no use, because we are enslaved. If only there had been loving fathers who were ready to shed blood for the nation, instead of amassing a fortune.” (13-14) In other words, the text is criticizing those elements in society who turned a blind eye to the repressive regime of Abdülhamid, or even served it, for the sake of personal gain. Freedom is more valuable than anything else; if freedom does not exist, then even wealth cannot provide individual security.

I stated earlier that the most striking element at the center of this short text was a statue which was about to be inaugurated. In Beyazıt Square, electric lights shine onto the statue from the Tower of Victory (as Beyazıt Tower is now called) and its covering is removed. It is a statue of the Tsar, standing fully upright. The supplicant down on his knees, holding a petition in his hand, is Abdülhamid. Sultan Abdülhamid, “who relinquished the security which the Ottoman rulers had won from their enemies in combat for six hundred years, who led the Ottoman Empire to destruction and led the Islamic world down the path of decline,” was the last of the Ottoman sultans.²⁹⁶ (8)

Above, I referred to the fact that the first works of Turkish literature to offer a vision of the future relied on the tradition of the dream narrative in classical Ottoman literature, transforming it in the process. At the end of this work, we learn that it, too, has been in the form of a dream. Amid the sound of fireworks and cannonballs fired for the Tsar (who has gone to Hagia Sophia to make his evening prayers), the narrator

²⁹⁵ It must be underscored that a book containing such a harsh critique of Abdülhamid’s administration would never escape the rigorous censorship of the Hamidian regime if it were published within the Ottoman Empire. However, the book was published in Egypt which was then under the British Rule.

²⁹⁶ “Diz çökerek istirham eden, elinde bir arzuhal tutan, Osmanlı hükümdarlarının altı yüz seneden beri muharebelerde düşmanlardan aldıkları emanatı takdim eden, Osmanlılığı mahv ve İslamiyeti vadi-i inkıraza götüren son Osmanlı padişahı Abdülhamid’dir.”

awakes from his sleep. All that he has seen was a dream. But he still hears the sound of cannonballs, accompanied by voices crying “Long live...” There has been a revolution. Twenty years of tyranny have ended, and the rule of the “cruel, treacherous, loathsome” Sultan Abdülhamid has come to a close.²⁹⁷ (23) The narrator expresses his happiness and his optimism for the future by recalling a line from Namık Kemal’s famous “Ode to Liberty”: “Let that hope for the future which we desire so much echo everywhere.” (22-23)

In contrast to the bulk of the text, which aims at instilling a sense of fear, a passage at the end attempts to give hope to the readers:

The Ottoman nation is immortal. A body which asks “What is happening to us?”, which is conscious of impending danger, will not perish. The nation which asserts its claim to live, will live. The labors and efforts of the men of this nation – wherever and whenever they are found – will not lack results. The fruits of this labor will eventually be seen, however belated and taxing they may be.

Long live the Ottomans! Long live freedom! Justice! Equal rights for all!

May the age of darkness be annihilated! (24)²⁹⁸

What Lies in Store is a work which attempts to convey the likely consequences of the repressive regime of Abdülhamid – who had been on the throne for twenty years – by means of a horrific scenario. To trigger this fear in its readers, it employs the motif of the capture and abolishment of the Ottoman state by the Russians. The author’s choice of the Russians is probably due to the fact that the Ottomans had lost nearly all their wars against the Russians over the preceding centuries, and that memories of the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War – one of the greatest calamities to befall the nation – were still fresh.

The main emphasis in the text is on the concepts of freedom and constitutional government. In this respect, we can see that – in line with the political program of the Committee of Union and Progress, which was active during this period – the concepts of Islamism, Turkism, and Ottomanism have been employed without making much of a distinction among them or trying to define their differences. Thus, these concepts are not used in an exclusionary, xenophobic manner: Armenians and Greeks are seen as integral parts of a unified whole, being treated in the same way as other victims of the events in question. This is one of the most important elements distinguishing this and

²⁹⁷ “Zalim, hain, müstekreh padişah Abdülhamid’in kuvva-yi mesaib-nüması üzerimizden kalktı.”

²⁹⁸ “Osmanlı milleti ölmez. “Ne oluyoruz?” diye düşünen, vehameti idrak eden bir heyet mahvolmaz. Yaşamak iddiasında bulunan millet yaşar. Her nerede olursa olsun, herhangi zamanda bulunursa bulunsun efrad-ı milletin say ü gayreti neticesiz kalmaz. Semeresi geç olsa da güç olsa da görülür.

“Yaşasın Osmanlılar! Yaşasın hürriyet! Adalet! Müsavat-ı hukuk.
“Mahvolsun zulmet!”

similar texts from ones produced after the Balkan War. *What Lies in Store* does not contain any rancor or desire for revenge against non-Muslim, non-Turkish individuals. On the contrary, it is characterized by a sense of unity which serves to build a coalition against a common enemy. The development which the authors believed would put an end to this nightmare and cause future hopes to flourish was without a doubt the re-proclamation of the Constitution, as well as the freedom, justice, and equality which it would usher in. (24) This would bring about the salvation of the “Ottoman nation” from the calamities and destruction described in this work.

4.6. Bourgeois Fantasies: “The Green Hearth”

In this chapter, I will consider a vision of an alternative life which differs from other such visions, the main difference being that this work is not individual in nature, but is a collective effort. This fantasy of an idyllic society and an ideal utopian life, developed by certain members of the school of Turkish literature known as the *Servet-i Fünun* [Wealth of Knowledge] or the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* [New Literature], found its niche in literary history as an intriguing thought experiment, one of the many literary innovations introduced by the aforementioned school. This fantasy was reflected in a short story, a few poems, and a few memoirs, thus leaving its trace upon Turkish literature. Though this project may not have offered a comprehensive vision of the future, it is nonetheless worthy of mention by virtue of being the first attempt to establish a utopian colony.²⁹⁹

The underlying motivation for this colony was a desire to escape the repressive regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). In fact, Abdülhamid’s sultanate had a significant impact on the development of modern Turkish literature. During his reign, those who attempted to promote ideas such as freedom and equality provoked a hostile response, receiving punishments like imprisonment and exile. As the intellectual historian Niyazi Berkes has pointed out, under this repressive regime intellectuals kept their distance from politics, focusing, of necessity, on cultural matters which had previously seemed of little importance: “By severing the cultural questions from the political-religious questions, the Hamidian regime unknowingly encouraged focusing upon cultural matters as such. The focusing was sharpened by factors stemming from the Western impact that the Hamidian suppression failed to prevent.”³⁰⁰

Such, therefore, were the conditions under which the *Servet-i Fünun* school, which was active between 1896 and 1901, would emerge. Coming in the wake of the first few generations of Modern Turkish literature, which had produced works in the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century, this school displayed an approach which was highly distinct from previous understandings of literature. The representatives of the *Servet-i Fünun* school had also had upbringings quite different from those of their predecessors. Most were members of the middle and upper classes. They received a European-style – usually a French-style – education, were fluent in at least one Western language, and their pastimes, ways of life, and ideas were European as well. Whereas previous generations had delivered a social and political message in a simple language, the members of the *Servet-i Fünun* school aimed at producing masterpieces like those of the European authors they read and sought to emulate; they did not feel they had a duty to be understood by the masses, or to educate society. They

²⁹⁹ Nurettin Öztürk, “Bir Düşyaşam: Servet-i Fünun Ütopyaları ve Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın’ın *Hayat-ı Muhayyeli*” [An Imaginary Life: the Utopias of the *Servet-i Fünun* and Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın’s *Hayat-ı Muhayyeli*], *Bilim ve Ütopya* [Science and Utopia] 16, no.187 (January 2010): 20.

³⁰⁰ Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), 289.

employed an “elaborate” literary language, and were focused on individual rather than societal issues.

Nonetheless, although they did not lack financial resources, they were unable to take part in the liberal bourgeois way of life which they saw, and envied, in Europe; consequently, an overall sense of pessimism is prevalent in their works.³⁰¹ While they may have had difficulty in expressing it in their works, they were also highly dissatisfied with the repressive regime of Abdülhamid. The fantasy of “The Green Hearth,” which will be dealt with in this chapter, is a product of this pessimism and dissatisfaction. Below, I will touch on the developments that led to the emergence of this fantasy, after which I will analyze related works in order to perform a general evaluation. The main information concerning this project has been obtained from four memoirs: Mehmet Rauf’s “Edebi Hatıralar: ‘Yeşil Yurt’ Hikâyesi” [Literary Memoirs: The Story of “The Green Hearth”];³⁰² Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın’s *Edebi Hatıralar* [Literary Memoirs];³⁰³ Hüseyin Kâzım Kadri’s *Meşrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Hatıralarım* [My Memoirs, from the Constitutional Era to the Republic];³⁰⁴ and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil’s *Kırk Yıl* [Forty Years].³⁰⁵ Of these four individuals, Halit Ziya did not take part himself in this project, but was content to recount his observations of it. Moreover, in addition to the above figures, one should also mention Tevfik Fikret, perhaps the main actor in this project. Indeed, this fantasy found its literary echo in a story of Hüseyin Cahit as well as several poems of Tevfik Fikret.

As regards the question of how the project came about, it should first be reiterated that the main impetus leading the members of the *Servet-i Fünun* school to conceive such a vision was Abdülhamid’s repressive regime. In his memoirs, Mehmet Rauf arrives at the following conclusion:

What the members of the *Servet-i Fünun* school had in common was a fierce, violent hostility towards autocratic government. This hostility, which had first been targeted towards the sultan, slowly began to encompass the national culture which submitted to this government, put up with it, nourished it, and kept it in power. The infamies of the sultan, of which we witnessed the most loathsome instances every day,

³⁰¹ For a detailed study of the effects of liberalism on the intellectual worlds of the intellectuals of this period, see Aykut Kansu, “20. Yüzyıl Başı Türk Düşünce Hayatında Liberalizm” [Liberalism in Turkish Intellectual Life at the Beginning of the 20th Century], in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce 1: Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet’in Birikimi* [Political Thought in Modern Turkey 1: the Legacy of the Tanzimat and the Constitution], ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (Istanbul: İletişim, 2001), 277-295.

³⁰² Mehmet Rauf, “Edebi Hatıralar: ‘Yeşil Yurt’ Hikâyesi,” [Literary Memoirs: The Story of “The Green Hearth”], *Güneş* [Sun], no: 9 (May 1, 1927), 6.

³⁰³ Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebi Hatıralar* [Literary Memoirs] (Istanbul: Akşam Kitaphanesi, 1935).

³⁰⁴ Hüseyin Kâzım Kadri, *Meşrutiyet’ten Cumhuriyet’e Hatıralarım* [My Memoirs, from the Constitutional Era to the Republic] (Istanbul: İletişim, 1991).

³⁰⁵ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl* [Forty Years] (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Gazete ve Matbaası, 1936).

were poisoning us, and making our life here into an unbearable torture.³⁰⁶

Likewise, in his memoirs, Hüseyin Kazım Kadri recalls the hopelessness he and his associates felt due to Abdülhamid's despotism, and explains how he had the idea of going abroad: "We were yearning for a change, but we did not know what to do. In the end, it was Fikret, once more, who found a solution: to emigrate from the country." Halit Ziya also confirms that the idea of emigration was Tevfik Fikret's.³⁰⁷ One Friday, Fikret, along with Hüseyin Cahit, went to the house of Dr. Esat Paşa (Dr. Mehmet Esat Işık) in Çengelköy. There, together with other guests, they complained of the tyranny of the corrupt regime. In the course of their complaining, they had the idea of emigrating all together, an idea which garnered much support. Esat Paşa would meet the costs by selling his farm in Ankara. Mehmet Rauf, a naval captain, consulted an English officer who earnestly suggested New Zealand; thus, the question of where to go was settled.

But this voyage was not to take place. The chief reason was that Esat Paşa's trip to Ankara to sell his farm proved unsuccessful. Additionally, after the plan took shape, they were discouraged by various practical matters needing to be dealt with, as well as by certain disagreements of principle.³⁰⁸

Still, the literati of the *Servet-i Fünun* were undeterred. This time, an idea for an alternative project came from Hüseyin Kazım. He had large plots of land in the village of Sarıçam in Manisa, and proposed carrying out the same scheme there.³⁰⁹ This suggestion reawakened the group's enthusiasm. Tevfik Fikret even drew the plans for a villa which they would build in Sarıçam, which they would call "The Green Hearth." They decided to have Hüseyin Cahit go there and survey the location. But he was unable to get permission to leave. After a sequence of apparently quite suspenseful events (to judge from their "thriller-esque" treatment in Hüseyin Cahit's memoirs) he at last made an unofficial trip to the village, which he greatly admired. He returned with positive impressions of the place, as well as photographs he had taken. However, for unknown reasons, Fikret's enthusiasm dwindled, and so this project too fell by the wayside.

³⁰⁶ Quoted in Rahim Tarım, "Servet-i Fünun Edebi Topluluğunun 'Yeşil Yurt' Özlemi" [The Longing for the "Green Hearth" in the Literary Community of the *Servet-i Fünun*], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 78: "Servet-i Fünuncuların müşterek vasıfları istibdat idaresine karşı kanlı, yırtıcı bir husumetti. Bu husumet Saray'a karşı başlamışken yavaş yavaş bu idareye tevekkül ve tahammül ve onu tağdiye ve idame eden memleket hayatına da sirayet etmişti. Her gün menfur tecelliyatına şahit olduğumuz Saray şenatleri bizi zehirliyorlar, artık burada yaşamayı tahammül edilemeyecek bir işkence haline getiriyordu."

³⁰⁷ "Yanıp tutuşuyorduk. Fakat ne yapacağımızı da bilmiyorduk. Nihayet, yine Fikret bir çare buldu: Bu memleketten hicret etmek." Tarım, "Servet-i Fünun," 78.

³⁰⁸ For instance, whereas Tevfik Fikret supported the idea of settling on an island and living the rest of their lives there, Hüseyin Cahit disagreed, advocating a return to their own country if Abdülhamid died and a constitutional regime were reestablished. Quoted in Tarım, "Servet-i Fünun," 80.

³⁰⁹ In Mizancı Mehmet Murat's novel *Is It New or Is It Nonsense?*, discussed earlier, the hero Mansur also realized his utopian dream in Manisa. The fact that Manisa once more serves as a utopian setting is an interesting coincidence.



Illustration 17: Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın³¹⁰

Aside from these memoirs, the chief literary work to give expression to the dream of the Green Hearth was Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın’s short story “Hayat-ı Muhayyel” [The Imaginary Life], the first piece in the author’s short story collection of the same name, published in April 1898.³¹¹ A second edition came out in 1910; since then, it has not been reprinted, and is thus unavailable in a Romanized version.

This 15-page story, with a date of 16 Teşrinievvel 1314 [October 28th, 1898], apparently takes place “in a faraway land, at a future time” (3). The only concrete detail concerning the setting is that it is an island (4);³¹² the presence of an alternative way of life there can be understood from the following phrase: “Everything there had a feeling of novelty, freshness, purity, and naturalness.” (3) At the same time, this ideal alternative way of life is never fully fleshed out, being conveyed by a vague expression like “a longing to live freely, to live like human beings.”

The underlying principle in this way of life is “simplicity.” The villas intended for habitation are not large or luxurious; they are only as sizeable, sturdy, elegant, and pleasant as people’s needs require.³¹³ (5) Everyone’s villa has a large study, a small living room, a children’s room, and a bedroom. In any case, because they have come here fleeing from the opulent salons of civilized society, their needs have become fewer, and they have only allowed themselves the most necessary belongings. There is no luxury on the island.

³¹⁰ http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/H%C3%BCseyin_Cahit_Yal%C3%A7%C4%B1n

³¹¹ Hüseyin Cahit [Yalçın], *Hayat-ı Muhayyel* [The Imaginary Life] (İstanbul: Âlem Matbaası, 1315 [1898]).

³¹² Islands – which by their nature provide a definite severing of ties with the rest of the world – have been the imaginary location of many utopias. For more on the relationship between islands and utopias, see Akşit Göktürk, *Ada: İngiliz Yazınında Ada Kavramı* [Island: The Concept of the Island in English Literature] (İstanbul: Adam, 1982).

³¹³ Given their simplicity, it is striking that the houses to be inhabited by the members of this community are called “villas.” One should not forget that the literati of the *Servet-i Fünun* school were members of the upper-income stratum.

We also get some information, limited though it may be, about the plan of the village where these houses are located. In the middle of the village, there is a building which is used communally. Inside, there is a canteen spacious enough to seat everyone, a large salon, and a library. All the families assemble round the table in the canteen each morning and evening. (6)

There are no servants on the island, a big sacrifice on the part of the members of the *Servet-i Fünun* school. Each evening, it is a different family's turn to serve the others; they all take pleasure in serving their friends. (6) Similar pleasures can be encountered at every stage. After eating, they retire to the salon, where they drink coffee and jest with one another, play the piano, and read poems. They also discuss and deal with village matters.

One important detail regarding life in the village concerns the division of labor. Everyone has some useful task to perform, and the division of labor arises naturally. Everyone has experience plowing the fields. Milking the sheep and goats, tending the chickens, and incubating chicks, on the other hand, are enjoyable tasks which incidentally are performed by women. Those who cannot endure hard labor instead pasture the cows, catch fish, bake bread, and make yogurt, cheese, and butter. Thus, the needs of the village are more than adequately met. (8) There is one day of rest every week. Generally, people go on outings on such days. In order to reach different points on the island, each family shows up with its one-horse cart; they then meet up with other families and set off together. (10)

In such a way of life, things like making money are unimportant. Money is not used in the village, aside from a fund used for purchases from outside, which is overseen by one of the villagers. As no one is concerned with making money, people do not need to wear themselves out with work. The writer portrays this side of the villagers' life with idyllic, pastoral details. For instance, while plowing the fields, they find time to let the oxen rest in the shade of a tree, and then stretch out themselves on the grass, reading philosophy, poetry, and novels. While the cows are in pasture, the herdsman sets up an easel, and paints their picture in oils. Hunters hang up their rifles and read poetry. (8-9)

In any case, a physically active life is no obstacle to the enrichment of the mind. Even if they have put the ambitions of civilized life behind them, they have not forsaken the spiritual pleasures of that life, the pleasures which fortify the soul: these arrive regularly with each delivery of the mail. Therefore, the nights when the mail is delivered are very important. On such nights, the normal routine is dispensed with: there is no piano-playing, singing, or games. Everyone gathers in the main hall of the library. The women sew and knit, the children read picture books, and the men read the newspapers and books which arrive with the mail. (9)

Towards the end of the text, we see the excitement created when a woman becomes pregnant. Everyone wants the child to be a boy – and it is. In an obvious bit of symbolism, the boy is given the name “Adam”: he is the first member of this new race of humanity. He is followed by other Adams and Eves. All of them are large, beautiful,

and flawless in appearance (12-13). With the children that are born, the village becomes more and more beautiful. Roads are built, and every part of the village is improved. Flower-gardens are planted all around the villas. The surrounding orchards are planted with fruit trees. The young get married, and new villas are added to the village, which increases in size. (14)

In short, it would not be incorrect to term this story an instance of “escapist literature.” Its primary motivation, as stated above, is an escape from tyranny. Though this story claims to offer an alternative way of life, it could nonetheless be concluded that, after being freed from tyranny, the inhabitants of the island do not want to change much else. For, aside from some details which seem neither convincing nor based upon actual village life, there is little visible change in the lives of the inhabitants here, especially the men.

Moreover, the text makes no claim of extending this perspective to society as a whole, and thus producing a vision of social liberation or development; rather, it stands as an individual fantasy. Accordingly, the issue of the desire it evokes among its readers is a problematic one. For instance, one could ask just how attractive this utopian vision would be to women, given that it does not seek to change gender roles in society, but even augments them to some extent.

Indeed, a noteworthy aspect of this text is its promotion of what is fundamentally a conservative idea. A family-based way of life prevails in this village; there is no place for those who are unmarried. Nor is there any attempt to question patriarchal values.³¹⁴



Illustration 18: Tevfik Fikret³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Literary historian Rahim Tarım states that Hüseyin Cahit wrote his short story “Uykusuz Kalırken” [Sleepless] due to his sorrow at the fact that this shared dream did not become reality. Tarım, “Servet-i Fünun”, 85.

³¹⁵ http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tevfik_Fikret

Finally, let us turn to some poems of Tevfik Fikret – the key player in this project – on the subject of “The Green Hearth.” As the individual who first came up with this idea, pulled the plug on it, gave it a name, drew up concrete proposals for it, and led the project throughout, Tevfik Fikret more than deserves to be described as the key player in this venture. The utopian vision of “The Green Hearth” is expressed in several of Fikret’s poems. Among these are “Ömr-i Muhayyel” [An Imaginary Life], “Berîd-i Ümmîd” [A Messenger of Hope], “Bir Mersiye” [An Elegy], “Bir Ân-ı Huzur” [A Moment of Peace], and last but not least, “Yeşil Yurt” [The Green Hearth], after which the project was named.

This last-mentioned poem does not contain a detailed depiction of the life which was desired by Tevfik Fikret and his circle. All that we see is a peaceful village by the side of a stream, among greenery:

It is a felicity as green as springtime
In the smiling meadow’s dust-filled slope
The village, as though asleep, sinks into tranquility
All its life is lived by the banks of a tiny stream³¹⁶

Fikret says that he goes to this village every evening, in pursuit of his vision. Only in this way can he endure the sorrow and despair of his surroundings. An inability to accept reality, as well as a desire to flee from it, is the poem’s basic motif.

“A Moment of Peace” also expresses the poet’s longing for village life. This poem dreams of the villager’s life which Fikret will lead in a smoky little hut in a snow-clad village.

“An Imaginary Life” is another of the poems which the “Green Hearth” project inspired Fikret to write. In the magazine in which it appeared, there is a dedication to “the writer of the ‘Hayat-ı Muhayyel’ [The Imaginary Life]” following the poem’s title, clear evidence of this poem’s relationship to the story discussed above, and thus to the New Zealand scheme.³¹⁷ In this poem, Fikret, too, tries to impart a sense of the life he is longing for, without providing concrete details. The life for which he yearns is a leisurely, wholesome, reverie-filled life, spent in the company of his beloved:

Now I am living a villager’s life
Here in this village, alone with my reveries.
White smoke seeps out of the stove across from me;
The darkness of this night we call life slowly departs³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Tevfik Fikret, “Yeşil Yurt,” [The Green Hearth], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 91: “Bahara benzetilir bir yeşil saadettir / Gülümseyen ovanın vech-i-pür gubârında / Köyün uyur gibi müstagra-k-i- sükûnettir / Bütün hayâtı ufak bir çayın kenarında.”

³¹⁷ “Tevfik Fikret’in ‘Yeşil Yurt’ Şiirleri” [Tevfik Fikret’s “Green Hearth” Poems], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 90, fn: 1.

³¹⁸ Tevfik Fikret, “Bir An-ı Huzur,” [A Moment of Peace], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 91: “Ben sürmedeyim şimdi hayâlîmle bu köyde / Bir köylü hayatı; / Karşımda ocaktan süzülen dud-ı sefide / Kaybolmada hep leyl-i hayatın zulemâtı.”

As was mentioned earlier, during the second stage of the project, Hüseyin Cahit traveled to Manisa (which was then under consideration as the site of their new home) in order to assess the local conditions. During this period, Fikret wrote the poem “Berîd-i Ümmîd” [A Messenger of Hope], which expresses the magnitude of Fikret’s hopes for this project, as well as his impatience for it to be realized:

Come, O beloved portent, with your song;
Today will decide between my tedium and pleasure;
Your heavenly arrival will decide, without a doubt,
Between the hope of my good fortune, the hopelessness of my tears.³¹⁹

Again, despite the hopeful news brought by Hüseyin Cahit, the “messenger of hope,” Fikret decided not to go through with the project, for uncertain reasons. His poem, “An Elegy,” reflects both the great hopes which the poet had entertained, as well as his disappointment at their failure to be realized. The poem effectively serves as a farewell to the project:

What a free and easy, simple life it was,
A life to be spent in the shade of the pine trees.
It was up to you, my heart’s last hope,
The last hope of my weary, broken, anguished heart.³²⁰

In the end, while the “Green Hearth” project of the *Servet-i Fünun* school led to animated discussions and certain limited ventures, and was reflected in the works mentioned above, it was never realized in the end. When considered within the theoretical framework of this study, this project cannot be said to have put forth a meaningful vision of the future. Rather than expressing ideals about the future, “The Green Hearth” was predominantly about an aversion to, and a desire to escape, existing conditions. Its perspective was one of individual salvation, and it did not display a propensity towards socialization; nor did it represent a radical transformation in terms of living standards. All the same, it can be regarded as an interesting experiment marked by certain utopian tendencies. And yet, as far as this proposed alternative way of life is concerned, it is the details which are left out – rather than the ones which are mentioned – that are truly significant. The poets and writers in question were libertarian, liberal intellectuals with a clearly-defined political position. The starting point for the project, as well, was an entirely political one, namely a desire to offer an alternative to the despotism of Abdülhamid. The fact that the resulting project was

³¹⁹ Tevfik Fikret, “Berîd-i Ümmîd” [A Messenger of Hope], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 93: “Gel ey berîd-i perestîde, bir sürûdunla / Bugün melâl ü neşatım takarrür eyleyecek; / Takarrür eyleyecek refref-i vürudunla / Ümid-i mes’adetim, ye’s-i mâtemim bî-şek.”

³²⁰ Tevfik Fikret, “Bir Mersiye” [An Elegy], *kitap-lık* [book-shelf], no. 93 (April 2006): 92: “Ne ser-âzâde ömr-i sâfiydi / Gececek gölgesinde çamlarının / Sende kalmıştı münfail, kırgın / Muztarib gönlümün son ümidi.”

nonetheless so highly apolitical, and was almost entirely based on individual conformism, is telling. The “Green Hearth” project contains no details about social classes, religious sects, gender roles, etc., or any suggestions about ways to change such phenomena. In this sense, in line with the Servet-i Fünun policy, this project stands in clear contrast not only to the politically motivated works about the future that we examined above, but also to those works which would be written following the Balkan War.

4.7. The Ideal Youth: *Fetret*

The last text which I will deal with in Part 4 is an interesting work of literature, whether by virtue of its writer's identity, or by that of the vision of the future it offers. At the same time, it is one of the least-known works analyzed in the present study. The work in question, *Fetret*, was written by the politician, journalist, and writer Ali Kemal (1869-1922) in 1911 and published in 1913.³²¹



Illustration 19: The cover of the first book of *Fetret*³²²

The book was not subsequently reprinted, and as its first edition was in the Arabic alphabet, it was completely forgotten until 90 years later in 2003, when it was published in an edition using the Latin alphabet.³²³ A striking illustration of the book's almost total obscurity can be seen in the following remarks in the introduction to the 2003 Latin-alphabet edition of *Fetret*:

From expressions at the beginning of the work and at the end (where it refers to “the end of the first book”) we can infer that *Fetret* has not yet reached its conclusion, but that there is a continuation which has not yet been printed or indeed written.³²⁴ (8)

³²¹ Ali Kemal, *Fetret: Birinci Kitap* [Fetret: Book One] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]).

³²² Private collection (E.K.)

³²³ Ali Kemal, *Fetret*, ed. M. Kayahan Özgül (Ankara: Hece, 2003).

³²⁴ M. Kayahan Özgül, “Fetret yahut Distopik Osmanlı'nın Utopik Düşü,” [Fetret or the Utopian Dream of the Dystopian Ottoman] in Ali Kemal, *Fetret*, ed. M. Kayahan Özgül (Ankara: Hece, 2003), 8-13: “Eserin başında ve bitiminde “Birinci kitabın sonu” olduğunun belirtilmesinden de Fetret'in burada nihayete ermediğini, hâlâ basılmamış veya hiç yazılmamış bir devamı olduğunu öğreniyoruz. (...) Anlaşılan odur ki, eserin ikinci cildi neşredilse idi, muhtemelen, Fetret'in üniversite tahsilini tamamlayarak İstanbul'a döndüğü ve Seher'le evlendiği, aynı şekilde, Selman'ın da Güzide ile birleştiği okunacaktı.”

However, a second book was in fact published.³²⁵

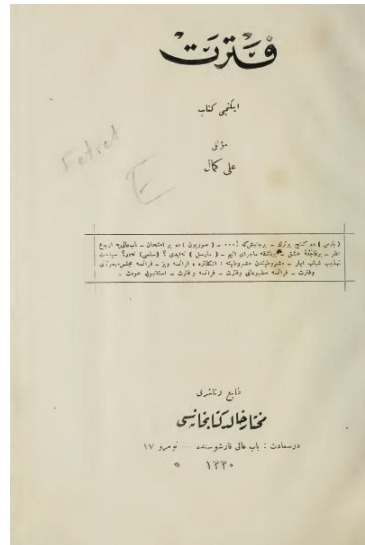


Illustration 20: The cover of the second book of *Fetret*³²⁶

The lack of awareness towards Ali Kemal's works can partially be explained by his particular circumstances. During the National Struggle, Ali Kemal served as Minister of Education and Minister of Internal Affairs in the cabinet of Damat Ferit Paşa, in Istanbul. The members of the Committee of Union and Progress accused him of trying to subvert peace efforts. He dismissed Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], who was on his way to Anatolia, from duty;³²⁷ he also took part in the founding of the *İngiliz Muhipler Cemiyeti* [the Society of the Friends of England]. Moreover, in his newspaper *Peyam* [The News] he wrote pieces harshly criticizing the National Struggle.

When one considers the Kemalist historiography concerning this period, it is understandable to what extent these actions turned Ali Kemal into a symbol of hatred on the part of the regime. The matter was not merely symbolic in any case. Immediately following the victory in the National Struggle, Ali Kemal was caught, sent to Ankara to be interrogated, and, en route, was killed in İzmit by a lynch mob on November 6th, 1922. Despite this horrific punishment, the regime's anger was not quelled, and throughout Republic history the name "Ali Kemal" came to be used as a synonym for "treachery."³²⁸

³²⁵ Ali Kemal, *Fetret: İkinci Kitap* [Fetret: Book Two] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]).

³²⁶ Private collection (E.K.)

³²⁷ Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm* [My Life], ed. Zeki Kunalalp (Istanbul: İsis, 1985), 183-184.

³²⁸ Recent years have seen a softening of attitudes towards Ali Kemal, as well as the publication of his own books, and of studies evaluating him from a different standpoint. See Orhan Karaveli, *Ali Kemal: Belki de Bir Günah Keçisi* [Ali Kemal: A Possible Scapegoat] (Istanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2009).



Illustration 21: Ali Kemal³²⁹

As with many of the works featured in this study, there is an ambiguity about the genre of *Fetret*, as the author himself agrees:

Fetret is not a story, it is a history; or rather, it is a short history. (...) It shows the truth, even if it does so by means of a dream; for if some of Fetret's behaviors, actions, and inclinations seem somewhat fantastic today, tomorrow they will be completely real.

The poets of a social committee are also its thinkers; accordingly, they should not only depict the present as it is, but should also inquire about their future. In my opinion, *Fetret* is a picture of our present age, a poem about our future age. (43)

Despite this ambiguity about its genre, *Fetret* – as both paragraphs of this excerpt attest – is clearly a narrative depicting the future. As a novel, it possesses autobiographical characteristics; its story takes place 20 years after the date of its composition. Prior to the re-proclamation of the Constitution, Ali Kemal had married a woman named Winifred Brun in London, with whom he had had a daughter, Selma. Later, the family settled in Istanbul, and Ali Kemal became the lead writer of the newspaper *İkdam* [Progress]. It was claimed that his writings had been one of the factors behind the March 31st Incident; as a result, he once more fled abroad, settling in Bournemouth. There, his son Osman Wilfred was born, immediately followed by the death of his wife. Thus, arguably, Ali Kemal wrote *Fetret* during this period, when he was living alone in England with his two children, in order to sustain his hopes for the future amidst his

³²⁹ http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Kemal (Accessed 15.08.2014)

own emotional devastation.³³⁰ The book's eponymous hero Fetret could be said to represent the sort of figure Ali Kemal wished his newborn son Wilfred to become one day. Indeed, the name "Fetret" was presumably chosen due to its sound-resemblance to "Wilfred," in addition to being a comment upon the condition of the Ottoman State at the time (*fetret* means "interregnum.") In other words, as implied in the above excerpt, the text contains both recollections of Ali Kemal's life and visions of his son's future.³³¹



Illustration 22: Osman Wilfred, age four³³²

The work narrates Wilfred's life at the age of about 20. (49) The character standing in for Ali Kemal himself is named Selman; he, too, is 20 years older than the author. It is therefore clear that the events in this work take place 20 years in the future, i.e., around 1930. However, this does not mean that *Fetret* contains futuristic depictions per se. On the contrary, nowhere in the text do we encounter objects, phenomena, or developments which did not exist at the time of its composition, or which the author imagined would exist 20 years later. Projecting his own beliefs, hopes, and visions of the future onto his own child, Ali Kemal chose to recount them through the perfection of his son's character.

The events in this book can be summarized as follows. At the start of the novel, Fetret visits the poet Hayret Bey, and later goes with his father to Tepebaşı Public

³³⁰ M. Kayahan Özgül, "Fetret yahut Distopik Osmanlı'nın Ütopik Düşü" [Fetret, or the Utopian Vision of the Dystopian Ottoman Empire], in Ali Kemal, *Fetret*, 8.

³³¹ Ali Kemal's son Zeki Kunalalp, in preparing his father's autobiography, *My Life*, for publication, uses excerpts from *Fetret* numerous times, as evidence of details concerning his father's life. Ali Kemal, *Ömrüm*, 174-180.

³³² Ali Kemal, *Fetret*, ed., Kayahan Özgül, album.

Garden³³³ to have dinner and to talk about Turkish language and literature. In another chapter of the book, he meets the youths living in the neighboring mansion (including the two girls living there, Güzide and Seher). This scene is followed by a dialogue with the Arabic teacher Şeyh Nübhan Kamil Efendi. Next, he meets his father's old friend, the boatman Kumkapılı Mehmet. We are then privy to a historiographical polemic at a conference by the historian Baydur Bey. Later, Fetret becomes engaged to Seher, and at the end of the text, he goes to France. In the Second Book, we witness his life as a student at the Sorbonne, in the faculty of History and Geography. The book features Fetret's amorous adventures with a girl named Marsel [Marcelle], who falls in love with him; comparisons between England, France, and Turkey; Fetret's observations of the French Parliament and the French press; and his eventual return to Istanbul.

Therefore, as there is little to be said about the story itself, we may discuss some noteworthy aspects of Ali Kemal's ideal world, by way of a few concrete examples.

Turkey's Problems

Let us first address the problems foregrounded by the text as the reasons for the deterioration of the Ottoman Empire. First and foremost, of course, are educational problems. Deficient infrastructure, a lack of teachers, and administrative problems have caused a great decline in the quality of education. (61) A lack of women's education, in particular, is unacceptable. (71) Moreover, obstacles to sending students abroad need to be dealt with, so that this practice can become more widespread. (146-148, 153).

Moreover, Ali Kemal also focuses on the issues of language and literature.³³⁴ Turkish poetry, he believes, lags far behind its Western counterpart. (21) Turkish literature also attempts to imitate the West in a highly superficial manner. (21) The underlying cause of these problems is that Turkish has not developed sufficiently as a language, and has not been able to become a rival of the West. (25-26)

We do not encounter a comprehensive evaluation or criticism of Turkey's political, social, or economic makeup in this text; rather, a general criticism of Turkey's backwardness is accompanied by praise of the West. Below, I will address the issue of Ali Kemal's approach to the latter.

The Indisputable Superiority of the West

The most striking note in this text is its strong admiration for the West, and its unconditional acceptance of Western superiority in every field. Other texts in this thesis

³³³ Tepebaşı Public Garden was one of the first public gardens built in Istanbul in 1870s as a symbol of European lifestyle. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 246-247.

³³⁴ Yahya Kemal devotes a section of his book *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler* [Political and Literary Portraits] (Istanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü, 1968) to Ali Kemal, painting an extremely negative picture of the latter, whether in terms of his personality or in terms of his political stances. Of the characteristics of Ali Kemal which he singles out for praise, first and foremost is his command of Turkish. (71)

attempt to balance the superiority of the West against the values of the Ottomans, the Turks, and the Muslims – all of whom possess a glorious past – and thus produce a sort of synthesis of Western and local values. By contrast, Ali Kemal’s position on this subject is very clear: generally speaking, there is nothing of outstanding value in the East, and, therefore, in the Ottoman Empire. In Ali Kemal’s view, the superiority of the West in general, and especially of England, is clear and obvious:

My son, do not refrain from closely scrutinizing this land – that is to say, your nation – and your fellow citizens, so as to grasp an important truth through a lesson learned in advance. This country cannot be compared with the countries of Europe, just as, from a broader perspective, the East cannot be compared with the West. In literature, in politics, in industry, in science and learning – wherever you look, when compared to the Westerners, we Easterners are truly lagging behind. We are just starting out. (...) The greatest proof of this obvious fact is that, however poor the Eastern world remains compared to the West, in terms of civilization and prosperity, by so much does it remain the West’s slave. Until we have reached their level in civilization and in learning, we can never be redeemed from this poverty, this slavery.

....

In short, let me reiterate my belief that what we, the Ottomans, most need is to be freed from the cul-de-sac of Eastern civilization – from this stumbling block, this fanaticism – and so be able to acquire a Western culture. Until now, what has stood in the way of our bounty and good fortune on all sides is this fault of ours, one which has become deeply rooted in us.

....

Thus, if most of our youth choose a profession and attain this individual perfection, then the Ottomans, and the Ottoman Empire, will be delivered from the ignominy of destruction, and will find salvation. We will then become one of the principal nations of the civilized world.³³⁵ (58-62)

³³⁵ “Oğlum, bu memleketi, yani vatanını, vatandaşlarını nazar-ı tetkikten geçirirken bir hakikati piş-i ibretten uzak tutma. Bu mülk Avrupa memaliki ile, daha vâsi bir nokta-i nazardan, Şark Garp ile kıyas edilemez. Edebiyatta olsun, siyasiyatta olsun, sanayide, fûnunda, ulûmda, nede olursa olsun, biz şarklılar garplılara nispeten hakikatte çok, pek çok geriyiz, iptidaiyiz. (...) Bu bedahetin en büyük delili şudur ki, bütün cihan-ı Şark medeniyetçe, refahiyetçe nispeten ne kadar fakirdir, öyle olmakla beraber Garb’ın esiridir. Medeniyette, marifette o mertebeyi bulmadıkça asla bu fakırdan, bu esaretten kurtulamaz. (...) Hasılı, itikadımca tekrar ederim, biz Osmanlıların en ziyade muhtaç olduğumuz girive-i Şark’tan, o engelden, o taassuptan kurtularak bir terbiye-i garbiyeye mazhar olabilmektir. Şimdiye kadar her cihetçe feyizimize, ikbalimize hail kesilen bu nakisamızdır; bu nakisamız ki içimizde ne kadar kökleşmiştir. (...) İşte gençlerimiz ekseriyetle böyle bir meslek tutarlar, bu kemal-i hâssa ererlerse, Osmanlılar da, Osmanlılık da şaibe-i izmihlalden kurtulur, necat bulur, fakat biz de o zaman cihan-ı medeniyetin belli başlı bir kavmi oluruz.”

Similar views are expressed by Şeyh Nubhan Efendi, an Arab who is friends with Selman Bey as well as being Fetret's Arabic teacher. Despite being a religious scholar, he is not bigoted, but is a proponent of free thought. He, too, acknowledges the superiority of the West:

To regard Arab civilization as currently being ahead of Western civilization – in terms of its literature, its learning, and its science – is like claiming (let us say) that the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries of our era were more progressive, more civilized, more perfect than our own; which is, if you will, a self-evidently untrue bit of folly.³³⁶ (91)

The Şeyh is one of the main characters who are portrayed positively by the author; furthermore, along with characters like Selman Efendi, he has clearly been created as a conduit for the author's views. It is striking to hear him voice the belief – on behalf of the author – that no other Eastern civilization (e.g., a Turkish civilization) emerged after the Arabs; such a view is not often found in other texts, especially ones written after the rise of Turkish nationalism.

The Şeyh goes even further: if we Easterners, he says, have any chance of salvation, then this lies in forgetting our past and adopting Western civilization. Otherwise, he says, according to the law of nature discovered by an English philosopher, just as more evolved animals devour less evolved ones, the developed countries of the West will likewise be able to destroy us Easterners. (93) Even if it strains the bounds of credibility to have a religious scholar adopt the principles of Darwin's Theory of Evolution, it is nonetheless clear that even the Şeyh has not been spared from the Social Darwinist tendencies which were prevalent at the time.

English Childrearing

We previously encountered Selman Bey's assertion that it was necessary to adopt Western methods of childrearing. In its treatment of this subject, the book does not use a term as vague as "the West": what the author specifically has in mind is English childrearing. Fetret and his elder sister Selma, who are brought up in England by their grandmother, are good evidence of this. Both children seem two or three years older than their actual ages, and have a robust constitution. They have not been swaddled, but have grown up freely. They eat and sleep at fixed times; every day, they take a bath, and go for a walk to get some fresh air.

³³⁶ "Edebiyatıyla, ulumiyle, fünuniyle medeniyet-i Arabiyeyi hâlen medeniyet-i garbiyenin fevkinde addetmek bi'l-farz yedinci, sekizinci, dokuzuncu asr-ı miladinin asrımızdan daha müterakki, daha mütemeddin, daha mükemmel olduğunu iddia eylemektir ki adeta bedahete karşıdır, adeta belahettir."

Marriage

In the author's opinion, if a suitable mate is not available and if conditions are not suitable, then marriage should not be required. For instance, Seher's elder sister Güzide, though already 30 years old, finds contentment in painting, playing the piano, and the company of her friends; she does not regard marriage as a necessity. (30-32, 126-127)

As for the union of Seher and Fetret, it represents the ideal form of marriage. The two youths flirt and kiss in the presence of their fathers. (121-122, 138); Seher's father describes this state of affairs as "perfection." (123) Even living together – instead of getting married – can and should be a legitimate option. (150-151).

Education

Since the author believes that childrearing and education – as stated above – are at the heart of every problem in Ottoman society, they will also supply the remedy, namely Westernizing all educational institutions and practices. In this context, the most innovative suggestion offered by *Fetret* is its proposal for a new university. This institution is different from the old university known as the *Darülfünun-ı Osmanî*. It is housed in a splendid building, constructed in Western fashion, on a vacant plot of land between Çemberlitaş and Nuruosmaniye, and looks like a small-scale imitation of the Sorbonne in Paris. The big lecture hall opposite the entrance can easily seat 1000 students. The dazzling tapestries on the walls depict Baghdad and Andalusia in the time of Haroun al-Rashid, as well as Paris, London, Berlin, and Washington. Some of these pictures are the handiwork of a Frenchman, and some that of an Ottoman Armenian; they have won even the Europeans' admiration.

A special section has been set aside for female students in the big lecture hall, in order that they may listen to the lectures. Although some narrow-minded people opposed this arrangement at first, after a fierce struggle the plan won out in the end. (108-109)

Evidently, Ali Kemal's standard of perfection is defined solely in Western terms. His dream of a perfect university is realized in concrete form as "a little would-be Sorbonne," desirable only to the extent that it reflects what Westerners themselves do and admire.

The Press

The author gives an equal amount of attention to the institution of the press. The newspaper *Selam* [Hello] is represented to us as an ideal media institution. It puts a premium on honesty, first and foremost; in addition, it is respectful of the law, is open to progressive ideas, features pieces written in a new, modern style, takes a dim view of antiquated rhetoric, exalts science, and values freedom of thought. (125-130)

Above, I stated that other writers had also imagined their own children as ideal youths. Interestingly, it so happens that all of these children led lives very unlike the

ones their fathers had imagined for them, and most met unhappy ends.³³⁷ Fetret, a.k.a. Osman Wilfred Kemal, a.k.a. Wilfred Johnson, fought for his country – England – and lived and died as an Englishman; it is unclear whether this would have been the case if Ali Kemal had been alive, or whether Ali Kemal would have been pleased with such a state of affairs.

Thus, Fetret – the son of an English mother and a Turkish father, brought up in England, and educated in England and France – is presented by Ali Kemal as a model human being. Just as Fetret – a product, so to speak, of the West – has been successful, so Turkey, too, can be saved from destruction at the hands of the West. In order to do so, however, it must emulate the West as accurately and thoroughly as possible in all of its material and intellectual institutions and practices. *Fetret* merits a place in this study thanks to its radical position on Turkey’s two hundred year-old East-West debate, and on its search for an ideal future.

As in earlier projections of Ottoman future, *Fetret* offers an alternative to the existing society without pointing at enemies within or denigrating some groups as archenemies of the Ottomans. Such tendencies imbued with xenophobic hate discourse will begin to be expressed in the utopian works written after the defeat of the Balkan War. These are the works that will construct the trauma narrative, the constitutive element of Turkish nationalism.

³³⁷ Emin, the oldest son of Islamist poet Mehmet Akif, became a homeless drug addict and died in misery (Beşir Ayvazoğlu, “Emin Ersoy’un Trajik Hayatı,” http://www.zaman.com.tr/besir-ayvazoglu/emin-ersoyun-trajik-hayati_1030991.html (Accessed 15.08.2014)). Haluk, the darling boy of the poet Tevfik Fikret (known for his anti-religious poems), was the pastor of the Park Lake Presbyterian Church in Orlando at the time of his death in 1965 (A. Osman Dönmez, “Haluk’un Son Vedai,” <http://www.sizinti.com.tr/konular/ayrinti/halukun-son-vedai.html> (Accessed 15.08.2014)).

4.8. Evaluation

Before proceeding to an analysis of utopian texts produced during and after the Balkan War, it will be useful, for purposes of comparison, to perform a brief evaluation of the texts which we dealt with in Part 4. The table below provides a graphic representation of the points I will discuss:

	Ziya Paşa's <i>Dream</i>	Namık Kemal's <i>Dream</i>	<i>Muslims of the Land of Comfort</i>	<i>Is It New or Is It Nonsense?</i>	<i>What Lies in Store</i>	"The Green Hearth"	<i>Fetret</i>
Dream Form	+	+	-	-	+	-	-
Micro-scale utopian experiment	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Reflecting a political project	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Desire for a strong state	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Western Europe as a model	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Visions limited to homeland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Emphasis on education	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Ottomanism	+	+	-	+	+	-	+

As can be seen in the table, all of these works share a number of common features. First, in terms of their form, "dream" seems to be a popular choice. As a continuation of the old literary conventions, some of these works use the dream form to depict their future visions. It is important to stress here how Ottoman modernization was also a process of adaptation of old forms to new ideas. The traditional dream narrative served as a means for conveying modern projections of the future.

Secondly, in accordance with the codes of the general utopian tradition, all of their visions of the future reflect their political projects. And at the heart of these projects, for the most of the works, lies the constitutional, parliamentary regime. In the Young Ottoman texts as well as the subsequent ones, we see complaints about autocracy of despotism and a desire for a constitutional monarchy. In other words, utopian works of this period are critiques of the present social and political order.

On the other hand, all these works reflect an aspiration for a strong, central state. A strong state as well as a well-functioning, uncorrupted bureaucracy is seen as an indispensable precondition for the survival of the country. They also desire the state to be respectable, wealthy and powerful in the international arena. In that sense, Ottoman utopian works can be defined as "statist"/state-centered narratives which reflect the elite's will to power caused by the lost sense of self-confidence due to the Ottoman state's diminishing economic and military power.

Another common feature is that all these utopian works take Western Europe as a point of reference for their ideal social order. None of these works questions the superiority and excellence of the Western civilization and even the more conservative ones like *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort* take Europe as a model for progress.

Another result of the priority given to the authors' political project is that their visions of the future, in nearly every case, are limited to the homeland; there is no thought of including the entire world and all of humanity.

Furthermore, most of these works also try to explain the ways to reach the ideal order, and, all of them, without exception, underscore one element to achieve this goal: education. Apparently they all see the lack of a working system of public education as the main source of the backwardness of the country; therefore they all put forward education as the key to development.

With respect to the social structure, what unites these works (and what separates them from the works written after the Balkan War) is that they do not pay attention to the ethnic or religious differences. A discriminatory approach with respect to ethnicity or religion is not seen yet. "Ottomanness" is still a dominant category of identity. Accordingly, we see the traces of ideologies of Turkism, Westernism or Islamism; however, such ideologies had not yet crystallized during this period, it is possible to see several of them – with differing levels of emphasis – in the same work. And none of them appears as a rival to Ottomanism yet. Therefore, a milder, more optimistic spirit prevails in the works of this period, a spirit upon which violence and hatred have not yet left their stamp. This common characteristic is striking especially when these works are compared with the utopian works which were written after the Balkan War. The claim of this thesis is that the tragic defeat of the Balkan War had a major impact on the new projections of the future, in such a way that, as we will see in the following part, optimism was replaced by a narrative of violence and hatred directed at the former subjects and the new enemies of the Empire.

On the other hand, there are of course several aspects by which these works differ from each other. As the earliest examples, Ziya Paşa's and Namık Kemal's works present less detailed, less elaborate future projections. *The Muslims of the Land of Comfort* gives us probably the most encompassing utopian vision. Unlike the others, its story is set in an imaginary place among imaginary people, and it is about the Muslim world rather than the Ottomans. *Is it New or is It Nonsense* gives us a micro-scale utopian vision that would be a model for the development of the whole country. *What Lies in Store* differs from the others in terms of genre. This dystopian narrative shows us the dark picture unless freedom prevails. "The Green Hearth" project is not a single work, and it appears as an escapist, conformist fantasy rather than a full-fledged ideal social order. And lastly, *Fetret* is by far the most "Westernist" one of them all.

5. THE BALKAN WAR (1912-1913) AND VISIONS OF THE FUTURE IN OTTOMAN TURKISH LITERATURE

Part Two of this thesis described the shock created by the Balkan Defeat, and discussed its military and political consequences. I alluded to how the defeat effected a sudden transformation in the psychology of the nation, and how it dealt a great “blow” to society. The assertion of this thesis is that this collective psychological transformation and its long-term impact could be realized because of the narrativization of the trauma by intellectuals involved in the rich and lively print culture of the period. In this part, I will elaborate this argument on the basis of the utopian works published after the Balkan Defeat. I will discuss how the shock of the Balkan War shaped the mental images of the future of the writers of these works, in a clear contrast to the pre-Balkan War utopian literature and its view of the future, that were examined in Part 4.

One of the side effects of this “blow” caused by the Balkan War was a boom in publication. In a short time, thousands of works were produced in different media: books, articles, etc.³³⁸ Accordingly, the historian Tarık Zafer Tunaya has described this literary output as “a literature of research and disclosure.”³³⁹ Moreover, this literature gave rise to a trauma narrative. As was discussed at length in Part Three, the latter consists of an effort to forge a new identity through motifs like rancor, revenge, and remembrance, as well as an attempt to create a “national goal” which will bring about a revival.³⁴⁰

Before attempting to examine works which look to the future, sharing some general findings about the ways the Balkan War has been reflected in Turkish literature will help to create a theoretical framework.³⁴¹

Needless to say, it was difficult for the Balkan War to be directly reflected in a novel written concurrently with its outbreak. Indeed, there are very few novels written

³³⁸ This “boom” did not simply take place on the literary plane. There were also hundreds of conferences, rallies, talks, etc., some of which have been written up in book form. See Mustafa Satı el-Husri, *Ümid ve Azm: Sekiz Konferans* [Hope and Determination: Eight Conferences] (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]); Şefika Kurnaz (ed.), *Balkan Harbinde Kadınlarımızın Konuşmaları* [Talks by Our Women during the Balkan War] (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), and *Darülfünun Konferans Salonunda Kadınlarımızın İçtimaları* [Rallies by Our Women in the Conference Hall of the Darülfünun] (Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1328 [1912]).

³³⁹ Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, v. 3, 583.

³⁴⁰ Erol Köroğlu explains this process through Miroslav Hroch’s concept of “patriotic agitation,” noting that even though conditions were not auspicious, Turkey’s entry into the First World War the next year was easily accepted thanks to the aforementioned phenomenon. Köroğlu, *Propagandanın*, 120.

³⁴¹ Duman’s and Ceyhan’s books provide detailed data on the subject, see Duman, *Balkanlara Veda* and Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*.

during the Balkan War, or in the period immediately following it, which take the war as their subject.³⁴² Likewise, the number of novels from the Republican period focusing on the Balkan War, or devoting even some space to it, is extremely limited. The short story, on the other hand, is clearly a more suitable genre for reacting to a war which is currently taking place. Nesime Ceyhan has found that a total of 66 stories were written about the Balkan War, either during the war itself or immediately afterwards. Of these, 11 have been included among the Latin transcriptions of their authors' works; all the others have remained as untransliterated Ottoman texts.³⁴³

However, there is no question that neither the novel nor the short story can rival the prolificacy of the poetic genre. According to Harun Duman, between 1912 and 1914, 280 poems were written about the Balkan War in regularly-published Istanbul newspapers and journals. While there were many poems published in the beginning phases of the war, towards the end – when defeat was becoming apparent – the number began to dwindle.³⁴⁴ Clearly, when one takes into account poems published outside Istanbul, the figures grow considerably. Poems about the Balkan War were written by nearly all the prominent poets and authors in this period, such as Süleyman Nazif, Abdülhak Hamit, Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem, Muallim Naci, Ali Emiri, Rıza Tevfik, Celal Sahir, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, Aka Gündüz, Ali Canip, Ziya Gökalp, Enis Behiç, Mehmet Akif, Ali Ekrem, Halit Fahri, Faik Ali, and Florinalı Nazım.

In order to obtain a more exact picture, it will be helpful to take a look at the figures provided by Erol Köroğlu about works of literature published during the First World War.³⁴⁵ According to him, between 1908 and 1918 a total of 228 novels, novellas, and longer short stories by 100 different authors were published in book form. During the years of the First World War, there was a huge decrease in the publication of fiction:

17 novels and 50 novellas or lengthy stories were published in 1914 (the greater part of that year having been untouched by war). The respective figures dropped to nine and nine in 1915; to three and six in 1916; and to one and two in 1917, reaching seven and two in 1918. In other words, if we leave out 1914, then during the four years of the war, 18 novels [sic] and 19 novellas or longer stories were published in

³⁴² The following works could be included in this category: Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Üvey Valide* [The Stepmother] (1912), Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Müteverrim* [The Tubercular Woman] (1912), Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Mazlume* [The Wronged Woman] (1916), Moralizade Vassaf Kadri, *Ölüm Habercileri* [The Messengers of Death] (1914), Moralizade Vassaf Kadri, *Melekler* [The Angels] (1914), Halide Edip [Adivar], *Mev'ud Hüküm* [The Predestined Judgement] (1917-1918). Osman Gündüz, *Meşrutiyet Romanında Yapı ve Tema II* [Structure and Theme in the Novel of the Constitutional Period II], Quoted in Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 19.

³⁴³ Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 19., 8.

³⁴⁴ Duman, *Balkanlara Veda*, 103.

³⁴⁵ Köroğlu, *Propagandan*, 205-6.

the Ottoman Empire. The number of these which were devoted to patriotic agitation was comparatively small.³⁴⁶

The situation was no different in the field of poetry; the number of poetry books was also quite small. Furthermore, the poetry books published during this period were also rather short.³⁴⁷

When one considers the issue in this light, one is struck by the great number of works published during and after the Balkan War dealing directly with the topic of the Balkan War. And a significant number of them are utopian works that contain and narrativize the trauma of the defeat and aim at creating a new identity as well as envisioning a new social and political order. Analyzing these works and their visions of the future will be the subject of this part.

The utopian works analyzed in this part will be ordered on a chronological basis instead of an ordering based on their -often overlapping- thematic or ideological orientations. As will be seen in the following chapters, none of these works reflect clear and distinct political stances. In most cases, we see that different ideological positions are present in one work. Therefore, like the ones in Part 4, these works too will be analyzed in chronological order of their publication years. In this way, we will be able to observe also, to a certain extent, the gradual differentiation of sensitivities, priorities and the agenda before, during and after the Balkan War. The works that will be explored in this part are listed below:

- *The New Turan*, by Halide Edip, serialized in September-October 1912, i.e., on the eve of the outbreak of the War.
- *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, by Mustafa Nazım, written in May 1913.
- “Thirty Years Later”, by Ali Kami published in May 1913.
- “Colloquy under the Pines” (the first part) by Yahya Kemal, first appeared in October 1913.
- *The Farm Overseer* and *The Heroic Turks* by Ethem Nejat, published in 1913 without any indication of months.
- *The History of the Future* by Celal Nuri, published in 1913 without any indication of months.
- *Turkey, Awaken* by İbrahim Hilmi, published in 1913 without any indication of months
- *Ruşeni’s Dream* by Hasan Ruşeni, published in 1915,
- *The Army of Labor*, by Kâzım Nami, published in 1916,

³⁴⁶ “Büyük bölümü savaşın dışında kalan 1914 yılında 17 roman ve 50 kısa roman-uzun hikaye yayınlanmışken, bu sayı 1915’te 9-9; 1916’da 3-6; 1917’de 1-2; 1918’de 7-2’ye düşmüştür. Yani 1914’ü dışarıda bırakırsak, savaşın dört yılı boyunca Osmanlı’da 18 roman ve 19 kısa roman-uzun öykü kitabı yayınlanmıştır. Bunlar arasında vatanseverlik ajitasyonuna yönelik olanların sayısı daha azdır.”

³⁴⁷ Köroğlu, *Propagandan*, 206.

- *Aydemir*, by Müfide Ferit, published in 1918.

The part will end with the evaluation of selected utopian works of the Republican period which were published in and after 1930.

5.1. A Decentralized Vision of Turkism: *The New Turan*

The first work we will deal with in this part is the novel *Yeni Turan* [The New Turan], by Halide Edip Adivar, one of the leading names in Turkish literature.³⁴⁸ In the introduction, we argued that utopia is not a recognized genre of Turkish literature, and that utopian works are unknown and lie outside the literary canon. Within this context of obscurity, Adivar's novel – along with Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara* – is one of a handful of well-known works that come to mind when one thinks of Turkish utopias.



Illustration 23: The inner cover of *The New Turan*³⁴⁹

The renown accorded to *The New Turan* is no doubt related to the fame of its author. A novelist, activist, feminist, professor of literature, and politician, Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964) was one of the most prominent intellectuals of Turkey during the late Ottoman and Republican eras. During the Second Constitutional period, Adivar played a crucial role in the National Struggle; falling out with the regime immediately after the war, she was forced to live abroad for many years. Returning to Turkey after the death of Atatürk, she took up a university position in addition to her literary activities, and entered Parliament as a representative of the Democrat Party. She died in 1964.

³⁴⁸ Halide Edip [Adivar], *Yeni Turan* [The New Turan]. Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1329 [1913]. For a modernized edition of the text, see Halide Edip Adivar, *Yeni Turan* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, n.d.). References to the text follow this edition.

³⁴⁹ Private collection (E.K.)



Illustration 24: Halide Edip Adıvar³⁵⁰

Adıvar began writing in 1908, and a feminist sensibility is prominent in the works of her early period. Later, the War of Independence and the establishment of a new state came to be reflected in her works. In the last phase of her literary career, Adıvar's novels dealt with themes such as the structure and problems of society, cultural issues, and models of social reconciliation which included phenomena such as religion, the past, and different ethnicities.

During the Balkan War, which coincided with the outset of her writing career, Adıvar was involved in women's societies, and took part in educational projects; at the same time – influenced by names like Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu – she began to be drawn to the idea of Turkism. While *The New Turan* may not be one of her most important novels, it met with great enthusiasm in nationalist circles upon its publication during this period. Ömer Seyfettin, for instance, praises the novel as “the history of our future”. For him, “this book could be considered the Bible of Turkish nationalism.”³⁵¹ In 1916, the novel was translated into German.³⁵²

The timing of the novel's publication is significant. Before being published in book form, *The New Turan* had already begun to be serialized in the newspaper *Tanin*

³⁵⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_Turkey (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁵¹ Ömer Seyfettin “İnkılâplarda Kadın” [Women in the Reforms] in *Bütün Eserleri: Makaleler 2, Tercümeleler* [Complete Works: Articles 2, Translations], ed. Hülya Argunşah (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2001), 234-237.

³⁵² Halide Edip Adıvar, *Das neue Turan. Ein türkisches Frauenschicksal* [The New Turan: A Turkish Woman's Fate], translated with a preface by Friedrich Schrader (Weimar: Kiepenheuer, 1916). In the Turkish version of her memoirs, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] she writes that it was translated into a great many languages, but I have not been able to locate any other translation. Halide Edip Adıvar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] (Istanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1996), 184.

[Echo] on September 7th, 1912 – the same date that the Balkan countries formed an alliance and began to prepare for war. The serialization of the novel ended on October 25th, 1912, when the Ottoman army suffered a great defeat against the Serbs at Kumanova, and against the Bulgarians at Kırkkilise. In other words, *The New Turan* was written immediately before the war, began to be published in installments as the war began, and saw its last installment published at a time when the horrible effects of defeat began to be felt. Under such circumstances, there is no doubt that the impending conflict had some effect on the novel. In this framework, with its relatively detailed picture of the future, its presentiment of the Balkan War, and its concern with the Balkans, the novel occupies an important place in this thesis. As stated above, it is not written during or after the War but slightly before it, nevertheless it shares many themes with works written after the War rather than those analyzed in Part 4. That is why it is placed in the beginning of this part.

The following passage from Adivar's *Memoirs* is significant in that it describes *The New Turan* as a utopia, suggesting that its fundamental aim is political and frankly confessing its lack of artistic value:

I was much criticized, mostly by the allied press, because of "New Turan," and I have often smiled to think of the place where I wrote it. No book has been more misunderstood. In the outer world it has been held largely responsible for the faults of the Unionists, while in Turkey it was taken to represent a formulated doctrine of nationalism.

The book is a political and national Utopia, but not so far away from possibilities as one may suppose a Utopia to be. It looks forward to a New Turkey where a chastised and matured Union and Progress has taken the reins of power, where women have the vote, and where women work with the qualities of head and heart which characterize the best Turkish women. The highest ideal is work and simplicity. There is not only a Turkey that is nationalized in its culture, but there is also a Turkey that is liberal and democratic in politics. Above all, there is no chauvinism in the administrative system. The book, which has the usual love-story, has not much pretension to art. But its practically worked out ideals will, I firmly believe, be at least partly realized.³⁵³

Memoirs of Halide Edib (1926) has a Turkish version titled *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] (1955), but it is a re-writing rather than a faithful translation of her memoirs, and there are considerable differences between the two. In *The House with Wisteria* – unlike in the English version – Adivar states that "[t]he New Turan was without doubt a utopia and, just like other utopias, it contained aspirations that were

³⁵³ Halide Edip Adivar, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), 332.

impossible to realize.”³⁵⁴ And in addition to the ideals professed in her novel, *The House with Wisteria* puts forth as a goal “a Turkey that aims to become a kind of United Nations in the Near East.”³⁵⁵

The novel takes place in Turkey between 1932 and 1936. Kaya and Oğuz are cousins, and are in love with each other. Together, these two nationalist youths lay the foundations of the New Turan movement. An offshoot of the Union and Progress Party, over time this movement transforms its parent party into the New Turan Party. Meanwhile, Hamdi Paşa is the most prominent figure in the New Ottoman Party, the conservative rival to the New Turan Party. Hamdi Paşa is a friend of Kaya’s dead father, and is also in love with Kaya. The narrator of the novel is Hamdi Paşa’s nephew and right-hand man, Asım.

When the New Ottoman Party comes into power, Hamdi Paşa has Oğuz arrested, demanding that Kaya marry him in exchange for Oğuz’s life. Being ready to sacrifice herself for Oğuz and for the New Turan movement, Kaya accepts his proposal, but never becomes Hamdi Paşa’s wife in the true sense of the word. She does not inform Oğuz of what is happening, but keeps completely silent. In the elections that follow, the New Turan Party gains a majority, and begins to implement its political program. A religious fanatic, incited by the rigid opposition of the New Ottoman Party, shoots and kills Oğuz.

At the center of the novel is the political struggle between the centralist, conservative, Westernizing New Ottoman Party, and the decentralist, federalist, Turkish nationalist New Turan Party. Although the narrator is himself a member of the New Ottoman Party, it is clear that the author supports the position of the New Turan Party. The latter has made it a principle to ground its program for the future upon the past; as in other nationalist texts of this period, here, too, there is an aim of creating a “glorious past” for the Turks. Oğuz recounts the history – or, so to speak, the foundational myth – of the Ottomans, declaring that his ancestors, who held sway over a large area with just 400 horsemen, were “as civilized as the men of Northern Europe, who, despite being dispersed through ancient Gaul and Germany, and all over Europe, despite their initial acts of vandalism and destruction, displayed a superlative talent for organization and government.”³⁵⁶ (32) These men, he says, were “of an entirely different cloth from our first ancestors – the Atilas, the Genghis Khans, the Hulagu Khans – who, without nourishing any political or national ambitions, simply razed to the ground the lands through which they passed, till not even grass could grow there.”³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ Halide Edip Adivar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, 186: “Yeni Turan hiç şüphesiz bir ütopya idi ve ütopyalar gibi tahakkuk ettirilmesi mümkün olmayan gayeleri vardı.”

³⁵⁵ Adivar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, 186: “Yakın Şarkta bir nev’i birleşmiş milletler şeklini istihdaf eden bir Türkiye”.

³⁵⁶ “eski Gal ve Almanya’ya, bütün Avrupa’ya dağılıp –ilk kırıp yıkmalarına rağmen- teşkilat ve hükümet kurmak yeteneğini en çok gösteren kuzey adamlarının uygarlık derecesinde”

³⁵⁷ Bunlar “siyaset ve kavim ile ilgili amaç beslemeyerek sadece, ayak bastığı yerlerde ot bitirmeyecek kadar yıkıp geçen ilk atalarımız Attilalar, Cengizler ve Hülagulardan pek başka bir hamurdan”dırlar . Following the birth of Turkish nationalism, such Mongolian and Hun rulers began to

Oğuz divides Ottoman history into four eras: a foundational era; an era of growth and expansion; an era of stagnation and infighting; and an era of collapse. In the first of these eras, the Ottomans established a great state and civilization; in the process, they allowed themselves, with great humility, to benefit from the wisdom of the Arabs, the Persians, the Seljuks, and the Byzantines. The Greeks, and other peoples, also began to “amass” around them during this time; in Adivar’s belief, the Turkish race is at the core of the Ottomans’ ethnic make-up. In the second era, the Turks spread into Europe. The third era begins with the reign of Sultan Süleyman; during this period, the state administration began to face difficulties due to the harmful aspects of civilizations like those of the Byzantines, the Persians, and the Greeks. The Ottomans were also weakened through blunders like making a pointless expedition to Vienna, or battling the Hungarians and Russians without incorporating the conquered territories into their own empire. During this era, the Turkish element in the population shrank and declined, while the Christians multiplied and advanced. The last era saw the establishment of new states founded on what had once been Turkish land. Finally, in 1908, the first national revolution based on Turkish national sovereignty took place; however, every community took advantage of it in order to pursue its own independence. (32-35)

Turning back to the future time portrayed in the novel, we see that the opposition party, the New Turan Party, has gained great popularity in the eyes of the people thanks to its Friday schools (where people receive health education and agricultural training); its efforts to increase the population; its exaltation of “everything Turkish”; and most importantly of all, its Turkish women’s institutions. A simple way of life predominates among the supporters of the New Turan Party. Instead of fancy clothes, women wear long, dull gray coats, white headscarves, and simple, sturdy shoes. Instead of sumptuous meals, people eat meat and rice pilaf, and drink kumiss (fermented mare’s milk). The supporters of the New Turan Party dream of a return to “Ancient Iraq” and of preserving the land of Turan; in this way, they strive to show a different face of Islam both to the New Ottomans and to the Europeans.

One of the novel’s most striking political aspects is its advocacy of decentralization, together with a non-exclusionary understanding of nationalism which incorporates other ethnic groups. As there is no chance of having a viable centralized state based solely on Turkish nationalism, the novel upholds a decentralized system. (38) Moreover, a system of federated states will be granted freedom of religion and will be given “permission” to develop. However, the following are the preconditions for such a system: other ethnic groups must overcome their hatred of the Turks; a union of mutual gain and mutual affection must be established; and finally, other ethnic groups must overlook the favoritism that will be shown to the Turkish members of the population for a twenty-year period (in the economy, education, architecture, public

be considered Turks. Even today, their empires are represented as Turkish states in the presidential standard of Turkey.

works, etc.) as compensation for the lag in development the Turks have suffered by maintaining these other groups. This last point is important, for while the Turks have always died for others, they themselves have not had a chance to develop; their race has diminished in number, and is about to become extinct. Accordingly, the investments currently being made in the Balkans will be directed towards Anatolia.

If this is done, then it will be a simple matter to have Iran, and then other small states, join this federation. Of course, any opposition to these conditions will have to be violently suppressed. Moreover, the minorities which will be ruled under this decentralized system will be under close observation, and there will be severe curbs on any separatist movements.

With this platform, the New Turan Party wins the election and starts to implement its projects, and the country begins to develop. We do not learn any more details about this process of development, aside from the fact that male illiteracy has been completely eliminated, and that Bursa and Adana have developed rapidly. In Bursa, one sees row upon row of hotels, as well as the chimneys of thriving factories. On Hermit Mountain (Mt. Uludağ), a cog railway has been built, along with a new hotel; the local people have become very rich. Adana has become a new Egypt. While the Turks and Muslims practice farming, Christians mostly work as manufacturers. But prosperity is everywhere. Moreover, the fact that “reserve troops” have not been levied for three years has made a big difference; the people have remained in the fields, and been able to work. With the help of a few young farmers in the New Turan Party, who have been educated in Europe and now impart their learning to the people, the nation grows richer. In one passage, the Değirmendere [a town in the Kocaeli Province of Turkey] of the future is likened to a “Swiss village.” Most importantly of all, transportation and communications have become easier thanks to the network of highways and railways enveloping the entire nation; every part of the country has started to develop, just like Adana and Bursa.

As always, the most critical benchmark in the process of Turkey’s modernization is the issue of women’s education. While the New Turan Party has fought to have women’s education put into effect, the New Ottomans have used this to stoke the fanaticism of their supporters – successfully. As mentioned above, Oğuz is shot to death by a New Ottoman fanatic outraged at the educational campaigns of the New Turan Party.

It is striking, moreover, that the author has taken America as a model for Turkey’s future. For instance, the novel’s hero Oğuz represents America as a place where different ethnic identities dissolve in the pot of a single official identity; in order to “dissuade” minorities which might want to secede, he cites the example of the American South, which, when it wanted to secede from the North, was “brought back in line with guns and cannonballs”; moreover, the novel foresees a two-party system like the one in America, and compares the period of Ottoman growth to the founding of America. This tendency to take America as a model is so persistent that while the New Ottomans who make up the opposition praise America for being a “melting pot,” and

for its lack of a single dominant ethnicity, the New Turan Party, once it is in power, calls attention to America's decentralized political system.

As a liberal author with an Anglo-Saxon education who stressed the role of women in the social life of Ottoman Turkish society – and who herself served in bureaucratic posts as a result of the importance she placed on education – Halide Edip stands apart from the writers of her era. On the other hand, *The New Turan* is one of the most significant texts in Turkish utopian literature, addressing the topic of Turkey's survival, and, in many respects, the present novel is in accord with the prevailing political tendencies of the time. In his article "Macedonians in Anatolia: The Importance of the Macedonian Roots of the Unionists for their Policies in Anatolia after 1914", Erik-Jan Zürcher sheds light on these tendencies that is also reflected in *The New Turan*. He asserts that beginning from 1906 onwards the CUP was an Ottoman-Muslim organization whose members, "whatever their ethnic background, identified themselves as 'Turks' in the sense that they felt themselves to be part of the 'dominant nation' (millet-i hakime) and they identified with the Ottoman state as their own."³⁵⁸ Zürcher indicates, however, that their Ottomanism was instrumental and conditional in nature. "They offered national solidarity and equality on condition of the minorities demonstrating loyalty to the Muslim-dominated Ottoman state to the exclusion of all national aspirations."³⁵⁹ And, in that sense, they aspired for "a strengthened state that could successfully resist movements towards the autonomy or partition of the Macedonian provinces."³⁶⁰

When we consider *The New Turan* within this context, we see that that its political project is shaped in accordance with the above tendencies; its basic solution is a decentralized system which is imposed by force, is closely monitored, stipulates preferential treatment for Turks, and aims, in the long run, to unite everyone under a single identity, and to incorporate other states into its fabric. However, it would not be wrong to attribute a highly "centralized," Turkist-Islamist, authoritarian vision to this work, as with many other proposals for the future during this period. The novel presupposes that the solution it offers will be adopted without the consent of other ethnic groups – indeed, suggests the use of force if they should refuse. When one considers this in light of the Balkan tragedy which occurred immediately after *The New Turan* was written, it becomes clear to what extent this unrealistic solution is a reflection of "imperial blindness." Employing a racist, nationalist image of the future in her efforts to preserve the Ottoman state, Adivar does not transcend the intellectual presuppositions of her time with this novel. Nevertheless, *The New Turan* could be considered a unique work of literature that reflects this state of "inbetweenness", i.e., combining the decentralist/Ottomanist tendencies of the pre-1912 period and the centralist/Turkish nationalist mindset of the post-1912 period.

³⁵⁸ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 967.

³⁵⁹ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 966-967.

³⁶⁰ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 967.

What is more, in its use of the West (in this case, America) as a model, and its idealization of socio-political institutions such as the Friday schools – which would soon afterwards become a reality, under the name of the *Halkevleri* or People’s Houses – Adivar’s novel, like other utopias of the period, is closely tied to existing conditions.³⁶¹ The main goal of this utopia, as before, is the attainment of wealth and power. In addition, Oğuz and Kaya can be seen as *The New Turan*’s contribution to the theme of the savior/guide. The novel’s emphasis on the importance of education is something we will encounter in nearly every text considered in this study.

What is also interesting about Adivar’s novel is its emphasis, at this early date, on the need to give priority to Anatolia over the Balkans, an inclination that would later become unanimous.³⁶² Indeed, under the influence of the bitter sentiments triggered by the Balkan defeat, Anatolia became the focus of attention as the real homeland of the Turks. However, as Zürcher suggests, “[a]n increased interest in Anatolia is already discernible after 1908. It was motivated by a desire to know more about this land that figured in the schoolbooks as the fabled cradle of the Ottoman Empire, but about which the Young Turks, whether they hailed from the Balkans, the Aegean or Istanbul, actually knew next to nothing.”³⁶³ In that framework, *The New Turan* can be seen as a pioneer work that urges to prioritize Anatolia over the Balkans.

The notion of Turan in the novel reflects another shared characteristic in Turkish utopias. As Murat Belge has pointed out, the idea of the “good life” in Turkish utopias typically conveys, not a vision of different kinds of human relationships, but a search for a proper “essence.” Belge stresses the inherent contradiction in the fact that Adivar, in envisioning a future for her country, has returned to this past “essence,” Turan. He further remarks that, generally speaking, this represents a source of difficulty for Turkish authors who write about utopia.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Murat Belge, “Ütopyasız Kalmak” [Remaining without a Utopia], *Milliyet Popüler Kültür Eki* [Milliyet Newspaper Popular Culture Supplement], December 5, 2003. Accessed May 14, 2004, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/12/05/sanat/san04.html>.

³⁶² A year later, Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi would also express this sentiment as follows: “The Crimea, Rumania, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Serbia, Bulgaria, the Caucasus all went one by one ... Finally Tripoli [Libya] and three-fourths of the Balkans also were lost. These areas were all rich and valuable places; we gained them at the cost of our blood. But those territories, however rich they may be, were not the heart and soul of our homeland [yurdumuzun yüreği] ... O Turk! Anatolia is the heart and soul of our homeland. O Turk! If we continue in our old ways, if we face the enemy again in slumber, unprotected, then this time the enemy’s sword will come to our [homeland’s] heart and soul and kill each one of us.” Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 30-31, quoting Özdemiş [Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi], *Türk Ruhu Nasıl Yapılıyor? Her Vatanperverden, Bu Eserciği Türklere Okumasını Ve Anlatmasını Niyaz Ederiz* [How the Turkish Spirit is Formed: We Ask of Each Patriot to Read and Relate this Booklet to the Turks] (Darülhilâfe: Hikmet Matbaa-i İslamiyesi, 1329 [1913]), 6-7.

³⁶³ Zürcher, “Macedonians in Anatolia,” 970.

³⁶⁴ Murat Belge, “Ütopyasız Kalmak”.

5.2. A Mullah's Reverie of the Future: A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization

The work which we will discuss in this chapter, a 1913 narrative entitled *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyeyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization]³⁶⁵, is one of the more noteworthy instances of unknown early works of Turkish utopian literature. It was written during the Balkan War,³⁶⁶ and the picture it paints of the future clearly reflects the Balkan War era mentality. Furthermore, it offers concrete validation of the argument advanced by this thesis, containing instances of nearly all the utopian motifs discussed in Chapter 3.2, and envisioning a Turkish utopia of the future which is depicted in a highly colorful, detailed manner. Accordingly, this work will be dealt with in depth.

Information about the book's author, Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî (1867-1932) – like that about the book itself – is extremely limited.³⁶⁷ We learn from the cover of another book of his, the 1912 work *Asr-ı Hazıra İçin Hutbe* [A Sermon for the Present Age], that Mustafa Nazım was the owner of the Osmanlı Asar-ı Vatan Fabrikası [Ottoman National Goods Factory] in the Orhanbey Han on Babiali Caddesi;³⁶⁸ many details in the text can be linked to the author's experience in this factory.

Before embarking on an analysis of this text, it will be useful to clarify one point. We remarked earlier that this work is little known today; in fact, it can hardly be said to have received much attention in its own day either. On the contrary, in a note left by the author at the end of the book, he states that he has planned for it to contain three volumes; if the first volume receives sufficient attention, a second and third will follow. As there are no records that a second or third volume was ever published, we can assume that the book did not garner the attention its author had expected.³⁶⁹ All the same, the fact that this text is not a canonical work by a well-known author in no way diminishes its importance for the present study; with its striking details and fresh imagery, it allows us to see how an ordinary Ottoman intellectual would have reacted to the consequences of the Balkan War.

³⁶⁵ Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî, *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyeyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization] (Dersaadet: Kader Matbaası, 1331[1913]).

³⁶⁶ In the first paragraph of the book, it says that the war has been going on for seven months. Accordingly, the composition of the book can be dated to the end of May, 1913.

³⁶⁷ As an illustration of the truth of this statement, it was exceedingly difficult even to learn the dates of the author's birth and death. I am once more thankful to my esteemed professor Günay Kut and her husband Turgut Kut for helping me to obtain this information at last.

³⁶⁸ Mustafa Nazım, *Asr-ı Hazıra için Hutbe* [A Sermon for the Present Age] (Bursa: Muin-i Hilal Matbaası, 1328 [1912]), 1.

³⁶⁹ After its initial publication, the next edition of this book did not appear until roughly a century later, in an edition which I prepared for publication. This edition includes both the original text (transliterated into the Latin alphabet) and a rendering into Modern Turkish. All references to the book will use this edition. See Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî, *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyeyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization], trans. and ed. Engin Kılıç (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

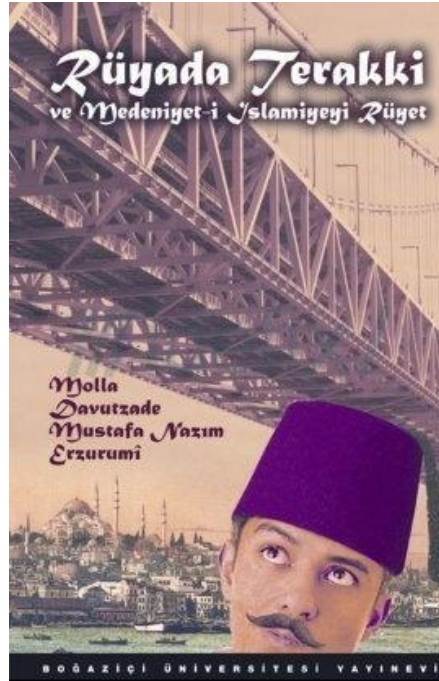


Illustration 25: The recent edition of *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*³⁷⁰

Mustafa Nazım's work is also highly interesting in terms of genre. There is a "table of contents" on the cover of the book, which promises to discuss such diverse phenomena as "science, art, commerce, and agriculture – methods, rules, recipes, manners – morals, customs, and amicable relations – intellectual exercises, discussions, and ideas," not to mention "every conceivable kind of knowledge and science"; it is presented to the reader as an "entertaining, useful book." Clearly, we are dealing with a text which defies generic classification. While the text is a work of fiction, it is impossible to place it within the framework of traditional literary genres such as novels and short stories. As we have seen to be the case in nearly all utopias of this period, Mustafa Nazım's work has been composed in the form of a dream, in accordance with the *habnâme* genre of classical Ottoman literature;³⁷¹ one can therefore speak of a continuity with long-standing tradition. At the same time, however, it employs a number of conventional formulas first seen in Thomas More's *Utopia*, and repeated in many classic utopian works: these include a displacement in time and/or place (i.e., locating the utopian narrative in a past or future time frame and/or a different geographical region), and the use of a guide who introduces this world to the main character (to whom it is as strange as to the readers) by taking him on a tour. In conformity with another utopian convention, the first-person narrator falls asleep and has a dream, in which he meets his

³⁷⁰ <http://www.idefix.com/kitap/ruyada-terakki-ve-medeniyet-i-islamiyeyi-ruyet-molla-davutzade-mustafa-nazim-erzurumi/tanim.asp?sid=XCK1CJLCXT7TON0XETER> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁷¹ For a detailed study of this topic, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*.

ancestor Mullah Davut, who lived four hundred years ago. Guided by Mullah Davut, he then travels four hundred years into the future, to the Istanbul of the 24th century. Mullah Davut and the narrator travel around the city; meanwhile, we receive a detailed account of the advanced civilization prevalent there, and of the “future history” which has made this civilization possible. Accordingly, it would seem that this text is most accurately classified as a “utopian narrative.”

The political and ideological stance of this text is quite radical, in line with utopias’ tendency to endorse a political position or program by means of fiction. The author’s basic ideology is Islamism; at the same time, this work also bears traces of Ottomanism – and, in various forms, Turkism. Therefore, as with many texts of this period, it is clear that Mustafa Nazım’s work has eclectically blended a number of different, and in some respects mutually contradictory, ideologies.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of this text is its use of the defeat of the Balkan War as a basic reference point for its political stance. Right at the start of the book, the Balkan War is referred to as a “religious war,” as a “Crusade,” and the author recounts the sufferings that have resulted from this defeat. (189) Unable to bear the sorrow he is feeling, the narrator passes out and falls into a deep sleep. The dream that emerges out of this sorrow at the Balkan Catastrophe will comprise the contents of the book.

At this point, we can commence an analysis of these contents. In his dream, the narrator suddenly finds himself at the summit of a mountain. He meets a number of elderly people there; one of them, he learns, is Mullah Davut, his ancestor from 400 years ago. His ancestors ask him about the present situation of the Ottoman state, and the narrator recounts the unfortunate events that have occurred. Mullah Davut then asks the narrator if he would like to see the future of the Islamic world. The narrator says that he would; Mullah Davut tells him to close his eyes, and then massages his hands. When the narrator opens his eyes again, he finds himself upon a hill overlooking the Bosphorus. They have traveled four centuries forward in time, and are now witnessing the future of Islamic civilization.

History of the Past – History of the Future

Below, we will list some of the things the future holds for Istanbul. First, however, we need to say a few words about how the devastation faced by the Ottomans in 1913 gave way to the powerful, advanced Turkey of the 24th century. This is a significant point, and one which distinguishes utopian texts from fantasies; as this text falls into the former category, the new way of life which it depicts – one which is meant to be a source of emulation – should be attainable through rational methods. Mustafa Nazım’s work provides a detailed answer to the question of how to attain such an advanced state of civilization.

Prior to discussing the successes of this society four centuries in the future, the text first points out the mistakes that were made four hundred years earlier. Before traveling into the future, the narrator converses with Mullah Davut and his friends,

seeing his own ancestors as responsible for the predicament his country faces in 1913. In this section, which reveals the author's own opinions as to what happened, and what should have been done, the narrator speaks the following words to Mullah Davut:

Trusting in your power, you subjugated numerous states in Asia, Europe, and Africa, and made the whole world obedient to you. But apparently you never considered this: the populations of these places you conquered and invaded are made up of different nations. As long as they remain, for the most part, in their own regions, then as soon as they have the chance, they will think of their own national interest, and will demand independence. These various and sundry nations will one day unite around the Cross; and then, with the aid of the Christian nations of Europe, those Ottoman Lands which you once subjugated with so much bloodshed will be reclaimed from the Ottomans with just as much bloodshed.³⁷² (197)

What, then, does the narrator think should have been done? He offers the following explanation: of the lands his ancestors conquered, they should have removed the non-Muslim inhabitants of the more desirable areas and settled them into regions with meandering borders which would be difficult to unite; then, they should have filled the Ottoman Lands with Muslims of pure ancestry from all parts of the globe, thus homogenizing the population. Moreover, the interests of a certain Christian state – currently the Ottomans' biggest enemy – in Asia should be completely eliminated, and all of the continent should be given over to the Muslims, the Indians, and the Chinese. It was a mistake for the Ottomans to enter Europe rather than uniting their forces in Asia and Africa and fortifying their own territory. As a result of this error, Europe has risen up, and there have been continual wars. The narrator's ancestors did not consider that a handful of Turkish tribes, constantly fighting to defend their vast territories extending over three continents, would end up in such a weak state. (197-198)

In short, the narrator sees the mistaken expansionist policies of the past as responsible for the disaster of 1913; his view of history is patently teleological in nature, for he projects the events of his own day onto the past. Rather than look to the past, the narrator apparently prefers to explain the current situation, and to make suggestions about what to do, in accordance with the political trends of his own day. This strong, wealthy country 400 years in the future will eventually arise through the "unity" of

³⁷² "[S]iz kuvvetinize güvenerek Asya'da, Avrupa'da, Afrika'da birçok memleketler zapt etmişsiniz ve cihanı kendinize itaat ettirmişsiniz. Fakat asla düşünmemişsiniz ki, fetih ve istilâ etmiş olduğunuz bu yerlerin ahali hep farklı milletlerden oluşmaktadır. Bunlar çoğunluk olarak kendi bölgelerinde var kaldıkça bir fırsat bulur bulmaz milli menfaatlerini dikkate alarak istiklallerini isteyeceklerdir. Bu farklı farklı milletler günün birinde Haç etrafında birleşerek, Avrupa Hıristiyan milletlerinin de yardımlarıyla vaktiyle o kadar kan dökerek zapt etmiş olduğunuz o Memalik-i Osmaniye'yi yine kan dökerek Osmanlıların elinden alacaklardır."

Muslims, and through an economic development program which copies the National Economic Program of the Union and Progress Party nearly word for word.³⁷³

Let us now see how this illustrious future civilization has come about. According to the author, when the Ottoman State was defeated in the Balkan War, fifty patriotic citizens of every political party retired to a deserted island, and studied the morals and ways of life of developed countries. When all of these appeared to be corrupt and degenerate, the citizens then examined Islamic civilization; deciding that this was the most suitable choice, they adopted Islamic values, and put them into practice. The group later took up industrial enterprises, and subsequently founded a bank, then a research and development laboratory. Meanwhile, total war had broken out in Europe, upsetting all the European balances of power and inundating the continent with calamities. In another passage, too, the author states that Europe, the reigning power of his era, is no longer powerful at all. Europe has been crushed by war, its wealth has decreased to a tiny fraction of what it once was, and internal strife has arisen. Most of the poverty-stricken population of Europe emigrates to Asia or Africa, working there as migrant laborers. (215)

The Ottoman government started to dole out large amounts of money which it had borrowed with the aim of developing its national commerce, but so far had not put to use. The islanders made use of this fund to set up a business firm, which was a great success. At the same time, more and more pupils were being trained in the islanders' schools, and much progress was made by entrepreneurs who benefited from their patronage. All of these things formed the basis of Ottoman salvation. (283-286)

Meanwhile, the Ottomans made an alliance with the Chinese (to whom they had racial ties), and, in order to oppose the inroads of the Europeans, gathered together the leading intellectuals of all the Asian peoples: the Japanese, the Tatars, the Kurds, the Turks, the Indians, and the Persians. Later, they decided to establish a union which included Africa, as well. A parliament was founded in Istanbul, and a constitution was drafted. During the narrator's stay, sectarian divisions are also outlawed; it is decided that all members of the Islamic, Christian, and Buddhist faiths will be ruled, depending on their religion, by three different governments and three different constitutions. (213-215, 245) Thus, the policies of the National Economic Program and the Islamic Union have evidently been instrumental in Turkey's advance.

Islam, Technology, and a New Life

Here we will discuss what this Turkey of the future (and, in particular, Istanbul) looks like, and what kind of transformation has taken place in people's lives. In doing so, we should bear in mind that the author regards all of these changes as positive

³⁷³ For information on the origin and implementation of the National Economic Program, see Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi* [National Economy – National Bourgeoisie] (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995). Toprak, too, stresses the fact that the societal collapse triggered by the Balkan War put an end to the liberalism of the Second Constitutional Period. (Toprak, *Milli İktisat*, 112)

developments, ones which he assumes will also meet with the readers' approval. When considered in terms of today's values, some of the details of Mustafa Nazım's utopia may seem so unappealing as to make us think we are reading a "dystopian" work. However, from the author's point of view, these very same details are like a dream come true.

While overcrowding in today's Istanbul may represent a serious problem, in the author's day there was evidently a powerful aspiration for increasing the size of the city; thus, Mustafa Nazım informs us that Istanbul's population has reached 10 million. (214) The appearance of the city has altered considerably as well. The author describes the appearance of the Bosphorus in his own day – what we would term its lack of overdevelopment – as a "wasteland"; at the time of the narrator's visit, it has been saved from this fate. By the 24th century, both shores of the Bosphorus, from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea, have been paved from end to end with promenades, overlooked by eight to 10 storey buildings. The hills behind these buildings have been leveled, and freestanding villas have been built there. As a result, the slopes of the Bosphorus shore have become covered with architecture. (208)

A similarly radical change has taken place on the Princes' Islands. The green, quiet Princes' Islands of today – a suitable place for a summer house – have turned into an industrial zone in the future. The islands are now reachable by a railway constructed on top of pontoons set into the sea; there are so many factories there that their chimneys have girded the island "like a black cloud." Again, with our current environmental sensibility, we might make the mistake of interpreting these passages as a reaction against over-industrialization. In 1913, however, developing Turkey's industry was such a pressing item on agenda – and so little importance was given to the environment – that the author's reference to "black clouds" is not necessarily a negative one. (208)

Along with this increase in population, construction, and industrialization, Mustafa Nazım's utopia features another centennial aspiration: the Bosphorus Bridge. At the mouth of the Bosphorus, by the Sea of Marmara, there is a huge, three-level bridge connecting Kumkapı to the Harem Ferry Landing. The upper level has been reserved for pedestrians, while the lower two levels are for trains and cars; these can be opened, when needed, to make way for passing ships. (209)

The layout of Istanbul has evidently been completely redesigned: all of the city's neighborhoods – those by the Old City, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar on the Asian side – have been divided into "quadrilateral sections, like a checkerboard" – i.e., arranged into a grid, as in certain modern cities like New York. Each section (or "neighborhood") has been filled with 10-storey buildings. In addition to the roads on the street level, there are also roads extending from the balconies of the various floors of these buildings; these "balconied streets" are connected to one another by bridges, making it possible to pass from one building to another, and one neighborhood to another, without descending into the street. (362) Moreover, people can easily travel everywhere individually by means of tram-like vehicles which run on rails built all over the city. (208) One might have thought that the historical Sultanahmet Square, home to

the Sultanahmet Mosque, Hagia Sophia, and many other important monuments, would have been exempt from this process of renovation. In fact, it too has been surrounded by 10-storey apartment buildings, whose streets, crossing from balcony to balcony, cover the sky like a spider's web. It has also been paved over with an asphalt-like material, and – being decorated with shrubs, traditional fountains, and jet fountains – has been made to conform with the author's modernizing Islamic aesthetic. (211-212)

In Mullah Nazım's book, moreover, we see the impact of technological improvements and discoveries upon every area of life, on a scale not previously encountered in any work of Turkish literature. For instance, when you are tired, you can visit a hotel and go to sleep in a sleeping machine. After using these machines for just a short time, you emerge as relaxed and invigorated as if you had slept a whole night. (228-229) A more effective solution for those suffering from mental fatigue consists of "mind treatment centers." This simple operation, which uses an acupuncture-like procedure to speed up the circulation of the capillaries in the brain by stimulating specific areas with electricity, quickly makes the mind work more precisely and lucidly. (343) There is no longer any need for waiters in restaurants, either: orders are given by diaphone, with service being provided by robots. (217-219) Right at the start of the text, the narrator and his ancestor enter a splendid park, looked after by animals who are trained through a system of rewards and punishments. In this way, monkeys, birds, ants, and other creatures learn how to perform their duties, later becoming teachers to members of their own species and instructing them about the tasks they must perform. (207)

In this advanced civilization, we see machines which cause the desired letters to line up one after another with each press of a finger; the texts which are thus "typeset" are later printed on paper. The author is apparently imagining a kind of computer, or at least an electronic typewriter. (211) Wireless telegraph devices are now found in every home, as well. (210) In the streets, wall panels with audio-newspapers relay the latest news to people; pocket electric cinematography machines allow people to watch every kind of video with ease, everywhere they go; three-dimensional live photography devices (evidently a kind of hologram machine) are also in use.

The narrator, who is himself an inventor, is overjoyed to see that several devices which he envisioned and designed back in 1913 are now mass-produced in his name in this future civilization. Among these are flying machines which can be worn like a suit of clothing – operated by means of a pair of wings attached on the side – and water-powered and air-powered motors which cost nothing to run. (271)

Big Brother

The way of life recounted in this book is both celebrated by the author and intended as a source of emulation; when we read about it today, we can see that it reflects a wish for an authoritarian/totalitarian order, strong government, and a disciplined society. For instance, the tall building resembling a fortress, set in the middle of a square in the heart of Istanbul, is a police headquarters. People who enter

the city are given X-rays, both to check for diseases and to take photographs for the purpose of registration. Visitors are also given a medallion which they must wear at all times. These medallions are decorated with a set number of stars, to indicate that person's ranking as determined by the government. (211)

None of the inhabitants are given over to foolish pastimes like tea- or coffee-drinking, or smoking hookah pipes or cigarettes. While the narrator approves of this abstemiousness, it causes him great inconvenience since he himself is a cigarette smoker. He later finds relief when, with someone's help, he succeeds in obtaining tobacco. (237)

There are no coffeehouses in the city; these sorts of old-fashioned habits are seen as a waste of time, and meet with disapproval. In any case, meeting and conversing with one's friends during working hours is forbidden, and can lead to one's being arrested. (237) People are required to walk on the right side of the road, and stopping in the middle of the street is strictly prohibited; people can only stop in public squares. (265-266)

Population and birth are also under the complete control of the state. Newborn children are not left with their families, and parents do not have the right to raise their children; birth and childcare take place in special government centers, which are completely staffed and administered by women. Births take place in the childbirth departments of these centers, and no fee is charged; women who have just given birth are free to stay there, with a guest, for as long as they like. Even more significant is the childcare department. Here, starting at the age of one month, children are cared for and raised using scientific methods. 140-meter towers on top of the building bring fresh air from higher altitudes down to the children. The children are constantly monitored by a doctor; their parents, on the other hand, can only see them by appointment. By continuing this same disciplined form of childrearing later, at school, society has been able to reach its present level of civilization. (254-259)

Another device dreamed up by the author – in the manner of a pre-1984 “Big Brother” fantasy, but with the purpose of inspiring rather than frightening the readers – consists of a bunch of giant mirrors known as *devridaim-i istinsah* [“perpetual motion reproduced”] with which everyone's every movement can be watched. This device – whose workings are described in detail by the author – is used not only for crime prevention, but also to ascertain what everyone is doing at all times. (348)

Another interesting practice, which plays an important role in the social structure of this future age, consists of numerically measuring the value of human relations – their “social capital,” so to speak. This mechanism, somewhat recalling Facebook's “Number of Friends” or Twitter's “Number of Followers,” allows people to score their friends' importance and status; these scores are collected in notebooks available to both parties. When someone performs a good action, all that person's friends increase his or her score; if the person in question acts immorally, his or her score plummets. In this way, those who have received high scores from their friends, as well as those who have accumulated many points, achieve a high level of prestige. The

scores a person has been given by his or her friends are influential in every kind of situation. (241-242)

Women

The text also reflects its author's search for an "Islamic" equality of men and women. In order to bring about this equality, but also preserve the institution of the *harem/selamlık* [the sexually segregated living arrangements in Ottoman households], every male is required to be partnered to a female. At twelve noon, bells are rung and cannonballs are fired all over the city, and all men are forbidden to go outdoors. As every male has a pre-determined female partner (his wife, sister, etc.), for the next twelve hours the city is handed over to the women, with all business, production, administration, and similar tasks being carried out by these female partners. (216) Such an arrangement may stem from a wish on the part of the author – who clearly has a strong economic vision for his country – to compensate for work lost during people's lunch break, along with his desire to keep men and women separate.

Within this future Istanbul, there is a parallel city, so to speak, set aside for women. While the shops, offices, reading rooms, recreational centers, etc. on the main streets are reserved for men, the buildings looking out on the side-streets feature equivalent facilities which women may make use of. (238)

One might ask how marriage takes place in a world in which men and women are segregated to such an extent. In fact, the author lays out a highly complex procedure concerning marriage. Briefly, men create a sort of CV or application form, and circulate it everywhere; their friends then put these documents in the hands of marriage candidates. In the event of a suitable match, the man and woman meet, accompanied by their relatives, and prepare a marriage contract, which they then sign. (240)

Any claims that this system favors men are answered in the following way:

Women can in no way claim that a right which belongs to women should be concealed and not granted to them. Yet, in every matter concerning men and women, their own assemblies have confirmed their privilege of not having their equal rights complied with, and of not being allowed to enjoy the same rights as men – on account of being women. Nevertheless, the women of this age live a much easier life than men. Women, too, generally admit that this is the case.³⁷⁴
(216)

³⁷⁴ "Kadınlar hiçbir veçhile iddia edemezler ki kadınlara taallük eden bir hak ketmedilip kendilerine verilmiş olmasın. Ancak kadınlarla erkekler arasında her hususta hakk-ı müsavata riayet edilememek ve kadın olmaları itibarıyla kendileri erkekler kadar hukuka malik olamamak hakkını yine kendi meclisleri tasdik etmiştir. Mamefih bu asrın kadınları erkeklerinden pek çok ziyade rahat yaşamaktadırlar. Bunu alelumum kadınlar da teslim ediyorlar."

In other words, the author means that in this ideal, perfect Islamic society, women have simply made use of their inalienable privilege. Not being equal to men in every respect, not enjoying all the same rights as men, is itself a right, in the author's opinion. Women have preferred to exercise their privilege to have fewer rights than men. What is more, thanks to this privilege, they lead more comfortable lives than men (even if the text does not specify in what way this is so).

The Effects of the Balkan War

Written during the Balkan War, this text attributes a crucial role to that war in its vision of Turkey's future prosperity. Right from the very first line, we hear of the destruction wrought by the war, and the sorrow that has come in its wake. The Balkan War is presented to us from two different angles: first, as the fatal result of errors made in the Ottomans' "imperial policies" over the four centuries prior to 1913; second, as a "foundational catastrophe" which was a catalyst for the building of a strong, wealthy utopian Turkey over the 400 years that followed. The intellectual and societal trauma, shame, and feelings of defeat stemming from the great losses caused by the Balkan War are evidently the source of the revanchist anger pervading the entire work.

As a result of the joint attacks on the Ottomans by the united Balkan states, who have turned Rumelia into a sea of blood, the Turks descend into a dark, deep maelstrom of disaster. Soon comprehending the gravity of their situation, they awake from their lethargic state, and determinedly begin to move forward as a nation. (297) In this sense, the author views the disaster of the Balkan War as the turning point leading to Turkey's happy future; similarly, he views the mistakes of his own day as the cause of the nation's subsequent revival. On this point, the text effectively makes the observation that "if the Turks had not borne the disasters which occurred at that time, but had fought against each other instead, they would never have achieved the progress they enjoy today"; this can be taken as a direct reference to the political climate at the time of the work's composition.

A performance which the narrator attends at the Hezar-ı Hoş-Elhan [Sweetly Warbling Nightingale] Theater likewise highlights the central importance of the Balkan War. (307) These back-to-back performances, lasting for 10 nights straight, stage the deadly tragedy of the war, which begins due to the enmity the Christians harbor towards the Muslims. In one scene, the Ottoman flag falls to the ground and is dirtied; in another, Muslim women are forcefully converted to Christianity. (314) Most touching of all is a procession of destitute Muslims who are migrating out of the Balkans. At the head of this procession is a turbaned old man, who addresses the audience as follows:

O Muslims! What has happened to you? Are you in a perpetual sleep?
You make no sound at all! Do you have no sense of honor left – no
sense of compassion, no sense of charity? How can you stand to see us
thus destroyed, oppressed by the People of the Cross?...

(...)

O Muslims! Where are my wives, my daughters, my sons, my grandsons? Where is my wealth, my prosperity? Where are my possessions, where are my fellows, my companions? Muslims! Why do you remain silent? Did we not all become fellow believers on that day on which the Almighty God addressed all humanity, saying, “Am I not your Lord?” Why do you not help us?³⁷⁵ (316-317)

In the above passages, the old refugee reminds the audience of the fellowship of all Muslims. Here, as throughout the text, the Balkan War is characterized as a Crusade:

Do you still trust in the honor or the conscience of Europe? (...) You see how the allied powers and countries of the Balkans, made up of a bunch of ogres, are inducing the Great Powers of Europe – who are pleading the cause of their civilization simply because they are Christians – to take part in their killings. Thus, they continually endeavor to wipe the Crescent off the face of the earth, and replace it with the Cross. And if things go on in this way, they will succeed.³⁷⁶ (318)

Every believer, he argues, is responsible for aiding the Muslims who are facing this tragedy. Yet the destruction caused by the Balkan War is so great that this aid is not forthcoming. In tears, the old man expresses his great disappointment, accusing the Muslims of being accustomed to living in comfort. In doing so, he acts as a spokesman for the author’s own sentiments: there is no one to help the Muslims, he says, and Muslim solidarity is finished. After accusing the Muslims of apathy, the old man goes on to warn them that this very apathy will soon lead them to share the same fate:

Alas! The Muslims have no more heart, no more soul, no more spirit!
They are asleep! They are frozen stiff! They have become the living
dead! They can no longer discern between good and evil! What a pity –
what a pity! Dear God, come to our rescue!...
(...)

³⁷⁵ “Ey Müslümanlar! Ne oldunuz? Yoksa hep uyuşup kaldınız mı? Hiç sesiniz çıkmıyor! Sizde hiç hiss-i hamiyet, hiss-i merhamet, hiss-i muavenet kalmadı mı? Ehlisalibin nice zulmü altında bizim böyle mahvolup bitmemize nasıl razı oluyorsunuz?... (...) Ey Müslümanlar! Hani benim haremim, kızlarım, oğullarım, hafidlerim? Hani benim servetim, saadetim! Hani benim emvalim, ihvanım, ahabım? Müslümanlar! Niçin sükût ediyorsunuz? Biz sizinle Cenabı Allah’ın ervaha (Ben sizin rabbiniz değil miyim!) hitabında bulunduğu o ruz-ı eleste din kardeşi olmadık mı! Siz niçin bize yardım etmiyorsunuz!...”

³⁷⁶ “Siz hâlâ daha Avrupa’nın namusuna, vicdanına mı güveniyorsunuz? (...) İşte görüyorsunuz ki birtakım gulyabanilerden mürekkep olan Balkan düvel ve milel-i müttefikası Hıristiyan olmak itibarıyla medeniyet davasında bulunan Hıristiyan Avrupa düvel-i muazzamasını da cinayetlerine iştirak ettirerek Salıp namına Hilal’in ruy-ı arzdan büsbütün kalkmasına çalışıp duruyorlar. Bu gidişle muvaffak da olacaklar.”

All of the Balkans, its valleys, its plains, its brooks, its streams, are bright red with the blood of Muslims. Though the flames of oppression scorching the Muslims, and the clouds of enemy smoke, are trying to transmit their cries for help to their fellow Muslims, the latter are fleeing from those very clouds of smoke for fear of causing themselves distress. They will not even listen to the howls of pain, to the shrieks and lamentations, of their Muslim brothers and sisters. Alas! There is no one to come to our aid, no one to have pity on us! Lord, may you have mercy on us! O people of Muhammad, may you have pity on us!

(...)

Muslims! O all you Muslims living on the face of the earth! Are you waiting for a blacker day than this one before you will help us, your fellow believers? Be certain that today, a dagger is sticking right into the heart of the Muslim world! As for this blood-drenched, tragic lamentation which we have introduced – tomorrow, you will attempt to convey it to every corner of the globe with a cry even more heart-rending than ours; but you will not find a single honorable person to lend a friendly ear to your cry. Today, we are being exiled from Rumelia; do you doubt that you too will be expelled from your own lands if you continue this treacherous apathy? Where will you go then? Can you still not perceive what the result will be?³⁷⁷ (317-318)

Later, the old man sets about portraying the cruelty perpetrated by the Christians. His utterances read like a sampling of the universal motifs used in the creation of a trauma discourse about the Balkan War:

“Alas! What kind of civilization is this? Do they have no humanity? No conscience? No honor? I do not know. They chop a boy in pieces with an axe right in front of his mother...they assault a man’s wife right before his very eyes...they burn a mosque to the ground, along with the Muslims who have taken refuge in it...they insult the Muslim faith, Muslim places of worship...they force the Muslims to become Christians...they burn alive those who oppose the People of the Cross

³⁷⁷ “Eyvah! Müslümanlarda kan, can, ruh kalmamış! Uyuşmuşlar! Donmuşlar! Meyyit-i müteharrik haline gelmişler! Artık hayrı, şerri idrak etmez olmuşlar! Yazık, hem pek yazık! Ey Allahım! Sen bize imdat eyle!... (...) Bütün Balkanlar, vadiler, ovalar, dereler, çaylar hep Müslüman kanıyla kıpkırmızı oldu. Müslümanları yakan ateş-i zulüm ve taaddi dumanları sada-yı imdatlarını dindaşlarına isale çalışıyor ise de onlar kendilerini izaç eder korkusuyla o dumanlardan kaçıyorlar. Din kardeşlerinin ah ü eninlerine, feryad ü figanlarına kulak bile asmıyorlar. Ah! Hiçbir taraftan imdada gelen yok! Merhamet eden yok! Yarabbi sen merhamet et! Ümmet-i Muhammede sen acı! (...) Müslümanlar! Ey ruy-ı arzda yaşayan Müslümanlar! Biz din kardeşlerinize imdat etmek için bundan daha kara bir gün mü bekliyorsunuz? Bütün ü emin olunuz ki bugün Müslümanlığın tâ cangâhına hançer saplanıyor! Mukaddimesi bizden başlayan bu kanlı, feci vaveylâyı yarın siz bizden daha canhıraş bir sada ile küre-i arzın her tarafına aksettirmeye çalışacaksınız; fakat sadanızı hüsn-i telâkki edecek hamiyetli bir kimse bulamayacaksınız! Şimdi biz Rumeli’den sürülüp çıkarılıyor; eğer bu uyuşukluk hainde devam ederseniz yarın sizin de bulunduğunuz yurtlardan çıkarılacağınızda şüphe etmeyiniz? O vakit nereye gideceksiniz? Siz bu neticeyi hâlâ idrak etmiyor musunuz?”

in bonfires...they slice open their mouths, cut off their noses, their ears, and at last, their heads...they bayonet hundreds and thousands of captives...they hang bells upon our mosques! How can this be? Since the world was created, has such cruelty as this ever been seen?”³⁷⁸
(318)

When the narrator hears these words, he feels unwell, and cannot watch any more. Both his friends and his ancestor reproach him for this display of weakness. (324) His ancestor then gives a long speech about the glory of going off to war and dying in combat, a speech intended entirely for the benefit of policy-makers and audiences in 1913. (326-327)

Smart Economics

As we remarked earlier, the fact that Mustafa Nazım was a businessman is obvious from a reading of this text. Along with his excessive interest in issues of technology and engineering, his book contains a far more detailed economic analysis than we will find in other texts. This text is so rational in nature that it even proposes a radical solution to the extremely complex, illogical system of measurements used by the Ottoman Empire; Mustafa Nazım develops a new number system which is indexed to the weight of gold, and considers making this the basis for all systems of measurement. (334-335) The National Bank and the National Subsidiary Bank work very well, managing the economy in expert fashion both in terms of assets and in terms of credit; at the same time, they pay into a fund which aims at achieving social justice. (234) Thanks to the Office (Ministry) of Commerce, progress has penetrated into the villages as well, with every village now being able to sell its products at optimal prices. (235) The use of cash is almost unheard of in this text. There is a system of payment which superficially resembles checks, but in practice calls to mind the credit card system: everyone makes payments with sheets of paper taken from a “credit ledger.” The tax system has been completely streamlined to a single flat rate; in this way, tax revenues have increased immensely. Thanks to these effective measures, even the concept of a balanced budget has become a thing of the past. The government only spends 22 percent of total revenues, with the remnant going towards social welfare and investments. (231) Needless to say, there is no theft in such a prosperous society as this one. (209)

³⁷⁸ “Ah! Bu nasıl medeniyet! Nasıl insaniyet! Nasıl vicdan! Nasıl namus! Bilmem ki... Evladı anasının gözü önünde balta ile birkaç parça etmek, kocasının gözü önünde zevcesine taarruz eylemek, camilere iltica eden Müslümanları cami ile beraber yakıp kül etmek, Müslüman dinine, Müslüman ibadetgâhına hakaret eylemek, Müslümanları tanassur ettirmek, Ehlisalibe muhalefet edenleri diri, diri ateşlerde yakmak, ağızlarını, burunlarını, kulaklarını, en sonunda da başlarını kesmek, yüzlerce, binlerce esirler süngüden geçirilmek, camilere çanlar asılmak! Bu ne hal? Acaba dünya, kuruldu kurulalı böyle mezalim gördü mü?”

Such a high level of efficiency in the economy and the administration is due not only to sound decisions made in the areas of governance, international relations, and foreign alliances, but also to a very effective change brought about in the local government: in villages and city neighborhoods, significant powers have been granted to councils of elders, so much so that it could be termed a form of decentralization. As a result, the centralized bureaucracy has shrunk, taxes are collected in an efficient manner, and local issues are dealt with very effectively. (232)

To reprise our earlier point, the narrator's ancestor recommends the adoption of these measures – which have brought about this level of power and prosperity within four centuries – to the Turkey of 1913, suffering the recent blow of the Balkan War. A key element in this advice is the need for a leader. (200, 202) The Turks have no leader, no guide, to bring about their salvation. What they need to do is to join ranks behind a leader, and patiently work towards the right goal. The ancestor's advice does not merely remain theoretical, either: he urges the imams and elderly citizens of every neighborhood to gather together and instruct the people in patriotism. The government should take out money on loan and dole it out to the neighborhoods; the committees of elders should use this as capital to set up companies for merchants or artisans. If they follow even a quarter of this advice, the narrator's ancestor says, they will create a solid foundation for the future.

A Dream of Islamic Progress and Civilization depicts its imaginary ideal society with precise, highly intriguing details; attempts to explain the transition from today's world to the world of the future; gives a detailed account of certain practices unheard of in the age in which it was written; and aims to make its readers desirous of building a society like the one it portrays. In all these respects, it can be characterized as one of the most utopian narratives among similar works of its period. In terms of its content and ideology, it operates within the confines of fiction; proposes a program to revive a political and social system on the brink of disintegration and annihilation; makes us feel the effects of the severe trauma wrought by the Balkan War, which in 20th century historiography has been overshadowed by the First World War and, especially, the War of Independence; and evinces the desire for the future harbored at that moment of history, showing us the spectacle of an ideal Turkey, strong, rich, and with a large population.

5.3. An Optimistic Dream: “Thirty Years Later”

Another work composed during the Balkan War which provides a cross-section of Turkey’s future is the short narrative entitled “Thirty Years Later,” by Ali Kâmi [Akyüz, 1872-1945].³⁷⁹ The author came from a family of literati, being the son of the Trabzon poet Mehmet Behçet Bey, the brother of the poets İsmail Safa and Ahmet Vefa, and the paternal uncle of the author Peyami Safa; like many other Turkish writers, he was also a bureaucrat. Akyüz served in the Imperial Treasury, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Directorate of Post and Telegraph, in addition to working as a teacher and as a member of parliament (from 1939 to 1945). Although better known for his important translations of writers such as Goethe, Tolstoy, and Flaubert, he also published numerous poems and other writings.³⁸⁰



Illustration 26: Ali Kâmi Akyüz³⁸¹

The text which we will deal with in this thesis was published on May 2nd, 1913 (i.e., between the two phases of the Balkan War) in *İçtihat*. This text can be said to follow the old literary convention of the dream, while transforming it in the process: the narrator falls into a deep sleep, and while he does not have a dream in this case, the narrative has him awaken thirty years later. (1393) “Thirty Years Later” consists of the narrator’s impressions of what he sees and experiences upon awakening.

The narrative begins when the narrator falls asleep sometime after a peace agreement is reached. When the narrator wakes up thirty years later, i.e., in the mid-1940s, there are big and pleasant surprises in store for him. The first things to catch his

³⁷⁹ Ali Kami [Akyüz], “Otuz Sene Sonra” [Thirty Years Later], *İçtihat* [Jurisprudence] 64 (May 2nd, 1329 [1913]): 1393-1397.

³⁸⁰ Akyüz, Ali Kâmi, *Tanzimattan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* [An Encyclopedia of Literary Figures from the Tanzimat to the Present Day], Volume 1 (Istanbul: YKY, 2001), 66-67.

³⁸¹ Album of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1939, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed 15.08.2014)

eye are airplanes, which have become an essential means of transportation, and can be seen on the roof of every house. (1393) Likewise, automobiles, electric trams, and “underground railways” (as metro lines are called) operate very speedily all over the city.



Illustration 27: The First page of “Thirty Years Later”³⁸²

The narrator then boards a tram; his impressions there provide the author with an opportunity to make one of the most significant propositions found in this piece. In this future Istanbul, the use of French – whose influence has insinuated itself into the marrow of everyday life in the author’s day, so much so as to make Turkey seem like a French colony – has been completely abandoned. At the same time, high school students have come to learn impeccable French, thanks to innovations in foreign language pedagogy. (1394)

A Love of Buildings

The neighborhood of Nişantaşı, where the narrator himself lives, has not changed very much, although he notices that some old mansions have been torn down and replaced with apartment buildings. As this text contains a positive vision of the

³⁸² (İçtihat, May 2nd, 1329 [1913]). Private collection (E.K.)

future, it can be inferred that the narrator approves of this change, even if he does not directly comment on it. As for Beyoğlu, it has been completely transformed. For one thing, the boundaries of the neighborhood have expanded to include Pangaltı and Şişli; open spaces like the Topçu Kışlası [Artillery Barracks] and Talimhane [Drillgrounds] Square have been razed and then filled with large, tall, densely-packed buildings.³⁸³ (1394) In another striking change in the city, the green hills stretching from Okmeydanı to Söğütözü have become covered with villas.

Later, the narrator boards a plane from the roof of a nine-storey building, and goes to Fatih, along with his son Adnan, who accompanies him on his journey. (1395) At the Gate of the Cake-sellers (one of the four entrances to the Fatih Complex, an important historical monument which includes the Fatih Mosque), there are “great big shopping malls, and five- and six-storey buildings.” Evidently, this love of construction has not only made inroads on green spaces, but also on historical monuments.

The bridge motif, which can be encountered in nearly all utopian texts, is present in this one as well. In this case, the narrator is not speaking of a bridge over the Bosphorus, but rather of innumerable bridges crossing the Golden Horn. It should be added that passage over all bridges is now free of charge.³⁸⁴ (1395)

Industry

Taking a tour of an “Islamic trading house,” which the author names “Ferdi & Co.” (in a reference to the 1896 novel of the same name, *Ferdi ve Şürekâsı*, by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil),³⁸⁵ (1396) Adnan gives his father information about Turkey’s economic development. He says that Turkey has far surpassed Europe in the textile industry. With electricity³⁸⁶ produced from waterfalls on the Sakarya River, factories have reduced

³⁸³ The Artillery Barracks were built in 1780, and then demolished in 1940 as part of a new urban plan for Istanbul prepared by the French architect Henri Prost. They were replaced by Gezi [Promenade] Park, one of the city’s most central, important green spaces. A plan to raze this park and recreate the Artillery Barracks (which would have included a shopping center, hotel, residence, museum, etc.) against the wishes of the local inhabitants was the take-off point for popular demonstrations in the summer of 2013, which spread to every part of Turkey. Already one of the few green spaces left in Istanbul, Gezi Park would have been removed in order to make way for construction yielding high profits. The above passage is significant in that it shows the historical origins of, and justifications for, the love of construction which is harbored in some circles today. Moreover, it is noteworthy how some phenomena which seem nightmarish to us today demonstrate just how highly prized they could be in the past, a paradox we have witnessed in many other examples in this thesis. While open, green spaces are very precious to us nowadays – at a time when we are overwhelmed by the number of buildings – such spaces were perceived as a sign of a backward, uncivilized society in the period in which this narrative was written.

³⁸⁴ As previously mentioned, the “bridge” controversy, which has been revived due to a third Bosphorus bridge currently under construction, represents a centuries-old aspiration; we have already discussed instances of bridges in texts like *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, and will also find such instances in *Ruşeni’nin Rüyası* [Ruşeni’s Dream], dealt with in a later chapter.

³⁸⁵ At the center of this novel is a company called “Ferdi & Co.” In the background to the story of the novel’s heroes are scenes concerning the birth of the Muslim Turkish bourgeoisie.

³⁸⁶ The author proposes that Turkey’s energy needs be met economically by building hydroelectric power plants on rivers. In doing so, he has highlighted a conflict which is currently

their energy costs, and have rendered Europe's old-fashioned machines – which cost millions of francs – obsolete. In this sense, Turkey can be regarded as lucky to have lagged behind; thanks to advances like this one, the country has not suffered the losses that Europe has.

Another big advantage possessed by Turkey is its inexpensive labor force. Factories pay women and children day-wages of three *kuruş*, thus greatly reducing their own expenses; they are then able to compete much more strongly against their European (and, in particular, English) rivals, and have driven many such rivals to bankruptcy.

Another important indicator of the level reached by Turkish industry is the “local automobile.”³⁸⁷ The narrator notices a car with the inscriptions “Ottoman-made” and “Ayastefanos Automobile Factory.” (1395) The author's high degree of optimism on this subject can be inferred from the manufacture date of the car: 1340 (1924). Even so, the narrator asks a pertinent question: seeing that all branches of industry need to be advanced in order to produce a car, how was this accomplished in such a short time?

Adnan's answer provides the secret to Turkey's development. Young people have studied for years in Europe and America; upon their return home, they have shared their knowledge of scientific and technological developments abroad. When one also factors in the investments made through “rich people's money,” i.e. private capital, it has understandably been fairly easy to attain this level of success.

Thus, in addition to the author's other concerns, there is also an emphasis on education in this text, but with one important nuance. Ali Kâmi states that education in his own day has remained entirely theoretical rather than practical. When a practical dimension is added to education, it will be a simple matter to produce a local automobile.

The Political System

I alluded earlier to the fact that democracy, in the Turkish utopian tradition, is hardly ever regarded as a political system conducive to national progress; authors of different political stripes have nearly all displayed utopian tendencies of an

ongoing, more than a hundred years after 1913. Hydroelectric plants, the object of Ali Kâmi Akyüz's aspirations, are currently being built by the hundreds. However, because hydroelectric plants deprive inhabitants of access to fresh water, and cause great harm to the natural environment, they have led to numerous local protests and demonstrations. “Thirty Years Later” thus provides an important piece of data on the historical roots of this mentality, in which notions of profit and industrialization have outweighed environmental and democratic concerns.

³⁸⁷ Although this piece is short and not very detailed, many of the author's predictions about the future are nonetheless on the mark. The issue of local automobile production is one example. The local brand of automobile known as Devrim [Revolution] was first produced in 1961, but never became mass-produced; nowadays, the question of producing “local automobiles” has had a prominent place on the agenda for the past few years. When we consider that this text was written a full 100 years ago, that the automotive sector has undergone sweeping changes in the interim, and that it is now debatable what the phrase “local automobile” even means, the continued existence of this aspiration in much the same form is quite interesting.

authoritarian/totalitarian nature. Likewise, in the last part of this work, the narrator addresses the political situation in 1940s Turkey, wondering what has become of the party rivalries of his own time. The narrator remarks that “as long as the Unionists strive against the Ententists, the Arabs against the Turks, the Turks against the Albanians, the soldiers against the civilians, the civilians against the imams, and the imams against everyone else – in other words, as long as all segments and classes of society try to undermine each other, this nation cannot advance.”³⁸⁸ (1396) In making this observation, the narrator adheres to a tradition which regards pluralist political systems as inherently chaotic, with a tendency to weaken one’s country; he also deduces that the development and progress which he has witnessed have been possible precisely due to the absence of such a pluralist system, with its attendant political rivalries. (1397)

Dystopia – Utopia

Ali Kâmi’s work features some of the main problems faced by today’s Istanbul and other big cities, such as a superfluity of bridges, excessive transportation density, a shortage of green spaces, over-construction, and the building of hydroelectric plants. Strikingly, the author represents such problems as positive aspirations. Military power, one of the main themes in texts of this period, is not directly addressed; however, the text deals extensively with the theme of wealth, in particular a kind of wealth which brings about the impoverishment of Europe. In this text, we do not encounter a discourse of direct hatred towards Europeans or the Balkan peoples. The author has merely expressed an indirect desire for revenge by depicting Europe in a state of impoverishment.

In similar fashion, a monist, authoritarian method of government – as in many other texts – is put forth as one of the fundamental traits of this imaginary Turkey.³⁸⁹ As long as the country avoids corruption-prone systems like democracy, abandons its Western aspirations, and implements a practical, healthy, modern system of education, it will be easy to attain this level of development.

After the author has seen 1940s Istanbul, he remarks, “Then I recalled the Balkan conflict in all its tragedy. Since that time, I wonder, what changes have taken place in the maps of Europe and Asia? I am extremely curious to know this.”³⁹⁰ The text offers no answer to this question. But it matters little; in a future in which Europe has become so impoverished, and Turkey has developed to such an extent, there is no

³⁸⁸ “İtihatçılarla İtilafçılar birbirini, Araplar Türkleri, Türkler Arnavutları, askerler sivilleri, siviller hocaları, hocalar bunların hepsini yani bir milletin bütün aksam ve sunûfu yekdiğerini batırmaya çalışırken o millet yükselmez,”

³⁸⁹ This is yet another reference to a debate which is currently ongoing today, i.e., debate about a regime change towards an authoritarian, totalitarian rule. In this age-old discussion, Ali Kami clearly favors authoritarianism over parliamentary democracy.

³⁹⁰ “O zaman bütün fecaatiyle Balkan muharebesini hatırladım. Acaba o zamandan beri Avrupa ve Asya haritalarında ne gibi tahavvülât vücut bulmuştu? Bunu şiddetle merak ediyordum...”

need for anxiety, fear, or sorrow. It is enough for Turkey to accurately identify its strategic goals, and advance towards these goals in a spirit of national unity and brotherhood. Having said that, the author aims to show his readers how to overcome the Balkan tragedy and become a wealthy and powerful country again.

5.4. A “What If...” Scenario: “Colloquy under the Pines”

Another post-Balkan War work of literature with utopian characteristics is “Çamlar Altında Musahabe” (Colloquy under the Pines), by the famous poet and author Yahya Kemal (1884-1958).³⁹¹ This two-part work was published between 1913 and 1914. The first part is based on the notion that there is nothing inevitable about existing reality; although this reality has had the potential to develop historically in an entirely different (and greatly preferable) manner, conditions have forced it to assume its actual, undesirable state. The story can thus be said to contain an indirect wish that the mistaken choices of the past will not be repeated today. The second part, by contrast, takes place in the year 2187, projecting onto the future the principles laid out in the first part. Below, I will deal with both parts in order.



Illustration 28: Yahya Kemal³⁹²

Counterfactual History

The first part (89-96) is a “what if” scenario imagining a counterfactual sequence of events following the conquest of Istanbul. Defeating the Crusader army at Varna, Prince Mehmet, the son of Sultan Murat, loses his way on the plains of Thrace and meets Calchas,³⁹³ the prophet at the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos [sic].³⁹⁴ Calchas tells him that he will find an old earthenware pot, and that he must take

³⁹¹ Yahya Kemal, “Çamlar Altında Musahabe I ve II” [Colloquy under the Pines I and II], *Aziz İstanbul* [Dear Istanbul] (Istanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü, 1974), 89–102.

³⁹² <http://bovu.net/nazimin-annesi-ve-yahya-kemal/> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁹³ Calchas is one of the greatest seers and soothsayers in Greek mythology, especially known for helping the Greeks in the Trojan War.

³⁹⁴ The author has doubtless confused the island of Delos and the site of Delphi in mainland Greece, the latter being the actual site of the sanctuary of Apollo.

care not to break it or let the elixir inside spill out. The prince then relates this to Zağanos Mehmet Paşa, a courtier who is also a convert to Islam. The text states that Zağanos, who was a Byzantine who secretly remained loyal to the ancient Greek religion, and hated the Orthodox faith, converted to Islam and assisted the young prince in his conquest of the Byzantine Empire. Until Prince Mehmet becomes sultan, Zağanos Mehmet Paşa educates him in Greek and Roman culture, reading classical authors to him such as Plato, Plutarch, Theocritus, Sophocles, and Homer. In this way, he instills his pupil with a sense of this ancient Mediterranean civilization, which has become incorporated into the Byzantine city of Constantinople, founded by Emperor Constantine.

After the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmet locates those who are still loyal to the ancient Greek religion and are maintaining its ancient traditions. They acknowledge the sultan as the heir of Rome, and become Muslims. Upset by this, the members of the Byzantine church go to Italy, where they disperse all over the country, while the sculptors, painters, and architects in Istanbul – as well as those with a knowledge of Greek and Roman culture – become Muslims and remain in the city.

Up until that time, a general ignorance has prevailed among the Turks. These newly-converted Muslims translate works from Ancient Greek into Turkish; as a result, the Turkish language becomes richer and more capacious, a brilliant linguistic idiom freed of the influence of Persian and Arabic words. One or two centuries later, neighboring peoples – enchanted by the magic of this language – begin to speak Turkish as well. “Turkish poets” appear among the Italians, the French, the Germans, and the Spanish. Over time, Turkish historians, critics, linguists, philosophers, musicians, and scientists acquire more expertise. By contrast, countries like Italy, France, Germany, and Spain become more barbaric due to the influence of the Church. Students flock to Turkey – known throughout Europe as a center of learning – in droves, and most of them remain here as Muslims. They are trained at universities in Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Konya, Skopje, Belgrade, and Budapest. Among them are Erasmus, Copernicus, Montaigne, and Galileo. Most of them become Muslims, as well. The explorer Columbus, who is also educated here, discovers a land beyond the seas, which they name the Land of Islam.

The Turks dub this age – in which they have been freed from Asian Gnosticism, and have acquired analytical and synthetic habits of thought – the “Age of Awakening.” The key element in this awakening is Islam, for Islam is based on the principle of freedom, has reverence for learning, and is universal in nature.

One of the most gripping and controversial subjects in Ottoman history is the struggle for the throne between Beyazıt and Cem following the death of Mehmet the Conqueror. Beyazıt won out in the end, while Cem – after a long and arduous series of events – died in Europe. Beyazıt, a devoutly religious man, was not able to sustain the advances made by Mehmet the Conqueror, and there is a great deal of speculation about whether history would have taken a very different course if Cem had succeeded to the throne. In fact, in this part of the text, Beyazıt retires to a *zaviye* [Islamic monastery]

following the death of his father the sultan, and leaves the throne to his brother Cem. Cem then unites the Turkish race – which has spread out all over Asia – so that the Turkish homeland stretches from Nice to the foothills of the Alps, from Kazan in Russia all the way to India, from India to Gibraltar. As the barbarous kingdoms of the West are rife with ecclesiastical fanaticism, the only true civilization to be found on earth is now that of the Turks. Life in the Turkish nation is now “free, pure, and delectable.”

The other peoples living around have likewise been assimilated and become Turks. In speaking of the peoples who will be assimilated, the author is only referring to the Greeks and the Balkan Slavs, corresponding precisely to Turkey’s enemies in the Balkan War. The author himself is from Skopje. From other works of his, as well as from his memoirs, we know how deeply distraught he was at the loss of the lands of his birth as a result of the Balkan War. For example, in his poem “Kaybolan Şehir” [The Lost City], he writes as follows: “Once it was ours in our true fatherland. Why / Is Skopje no longer ours today? I feel this bitterly / The lost city, whose specter lingers in my heart / The sorrow of parting is deep within me.”³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the discourse of hatred and the desire for revenge which we encounter in other texts does not appear in this one. This is almost the only reference to the Balkan War and the Balkans. In fact, the author sees the root of the problem as lying in the past, sharing the view of Mustafa Nazım Erzurumi, who makes the following statement: “When our ancestors conquered the Balkans, they ought to have assimilated the people living there.”³⁹⁶

All of these events were possible thanks to the secret given to Mehmet the Conqueror by the priest of Apollo. However, the sultan spilled the elixir in this pot, and so history has instead unfolded in the manner with which we are familiar, far differently from what is narrated here.

A Shining Future

The second part of this work (97-102) is concerned with the future. Here, education is valued above all else. In the course of reading H.G. Wells’s novel *The Time Machine*, the narrator falls asleep, and then seeing that the year on his “time-meter” reads 2187, he turns off the machine. The first thing we see when he exits the machine is yet another manifestation of the centuries-old fascination with bridges. The bridge in this case is on the Golden Horn. The narrator sees this splendid bridge, which “no longer charges a toll,” as well as passenger planes flying above it. The city has changed beyond all recognition. In this narrative, the old city center of the historical peninsula – in particular, an avenue running between two spectacular squares in

³⁹⁵ Yahya Kemal, *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* [Our Own Dome of the Sky] (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989), 71-72: “Vaktiyle öz vatanda bizimken, bugün niçin? / Üsküp bizim değil? Bunu duydum için için / Kalbimde bir hayali kalıp kaybolan şehir / Ayrılmanın bıraktığı hicran derindedir.”

³⁹⁶ See *Rüyada Terakki*, 197.

Eminönü and Sarayburnu – comprises the heart of the city. From the New Mosque, which lies in the middle of the first square, all the way to Sarayburnu, one sees magnificent institutions like the Bank of the Islamic World, the Ottoman Public Gymnastic Pavilion, the Music Hall, the Pavilion of Teachers and Islamic Learning, the Deputies' Pavilion, the Governor's Pavilion, the Privy Council, and more. In this way, the author lays out his own priorities: the center of the city is occupied by institutions concerned with the economy, sports, music, education, and politics. In the second square, in Sarayburnu, there is a triumphal arch, surrounded by statues representing Ottoman victories from the beginning of the dynasty until the present day.

Here, the narrator meets the historian Mehmet Refik (the great-grandson of the historian Ahmet Refik), from whom he learns the 260-year history that has resulted in the current state of affairs. The patriots who deposed Abdülhamid were unable to find any solution to the country's problems, and wrestled with internal and external conflicts. In this moment of despair, one of them emerged as a patriotic leader. Identifying education as the root of the problem, they immediately set about restructuring the Ministry of Education from top to toe. The author concludes his story by stating that advances in education have changed every aspect of life, and that this has been the reason for society's development.

Immanent Utopia

As we have seen, the first part of the story takes place in the past, and the second part in the future, yet both parts endorse the same position. In the first part of the story, the author sees it as a mistake that Mehmet the Conqueror embraced the church in order to control his Orthodox subjects, causing many thinkers and intellectuals – such as Constantine Lascaris and John Argyropoulos – to flee to Italy, where they contributed to the development of the Renaissance. Yahya Kemal's story imagines what might have happened if Mehmet the Conqueror had done the opposite. Thus, the author's desire is for a racist, expansionist nationalism, manifested through phenomena such as the purification of Turkish, advances in science and the arts, the unification of Turks, and the assimilation of different peoples over a vast territory encompassing the majority of the known world, which has been conquered by the Ottomans. The author calls this the "Age of Awakening." The key factor in this awakening is a different interpretation of Islam, one which breaks its ties to Eastern Gnosticism and embraces modern science and rationality. Of course, this will only become possible through a different system of education. As in other texts, the themes of "awakening" and "progress" – with a Turkist-Islamist vision, albeit a more low-key one – predominate in "Colloquy under the Pines."

The second part of the work, which takes place in the future and has a direct message for the age in which it was written, likewise puts an emphasis on education. In this work of fiction, it is understood – even if not elaborated in much detail – that the Turks are once more the most powerful and wealthy country on earth. The work makes it clear that the Turkish nation – currently living through the darkest times in their

history following the disaster of the Balkan War – will be able to get back on their feet again by giving priority to education, with the aid of a guide to lead them and show them the way to salvation.

The second part of the work, which does not provide a detailed or original perspective of the future, seems to have been written in order to drive home the message in the first part. The first part, by contrast, is more detailed and more interesting. We do not often see the “what if” scenario – which furnishes ample scope for creativity and speculation – employed as it is here. For that reason, the text’s approach is an original one.

In order to position this approach, it may be useful to recall the concept of “immanent critique,” to which Hegel, Marx, and the Frankfurt School had recourse. This concept assumes that approaches which critique a phenomenon by way of specific external norms and criteria not contained in that phenomenon are thereby invalid. What needs to be done is to critique existing reality by getting to its roots, showing that “what is” also contains “what ought to be,” but that the latter only manifests itself under certain social and historical conditions, and demonstrating that this inherent “what ought to be” can be juxtaposed with existing reality as a goal.³⁹⁷ Utopias based on normative criticism can be described as “transcendent utopias,” while those based on immanent criticism can be termed “immanent utopias.” In this sense, unlike other works, Yahya Kemal’s “Colloquy under the Pines” can be seen as an “immanent utopia.” The basic assumption in this narrative is that the existing order possesses the dynamics which can make an ideal social order possible, and that this ideal order will emerge through the expunging of elements which currently are causing these dynamics to degenerate.

³⁹⁷ Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm, and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 21-43. As Benhabib has pointed out, both Hegel and Marx have performed an “immanent critique” of bourgeois civil society and the theories which legitimize it. The basis of this approach is to show that what appears to be a given is actually not a natural phenomenon at all, but rather a reality shaped by historical and social concerns.

5.5. First a Turanist, Then a Socialist: Ethem Nejat

This chapter will focus on the works of Ethem Nejat (1882-1921),³⁹⁸ whose short yet extraordinarily active life is a good example of the sort of experiences that could be had by an intellectual of this period. Moreover, the story of Nejat's life also indicates the extent to which certain ideologies which we encounter today in crystallized form were intertwined during his own era.



Illustration 29: Ethem Nejat³⁹⁹

Nejat began his career as an educator, teaching in Balkan cities like Ellassona (in present-day Greece) and Manastır (Bitola, in the present-day Republic of Macedonia). His career as a writer began in 1908, with his writings taking the Turkist-Turanist line prevalent among those associated with the journal *Türk Yurdu*. Nejat participated in the Balkan War as a volunteer – along with a group of student scouts – and was taken captive by the Serbs. During the First World War, he traveled to Germany, where he took an interest in socialism, and was drawn to the German Spartacists. He later returned to Turkey in order to take part in the National Struggle, publishing the journal *Kurtuluş* [Liberation] and founding the Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey. Subsequently, he went to Baku to join the followers of Turkish communist leader Mustafa Suphi. This group was eventually invited to Turkey by Atatürk; on the way,

³⁹⁸ The author's year of birth is subject to some difference of opinion; one can find different dates such as 1882, 1883, and 1887.

³⁹⁹ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/22/Ethem_Nejat.png/250px-Ethem_Nejat.png (Accessed 15.08.2014)

they were murdered in Trabzon by Yahya Kahya (the head of the boatmen's guild and a prominent CUP boss in Trabzon), on January 28th-29th, 1921.



Illustration 30: Ethem Nejat (middle), Mustafa Suphi (right)⁴⁰⁰

The works which we will examine here consist of the narratives published as separate books entitled *Yiğit Türkler* [The Heroic Turks]⁴⁰¹ and *Çiftlik Müdürü* [The Farm Overseer]⁴⁰². The stories take place in the future, taking agricultural development as the basis of Turkey's future, and depicting a Turkist fantasy.

Before we start analyzing these works, it is worth mentioning Ethem Nejat's two other works that lay the theoretical grounds for the future perspective reflected in the stories. The first one is his "Happy Village" project.⁴⁰³ This project was presented in a serialized article written by Nejat along with his friend Osman Ferit [Uyguç] for the journals *Yeni Fikir* [The New Idea] and *Toprak* [The Land]. Spurred on by the problem of settling refugees from the Balkan War, Nejat and Uyguç designed an ideal Turkish village, envisioning it as the basis for the country's development. Secondly, in his book *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods]⁴⁰⁴, Nejat lays out his political views, promoting the Turkist ideology from the standpoint of education. All of the above four works were written in 1913, and were published one after another immediately following the Balkan War. In a sense, *The*

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<http://kansudan.blogspot.com.tr/2013/04/rosa-luxemburg-ve-turk-spartakistler.html>

(Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴⁰¹ Ethem Nejat, *Yiğit Türkler* [The Heroic Turks] (Istanbul: Çiftçi Kütüphanesi, 1329 [1913]).

⁴⁰² Ethem Nejat, *Çiftlik Müdürü* [The Farm Overseer] (Istanbul: Yeni Turan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]).

⁴⁰³ Faruk Öztürk draws attention to the resemblances between Nejat's project and Owen's projects called "Villages of Cooperation" and "Plan," which he tried to realize in the town of New Lanark. Faruk Öztürk, "Türk Düşüncesinde Bir Ütopya: 'Mesut Köy'" [A Utopia in Turkish Thought: the 'Happy Village'], *Bilim ve Ütopya* [Science and Utopia] 187 (January 2010): 49-50.

⁴⁰⁴ Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods] (Istanbul: Yeni Turan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]). There exists a Latin-script edition of Nejat's book: Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods], ed. Faruk Öztürk (Istanbul: Kızıl Elma Yayıncılık, 2001).

Heroic Turks and *The Farm Overseer* are works which aim to flesh out the principles set forth in the non-fictional texts discussed above, through a process of literary montage, in order to express a utopian vision of the future. Below, we will examine these works, in order to reveal the content of Nejat's utopia.

The Farm Overseer

Nejat's *The Farm Overseer*, written in 1913, is the first book in a series entitled *Terbiyevî Hikâyeler Külliyyatı* [A Collection of Instructive Tales]. The events in the book take place in Konya in the years between 1349 and 1355 in the Rumi calendar – i.e., roughly between 1933 and 1940. The author is thus narrating events occurring 20-30 years after the date of composition.

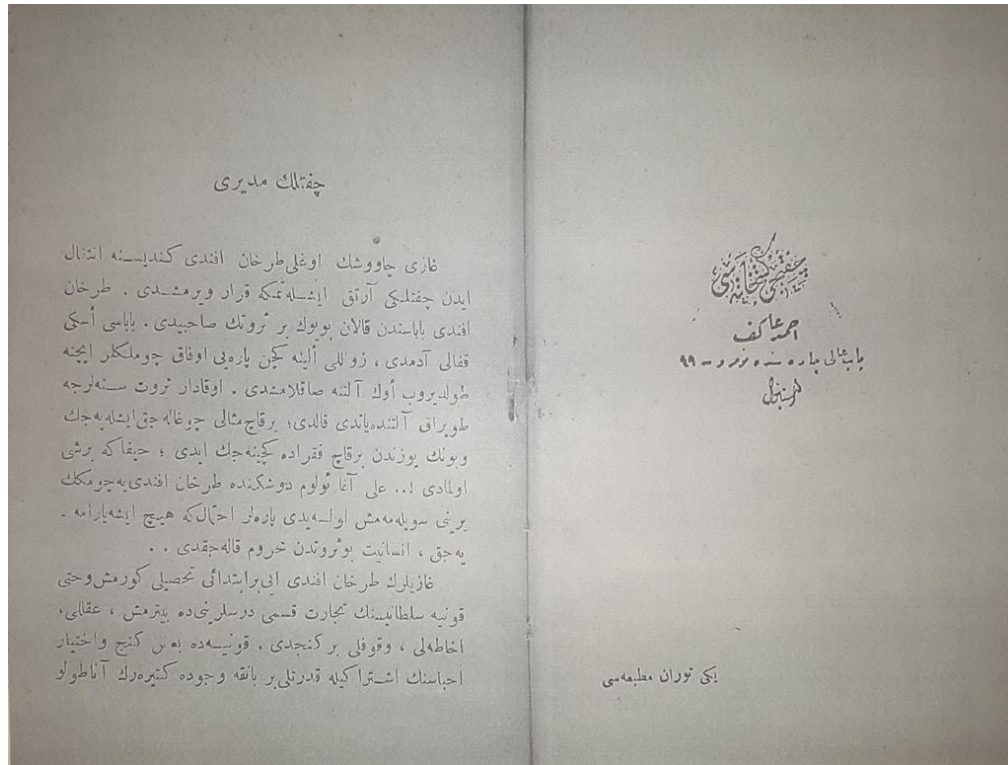


Illustration 31: The first page of *The Farm Overseer*⁴⁰⁵

The main character, Turhan Efendi, inherits a large fortune from his father, as well as a farm of 500 hectares; he decides to take on the management of this farm. Although he has only received a primary school education, Turhan Efendi is an entrepreneur who has even founded a bank in Konya. Desiring to emulate the lords and rich people he has seen on a visit to England, he wishes to work during the daytime, and to lead a rural life on his farm in the evening. To that end, he decides to find an overseer for the farm,

⁴⁰⁵ Private collection (E.K.)

writing a letter to the “Executive Office for Employment,”⁴⁰⁶ and putting ads in the newspapers. Nothing comes of these efforts; for the past five years, everyone has flocked around these experts, and they now administer all plots of land. Finally, Turhan Efendi receives an application in response to an ad he has placed in the largest agricultural journal of its day, *Toprak* [The Land],⁴⁰⁷ which has a circulation of 300,000. (6-7) The applicant for the position is Bayezit Ferit, a young graduate of an agricultural college.

This text has been conceived as an exchange of letters between Bayezit Ferit and his friend Tokuz Akif. The latter, the son of an author and journalist, is the manager of a journal called *Çiftlik* [The Farm]; as for Bayezit Ferit, he has been partly named after Osman Ferit [Uyguç], the closest friend and colleague of Ethem Nejat. The fathers of these two protagonists are friends with one another; in other words, the author has imagined Tokuz and Bayezit Ferit as the children of himself and his friend. In this sense, the text follows the “ideal youth / ideal child” line of utopian literature.

Bayezit Ferit’s journey to Konya provides clues – brief though they may be – about what Anatolia will be like in the future. For instance, in the “Great Turan Hotel” where he stays upon arriving in Konya, the entire staff – from the most menial positions up through the top management – is Turkish; everyone also speaks a number of foreign languages. (12) Moreover, as will be seen below, transportation and logistical infrastructure play a very important role in the author’s vision of the future in *The Heroic Turks*. Here too – as in nearly every text considered in this study – we are treated to a vision of the Bosphorus Bridge, known in this case as the “Sarayburnu-Üsküdar Bridge.” (9) In addition, there is a high-speed train known as the “Anatolian Fast Train”⁴⁰⁸, which not only traverses Anatolia, but also travels along the Persian Gulf all the way to India. Air transportation has also become very practical; people can board planes from stops in front of their own houses, just like bus stops. (21) At the same time – unlike the bare Anatolian countryside of the past – not a single centimeter of land lies fallow in the areas where the train passes through; crops have been planted everywhere. People’s physique has improved, as well: now, the fields are worked by tall, well-built young Turkish women, with red cheeks and healthy-looking faces. (10)

At this point, we are given a brief account of this future history. The starting-point for this process of “awakening” was the Balkan War:

The liveliness and joyfulness which pleased us all undoubtedly betokened a great national awakening. As you know, the Balkan War increased in us the desires and ambitions that are found a nation

⁴⁰⁶ The *İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu* [Labor Exchange] was founded in Turkey in 1946; Nejat envisions its existence in 1913.

⁴⁰⁷ This can be taken as an instance of “wishful thinking” on the author’s part concerning his own journal *Toprak*, which he began publishing in 1913.

⁴⁰⁸ The realization of this dream has not been as successful as that of the Bosphorus Bridge. High-speed train projects have only recently come to life in hubs in the nearer parts of Western Anatolia, such as Konya, Eskişehir, and Ankara.

wishing to survive; these national goals and ambitions were based on a belief that Turkey will only advance through agriculture and economics. Our youths have become farmers; enrollment in our agricultural colleges is full; and students are pouring into agricultural colleges in Europe. What's more, you know that in his own day my father was the lead writer for the newspaper "....."; they had a strong, wholesome influence on young people's emerging love of agriculture. The awakening which began thirty years ago filled the villages and farms of Anatolia with young scientifically-minded farmers. At first, the villagers were taken aback by the new machines. These Turkish villagers are quite youthful-minded and progressive by nature; when they saw everything at first hand and understood how easy it was to use – and received invaluable guidance from these youths – they happily accepted the new farm tools and machines.⁴⁰⁹ (11)

Bayezit Ferit comes to an agreement with Turhan Efendi, and is given the job; with the aid of books he has people send him from America, he carries out a splendid five-year project. Bayezit Ferit sells his old imported tools and buys local products. He also constructs workers' dormitories with Turkish-style architecture; houses in the neighboring villages will later be built according to the same plans. He gets on well with the neighboring villagers, and forms a partnership with them; he has transportation carried out by locomotives instead of animals; and he purchases some tractors. His most radical move is bringing electricity to the farm; this causes all the work to be mechanized, maximizing output and thus profit. Moreover, this does not lead to a decrease in employment, but an increase. Now, instead of merely practicing primitive grain cultivation, his farm has progressed to agriculture-based industrialization. In addition, Bayezit Ferit sets up a school so that the children of farmers can learn. The school instills the following principle in its students: "Life is lived for the sake of the nation. People have come into this world in order to serve and sacrifice themselves for the nation – and for no other reason."⁴¹⁰ Alongside their love of agriculture, the students are brought up as little soldiers, with daily shooting drills. (33)

After the infrastructure has thus been put in place, a transformation can be observed in many areas. Bayezit Ferit takes up insect cultivation. He plants a vine of red grapes, aiming to open a wine factory; he opens a scientific dairy, as well. He

⁴⁰⁹ "Hepimizi sevindiren zindelik, Őenlik Őuþhesiz ki, byk milli intibahın yadigndır. Biliyorsunuz ki Balkan Harbi yaŐamamak isteyen bir millette hasıl olan arzuları, emelleri bizde ykseltti; milli emeller, gayeler arkasında, dendi ki: Bu yurt ancak ziraatı, iktisadiyatı sayesinde ykselir. Genler ifti oldular, ziraat mektepleri doldu, Avrupa ziraat mekteplerine talebeler yađdı. Hatta bilirsiniz ki benim babam o vakit '...' gazetesinde sermuaharrirdi; onların genler arasında ziraat aŐkının dođmasında byk, faziletli bir tesiri oldu. Otuz sene evvel baŐlayan intibah Anadolu kylerini, iftliklerini mtefennin ifti genlerle doldurdu. Kyller makineleri hayretlerle karŐladılar. Fıtraten pek gen ve terakkiperver olan Trk kylleri kolaylıđı yakından grnce, anlayınca ve genlerin pek kıymetli irŐatlarına mazhar olunca yeni ifti alet ve makinelerini memnuniyetle kabul ettiler."

⁴¹⁰ "Hayat vatan iindir. İnsanlar vatana hizmet ve fedakrlık eylemek iin dnyaya gelmiŐlerdir, baŐka bir Őey iin deđil."

expands and reorganizes his vegetable gardens. The resulting products are transported in refrigerated vehicles to other cities, where they are sold; they are even exported abroad. He also becomes involved in bee-keeping, and starts a honey business. Within five years, the farm becomes a sizeable operation.

In observing the advances made on the farm, we also witness an overall picture of agriculture-based development in Turkey thirty years into the future. First of all, society's perception of the farming profession – formerly held in disdain – has changed; it has become a popular career choice. A friend of the narrator's works as a manager on a farm in Austria, while other friends of his purchase plots of land in Yemen, setting up an agricultural colony there. Moreover, the Turks have made great advances in the production of agricultural machines, which they also export; all the innovations in this field have been fully utilized. (17, 23) Along with Tokuz's books and his model laboratory, his newspaper *Çiftçi* [The Farmer] – thanks to the wealth of information which it provides – becomes a source of intellectual capital for these advances. (20)

Thus, the future imagined by Nejat is a quite bright and secure. (34) Children study subjects like gardening, canning, dairy production, machine production, electrics, farming, and bee-keeping. When they become properly trained, they will be able to carry out these tasks in a more professional manner, allowing society to develop more systematically.

The Heroic Turks

The Heroic Turks is the second book in the series known as *A Collection of Instructive Tales*, immediately following *The Farm Overseer*. The text consists of three sections giving details about Nejat's vision of the future; the first of these sections focuses on an event called "Heroes' Day," which could be likened to a kind of Turkish Olympiad. The event takes place in the city known as "The Golden Tent," understood to be the capital of the future Turkish empire. This crowded, magnificent city is located in the middle of Anatolia; nothing like it can be found in America, the Far East, or anywhere else, and its brilliant monuments are a reflection of Turkey's brilliant future. (3)

The author puts particular emphasis on the city's logistical capabilities. Electric railways operate from The Golden Tent to the Persian Gulf; to Erzurum and the Black Sea; to Istanbul, the Balkans, and Izmir; to the great Silver Dock in the Gulf of Iskenderun; and to Damascus, the Hejaz, and Yemen. Electric trams and airplanes constitute an indispensable part of the transportation system; other elements in this perfectly functioning system include "air trains,"⁴¹¹ "swinging vehicles which slide down a cable,"⁴¹² trams, cars, balloons, underground roads, and "sliding pavements."⁴¹³ (4-5)

⁴¹¹ Unless the author is referring to trains which run on top of viaducts, he presumably means trains which travel through the air like blimps.

⁴¹² I.e., cable cars.

The “millions” of visitors who come for the games are full of excitement as they tour the city, which is full of mosques with lofty domes; great imposing buildings; schools built in the Turkish architectural style; the great dome of the University,⁴¹⁴ surrounded by smaller “baby” domes; assembly-places with wide eaves, decorated with Turkish arches; and physical education centers. (5)

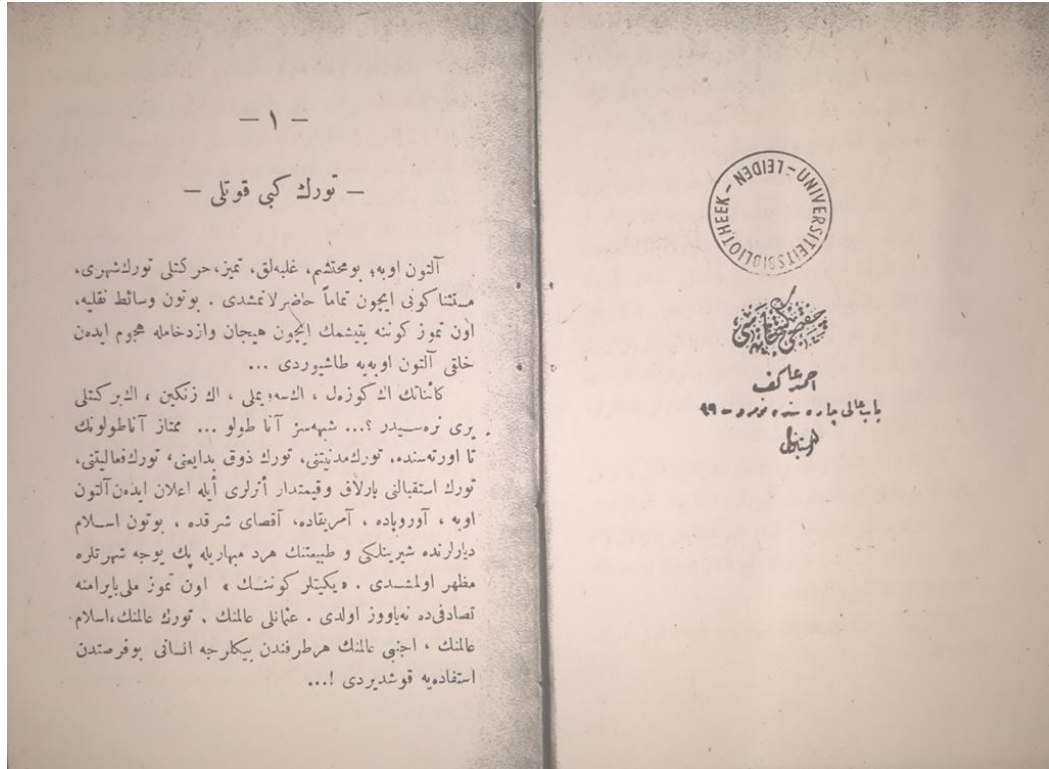


Illustration 32: The first page of *The Heroic Turks*⁴¹⁵

Everyone in this marvellous city is excited about two events: National Day⁴¹⁶ on July 10th, and “Heroes’ Day,” which occurs at the same time this year. A band known as the “Turkish Brass Band” adds to the excitement. This band, which very much resembles the classical *Mehter* band, does not perform Western music, but features only classical Turkish instruments such as the *zurna* [clarinet], *ney* [flute], *kaval* [shepherd’s pipe], *boru* [bugle], *zil* [bells], *kudüm* [small twin drums], *nekkâre* [small twin drums, similar

⁴¹³ I.e., moving walkways.

⁴¹⁴ As of 2014, Istanbul possessed 49 universities, apart from military academies and vocational colleges. It is interesting that almost all of the texts in the present study feature an ideal city with only one university (with the exception of *Ruşeni’s Dream* in which there are two), and that the notion of there being more than one has never occurred to the authors. A university is apparently understood as an institution of which there can only be one per city (like a governor’s office or city hall).

⁴¹⁵ Private collection (E.K.)

⁴¹⁶ In 1909, the Constitutional Revolution of July 10th [July 23rd], 1908 began to be celebrated as the Ottoman Empire’s sole national holiday. After the establishment of the Republic, it continued to be celebrated until its abolition in May 1935. The author predicts that – notwithstanding the Balkan Catastrophe – this day will still be celebrated in the future as the country’s biggest national holiday.

to the *kudüm*], and *davul* [large drum]; it performs songs which stir up nationalist feelings. Indeed, the author states that the national anthem evokes sentiments of martial valor, patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice. (7)

The sporting events at these games are different from those found at normal Olympic games. In the horse-race known as the “Sultan’s Course,” Turkish, English, American, and Arab jockeys participate alongside eight Ottoman princes. While only the Heroic Turks take part in the ten-hour-long endurance race, the footrace is host to an age-old rivalry between university students from Istanbul and those from The Golden Tent. In the Turkish-style wrestling event, the dominance of wrestlers from Turkey is unchallenged. The races involving bicycles, motorcycles, sail-powered bicycles, and flying bicycles⁴¹⁷ are also very entertaining. Another event consists of a battle in which the contestants – equipped with slings and catapults – pelt each other with rocks. This contest – in which 15 athletes are injured – attracts much attention, and is recorded on film in order to be shown in Europe. The contest which receives the most attention, however, is the jereed⁴¹⁸ match. The love between Günseli and Oğuz, who compete fiercely in this contest, will constitute the main topic of the second and third parts of the text.

Before addressing these second and third parts, however, it will be useful to discuss the organization known as the “Heroic Turks” – after which the text is named – in more detail. The Heroic Turks compete in the games along with members of the organization known as the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*].⁴¹⁹ Unlike the Turkish Might, which actually existed, the Heroic Turks are an invention of the author.⁴²⁰ The latter

⁴¹⁷ A vehicle which is operated by turning pedals, and which rises half a meter to two meters above the ground.

⁴¹⁸ A traditional Turkish javelin game played outdoors on horseback. For the history and description of this game, see “Turkish Jereed (Javelin)”, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN.35103/the-game-of-jereed.html> (accessed 27.11.2014).

⁴¹⁹ Following the Balkan Catastrophe, the Union and Progress Party decided to implement the doctrine set forth in the 1883 book *Das Volk in Waffen* [The Nation in Arms, translated into Turkish as *Millet-i Müsellaha* (trans. Mehmet Tahir, İstanbul: Ebuzyiya Matbaası, 1884)], written by Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (known as “Goltz Paşa”). To that end, the Union and Progress Party had various paramilitary organizations set up in March of 1913; one of these was the *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti* [Turkish Might Society], among whose founders was Ethem Nejat. The Turkish Might and similar organizations aimed to prepare the younger generations for war, to make physical education more widespread, and to bring about the militarization of education. For more information on such organizations, see Sanem Yamak Ateş, *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi’nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askeri Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri* [Raising a Generation of Soldiers: Physical Education, Military Drills, and Paramilitary Youth Organizations in the Second Constitutional Period] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012). For more on how these policies were reflected in the Republican period, see Yiğit Akın, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* [A Robust, Resolute Generation: Physical Education and Sports in the Early Republic] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), and Demet Lüküslü, *Türkiye’de Gençlik Miti (1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği)* [The Myth of Youth in Turkey (Turkish Youth in the Post-1980 Era)] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009).

⁴²⁰ The journal *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland] reported that an association known as the *Yiğit Türkler Ocağı* [Hearth of the Heroic Turks] was founded in Konya in 1916 for the purpose of promoting physical education. Mehmet Salih Erkek states that this association probably took its name from Nejat’s story. See Mehmet Salih Erkek, *Bir Meşrutiyet Aydını: Ethem Nejat 1887-1921* [An Intellectual of the Constitutional Period: Ethem Nejat, 1887-1921] (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 67.

can be understood to be a paramilitary youth organization: “The Heroic Turks are an association devoted to physical education and military training, with a branch in every part of the Turkish world.” (12) The text mentions different branches of the organization in different cities. One can get an idea of how the author conceives the borders of the Turkish world when one considers that the Heroic Turks have branches not only in Istanbul, Izmir, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Trabzon, and other Anatolian cities, but also in Azerbaijan, Bukhara, Kazan, Mongolia, Siberia, and the Crimea. It seems that the Balkan War is once more the great rupture that shapes the future course of events in this book. In the happy future of *The Heroic Turks*, cities which were lost during the war, such as Salonica, Edirne, and Manastır (Bitola), have been reclaimed, and are now named *Hür Yurt* [Free Homeland], *Koca Emel* [Great Ambition], and *Kızıl Tepe* [Red Hill], respectively. (12)

28,000 Heroic Turks from all of these branches attend the competitions, being divided into battalions. In the Heroic Turks’ Preparatory Battalion, made up of children aged 12 to 17, there are no puny, listless children, such as used to be found in Istanbul; the children are all tall and broad-chested. Those between the age of 17 and military age make up the Youth Battalion – a veritable battalion of giants. The Lads’ Battalion, consisting of those who have completed their military service, is made up of young men who are slightly older in age, but still very robust. Moreover, both the Turkish Might and the Heroic Turks have women’s branches. The girls in these branches do not laze about like harem girls behind a screen; each one of them is like a soldier. (13-15) One of these girls is Günseli.

The education received by Günseli and Oğuz in the second part of the text provides clues as to the author’s notion of an ideal system of education; in fact, this is one of the most original parts of the entire work. Here, Nejat’s vision is not limited to the existing advanced state of education found in the West during this period. Rather, in accordance with the author’s vision, Oğuz’s father wants to raise his son to be strong and powerful, with a desire for revenge. This is his “ideal”; he believes that it will not be achieved through wishes alone, but only if his child is inculcated with a desire for revenge through systematic training.

While Oğuz’s intellectual training is being carried out in this manner, his physical education continues under his mother’s supervision. Oğuz does not go to school until the age of 12 or 13, and only reads books for two hours a day. The rest of his time is spent plowing the fields, using a harvester, driving a cart, rowing, fishing and hunting birds, doing woodworking, playing the *kaval*, and singing. Moreover, a few times a year he travels within Turkey and abroad, visiting factories, mines, and centers of science and learning. (20)

His father later sends him to an open-air school where he is trained as a farmer. (In referring to this school as the “happy school,” the author is no doubt alluding to his own “Happy Village” project.) The chief values inculcated in this mixed-sex school are those of fatherland, nation, work, and honor.

Günseli's education is based on similar principles. Her father, through eugenic techniques, has turned cattle weighing 100-150 kilograms into 1000-kilogram bulls over three generations; he believes that the same methods will prove beneficial to human beings, adopting this Social Darwinist approach in his daughter's upbringing. His goal is to produce vigorous offspring, full of a desire for revenge, within a few generations.

Accordingly, Günseli is raised in the countryside. She loves to shoot birds with her double-barreled rifle, to fly around in her plane, and to swim in the sea. The teachers chosen by her father do not assign her many books; she only likes to read books on recent Turkish history. The sections of those books describing Turkey's decline are quite upsetting to Günseli, and make her very sad; this in turn gives rise to a desire for revenge on her part. (22) Interestingly, the author presents an alternative method of revenge carried out by Günseli: she sometimes quells the fires of vengeance by going deep into the forest and killing animals with her double-barreled rifle; similarly, she sometimes "stands in front of the corn-granulator and spends hours feeding stalks of corn into the teeth of the machine"; "in this way," the author writes, "she takes her revenge..."⁴²¹ (23) Atypically, passages like these suggest the possibility of satisfying one's desire for revenge, not by savagely killing one's enemies, but by contributing to national progress.

Günseli goes to the same school as Oğuz, her true goal being to learn dairy production and home economics; alongside these subjects, she has an opportunity to learn horseback riding, hunting, jereed, rowing, and sailing. She is, moreover, quite good at all of these, and often competes against Oğuz. After the competition recounted in the first section of the work, the two fall in love with each other, and get married.

The third section of the book takes place a few years later. The couple now has a son named Turgut and a daughter named Nilüfer. A war breaks out in this section, giving an opportunity for Oğuz and Günseli to display the training they have received. The enemy is not, as one might expect, the Balkan States, but rather a power which – it is implied – is their patron: Russia, the "great, murderous enemy." War breaks out when the Russians turn the land of Turan into a bloodbath, cruelly oppressing the Turks. Günseli and Oğuz thus have a chance to satisfy their longing for revenge, one which they have harbored since childhood.

First of all, they make large monetary contributions to the war effort. The Turkish Might and the Heroic Turks are already structured like individual armies – thus, it is a simple matter for each to be transformed into an actual fighting force. Oğuz and Günseli both serve in these armies; in the end, Oğuz gives his life in order to capture a strategically critical location. At that point, the war is won, and the Turks are saved and freed from the Russians. Upon hearing that Oğuz has died in this manner, his

⁴²¹ "mısır taneleyen makinenin başına geçerek makinenin dişlerine mısır koçanlarımı tevdi etmekle saatlerle çalışır... İntikam böyle de alınır..."

father is pleased that his son has attained his “ideal”; Günseli is likewise happy that her husband has become a model of heroism for young people. (29-31)

In 1918, the Ministry of Education sent Nejat to Germany to do research; there, he met the Social Democrats and Spartacists, as a result of whose influence he adopted a socialist worldview. As we have seen, Nejat had previously been an intellectual who tended more towards Turkism and idealism. The subjects on which Nejat focused the most during this period were the need for a national ideal, reform in education, and agriculture-based development projects. Of the works referred to in this thesis, the book *What is Turkishness? Educational Methods* and the “Happy Village” project lay out the principles Nejat adopted on these subjects, while the works *The Farm Overseer* and *The Heroic Turks* choose to illustrate these principles by means of literature, expressing their utopian vision in this manner. It is significant that these four works were published in the same year, i.e., in 1913, the year of the Balkan Catastrophe. Indeed, the deep scars left by the agonizing consequences of the Balkan War are apparent in Nejat’s vision. For this reason, these works feature elements like an attempt at nationalist social engineering, the need for a guide, a desire for revenge, and the militarization of society. Nonetheless, these entirely unknown stories, in embodying the ideas to which Nejat dedicated his life, represent a highly original approach.

5.6. Celal Nuri in the Context of Westernism

The focus of this chapter will be Celal Nuri [İleri]'s work and his ideological stance with regard to Westernization. However, since he is a member of the movement known as Westernism, a brief discussion of this movement will be useful in order to contextualize Celal Nuri's writings.



Illustration 33: Celal Nuri İleri⁴²²

Concepts like “the West” and “Westernization” are among the key elements in a comprehensive Ottoman Turkish modernization project which occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries. All of the ideological approaches that emerged during this period contained an attempt to come to terms with such concepts. Throughout this period, different attitudes towards these concepts were reflected in the fields of politics, society, culture, and literature. Several texts which we examined earlier – the “Green Homeland” project of the authors of the *Servet-i Fünun* movement, as well as Ali Kemal's *Fetret* – need to be considered in this context.

At the end of the Second Constitutional period, the movement advocating Westernization came to be known as *Garpçılık* [Westernization], and the representatives of this movement as *Garpçılar* [The Westernizers].⁴²³ What made the

⁴²² <http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/koleksiyon/celal-nuri-ileri-photo-resna-65293528> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴²³ Şükrü Hanioglu, “Batıcılık” [Westernism], *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Turkey from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic], v.5 (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1382. For more on Westernism, see *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 3: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*

Garpcilar's stance different from that of previous eras was their advocacy of a more systematic, comprehensive Westernization, one which included the areas of morality and culture; this was quite unlike the selective, synthetic approach which had favored borrowing science/technology from the West, while preserving Eastern ("our") religion/morality/traditions. Accordingly, the *Garpcilar*'s main target was Islam. This phenomenon of targeting the Islamic religion had also become familiar to the public to a large extent, through Abdullah Cevdet's translation into Turkish of Reinhard Dozy's work *Voornaamste Godsdiensten: Het Islamisme* [The Main Religions: Islamism], with its critical and antagonistic approach towards Islam.⁴²⁴ The *Garpcilar* sought to jettison the aspects of Islam which hindered progress, and to create an ethics which was independent of Islam.

During this period, three names in particular stand out as the leaders of this movement: Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ, 1869-1932], Kılıçzade Hakkı [Kılıçoğlu, 1872-1960], and Celal Nuri [İleri, 1881-1938]. These intellectuals produced works laying out their own views, sometimes in different and sometimes in the same organs of the press. However, as an instance of a shared ideological platform, the journal *İçtihat* – which Abdullah Cevdet published in various cities, with interruptions, from 1904 to 1932 – deserves special mention.

Even before the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, Abdullah Cevdet⁴²⁵ was already producing works which reflected his future-oriented outlook. In Cevdet's fantasy (again, in the form of a dream) entitled *Mahkeme-i Kübra* [The Great Court],⁴²⁶ Abdülhamid II is judged before historical personalities such as Caliph Omar and Sultan Selim I; the author's goal in writing this work was to show the right path to people by displaying the faults of Abdülhamid's repressive regime. His *Uyanınız! Uyanınız!* [Awaken! Awaken!]⁴²⁷ deals with the theme of awakening, one which has been frequently encountered in this thesis. Another prominent member of the *Garpcilar*, Kılıçzade Hakkı, produced numerous works in support of the movement. Hakkı often made the argument that Islam had been incorrectly interpreted, and that this was the main reason for Turkey's backwardness. In particular, his essays and short stories (e.g. "Dinsizler" [The Faithless Ones] and "Yunus Hoca" [Yunus the Teacher])

[Political Through in Modern Turkey, Volume 3: Modernization and Westernism] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002); Şükrü Hanioglu, "Garpcilar: Their Attitudes toward Religion and Their Impact on the Official Ideology of the Turkish Republic," *Studia Islamica*, No. 86 (1997), 133-158.

⁴²⁴ Reinhart Dozy, *De Voornaamste Godsdiensten: Het Islamisme* [The Main Religions: Islamism] (Haarlem, 1863). Abdullah Cevdet translated this book into Turkish from its French edition (*L'essai sur L'Histoire de L'Islamisme* [An Essay on the History of Islam], trans. Victor Chauvin (Paris, 1879)).

⁴²⁵ For a study of Abdullah Cevdet, see Şükrü Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* [A Political Thinker: Doctor Abdullah Cevdet and His Era] (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981).

⁴²⁶ This book was first printed in lithograph in Paris in 1896; it was later re-published in Cairo in 1908. For the fascinating tale of adventure surrounding this banned book, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalara*, 106-110.

⁴²⁷ Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ], *Uyanınız! Uyanınız!* [Awaken! Awaken!] (Cairo: Matbaa-i İçtihat, 1907).

in his book *İtikadât-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harp*⁴²⁸ [A Declaration of War upon Obsolete Beliefs], which was published during the Balkan War, support this viewpoint of his.

Hakkı's letter to Celal Nuri, which was published in *İctihat* under the title "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku" [A Very Vigilant Sleep],⁴²⁹ can be read as a statement of the *Garpcılar*'s Westernization program concerning the state administration, religion, women, education, economy, national defense and the like. Stressing the importance of this text, Hanioglu states that the majority of the ideas it lays out were realized during the Republican period, and that it therefore served as a road-map for the reformers of the Turkish Republic.⁴³⁰ This text, too, has been composed in the form of a dream, thus being linked to the classical tradition of the dream narrative which we have seen employed in many other texts. Another important aspect of this text from the standpoint of the present study is that it was published in February-March 1913 – i.e., while the Balkan War was raging, and the catastrophe of that war was still being experienced. Hakkı himself was of Balkan origin, having been born in the Serbian city of Niš, and the marks left by the Balkan Catastrophe are quite conspicuous in this work. Hakkı's program of modernization contains measures which were quite radical in their own time. Having been greatly influenced by the feeling of defeat brought about by the Balkan War, his program expresses the need for a wide-scale mobilization of society, in order to take revenge on the country's enemies.

Now we can focus on the main subject of this chapter, namely Celal Nuri and his work. Like many of the authors dealt with in the present study, Nuri was of Balkan origins; his father, Mustafa Nuri Bey, was from Crete, and was a member of the Ottoman Senate. Nuri's mother, Nefise Hanım, was from Albania, the daughter of Abidin Paşa, who had once served as Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁴³¹ Thus, as we will see, Nuri's sensitivity to the Balkan Catastrophe can be explained, to a certain extent, by his family origins. Nuri was a Member of Parliament in the last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies; he subsequently lent his support to the National Struggle, and was a deputy in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for its first four terms.

However, it would be more accurate to term Nuri a journalist, author, and intellectual, rather than a politician. In his relatively short life, Nuri was a highly productive author, publishing around 50 books and 2444 articles.⁴³² He began his career as an author after 1908, publishing the majority of his books during and after the

⁴²⁸ Kılıçzade Hakkı, *İtikadât-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harp* [A Declaration of War upon Obsolete Beliefs] (Istanbul, Sancakçıyan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]).

⁴²⁹ [I.H.], "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku" [A Very Vigilant Sleep], *İctihat* [Jurisprudence] v. 3, no: 55, 57 (19 Kânunusani 1329 [February 1st, 1913], 7 Mart 1329 [March 20th, 1913]), 1226-1228, 1261-1264. An English translation of the entire text can be found in the Appendix of Şükrü Hanioglu's article "Garpcılar" [The Westernizers]. Hanioglu, "Garpcılar," 150-158.

⁴³⁰ Hanioglu, "Garpcılar," 141.

⁴³¹ Necmi Uyanık, "Batıcı Bir Aydın Olarak Celal Nuri İleri ve Yenileşme Sürecinde Fikir Hareketlerine Bakışı" [Celal Nuri İleri as a Westernizing Intellectual, and His Outlook on Intellectual Movements in the Modernization Process], *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* [Selçuk University Journal of Turkish Studies] 1 (2004): 231-232.

⁴³² Uyanık, "Batıcı Bir Aydın," 237.

Balkan War. As a member of the *Garpçılar*, Nuri stressed the need for Westernization in order to achieve Turkey's salvation; he also believed that Islam in its then-existing form was the reason for the country's backwardness.⁴³³ In his works *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye* [A History of Ottoman Setbacks]⁴³⁴ and *İttihad-ı İslam* [The Unity of Islam]⁴³⁵ as well as numerous articles of his, Celal Nuri displayed an effort to shape the future by learning from the present, especially from the catastrophic Balkan defeat.



Illustration 34: Mehmet Celal Nuri Bey İleri⁴³⁶

In 1913, the year of the Balkan Catastrophe, Nuri produced another work, one that was quite comprehensive in scope. This three-volume book was entitled *Tarih-i İstikbal* [A History of the Future];⁴³⁷ as its name implies, it is a collection of Nuri's views on the future of Turkey in the aftermath of the Balkan Catastrophe. The core material of this chapter, "The Scenes and Pictures of the Future", appeared in this book. So, let us briefly examine the contents of this book.

⁴³³ For a study analyzing Nuri's approach on these issues, see Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Celal Nuri's Concepts of Westernization and Religion," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (March 2007), 247-258.

⁴³⁴ Celal Nuri [İleri], *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye* [A History of Ottoman Setbacks] (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331 [1913]).

⁴³⁵ Celal Nuri [İleri], *İttihad-ı İslam: İslam'ın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali* [The Unity of Islam: the Past, Present, and Future of Islam] (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331 [1913]). For a thesis on this book, see Halime Der, "Celal Nuri'nin 'İttihad-ı İslam' Adlı Eserinin Tahlil ve Değerlendirilmesi" [An Analysis and Evaluation of Celal Nuri's *İttihad-ı İslam*], Unpublished Master's Thesis, Fırat University, 2007.

⁴³⁶ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/63/Mehmet_Celâl_Nuri_Bey_İleri.jpg (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴³⁷ Celal Nuri [İleri], *Tarih-i İstikbal* [A History of the Future], 3 v. (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331-1332 [1913-1914]).

The first volume bears the title “Mesail-i Fikriye” [Intellectual Questions], the second volume “Mesail-i Siyasiye” [Political Questions], and the third volume “Mesail-i İçtimaiye” [Social Questions].⁴³⁸ In each volume, Nuri discusses the future of various concepts, phenomena, and institutions.

These volumes, which gather together pieces from different genres, contain highly interesting introductory sections, each of which has been composed as a kind of fantasy. In the first, the author falls asleep on the night of 8 Ağustos 1329 [August 21st, 1913] while preparing to write his book; in his dream, he travels seven thousand years into the past, to Ancient Egypt. There, he meets the prophet of Pharaoh Tuthmosis, named Titmes, and asks him about the fate of his country. Titmes stresses the relationship between the past and the future, saying that without knowing the past, it is impossible to know the future, either. He states that if the narrator can acquire a compass which hangs from the neck of a statue of an Egyptian goddess, he will be able to obtain knowledge of both the past and the future. As the narrator tries to reach the compass, he wakes up. In this introductory section, Nuri is clearly emphasizing a kind of historical determinism.

The introduction to the second volume takes place during the time of the book’s composition, and is focused on the Balkan War. The author is extremely saddened by the events which have occurred:

Those bloody events, those heart-rending defeats, that misery which had taken over all of Libya and Rumelia, that trepidation which had infected people’s minds, aspirations, consciences, had all unnerved me; they had left me no chance even to take in these things, let alone reflect on them. The night passed ever so slowly, with ever so much torment.⁴³⁹ (7)

In such a state, the narrator passes out, and finds himself in his father’s homeland of Crete, where he himself spent part of his childhood. Crete has become a total ruin. From the tribes of the Danube, which the narrator flies by, all the way to the Fezzan in Libya, the entire empire is in a similar condition. In Rumelia, he enters the courtyard of a small mosque; it is full of the bones of martyrs, and the inside of the mosque has been defiled by the “unbelievers.” The narrator is so outraged by this state of affairs that he even questions his belief in God. In his sadness, he climbs Mt. Olympos, the mythical home of the Greek gods, where he encounters the muse Clio, described here as the “fairy of history and time.” The narrator begs her to show him the situation of the Turks in “future history.” Clio then shows him the events which will come to pass in the future. A glorious Turkish army passes through the Balkans and arrives at Shipka,

⁴³⁸ For the reception of this book during its own time, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalarda*, 161-162.

⁴³⁹ “O kanlı hadizat, dilhıraş hezimetler, bütün Trablus ve Rumeli’ye istila eden perişanî, zihinlere, emellere, vicdanlara sâri olan keşmekeş muvazene-i asabımı bozmuş, bende tefekküre değil, tahassüse bile mecal bırakmamıştı. Gece yavaş yavaş, eziyetli eziyetli geçiyordu.”

while another wing goes towards Kosovo. As the enemies are dispersing with shouts and screams, just as at the conquest of Istanbul, the Turks bravely take their revenge. The Greek army has been completely destroyed on the shores of the Vardar, and Salonica has been taken. Finally, Olympos is conquered as well, and

Clio, the fairy of time, could not longer maintain her indifference in the face of this awe-inspiring tableau. Agitatedly, she surrendered herself, along with all the spoils of the future, into the victorious hands of the Turkish officer.⁴⁴⁰ (15)

In short, the introduction to the second volume aims at instilling hope into Nuri's readers, despite all these unfortunate events.

The introduction to the third volume takes the reader to a different culture. The narrator, who is feeling quite unhappy, once more passes out, and finds himself speaking with the Indian goddess Jezeos, the mother of Krishna. With her help, the narrator travels in time, desiring that India's past might be his own country's future. A Brahmin priest whom he meets asks him to beg Vishnu to set Europe aflame: after all the evils which it has caused, Europe must be destroyed. There is no other way for a humanitarian civilization, and a perpetual peace, to come about.

The piece at the end of the third volume constitutes an interesting example of some of the themes dealt with in this study. Let us now proceed to an examination of this piece.

“The Scenes and Pictures of the Future”

As we have seen in previous chapters, a common feature of post-Balkan War literary works about the future is their tendency to envision state-centered utopias. They all imagined their ideal social orders around a powerful state organization. One exception – perhaps the sole exception – to this tendency can be found in this piece called “İstikbal Sahne ve Levhaları: Dünyadan Ahirete, Ahiretten Cihan-ı İstikbale, Latife-i Edebiye” [The Scenes and Pictures of the Future: from this World to the World to Come, from the World to Come to the World of the Future – a Literary Jest].⁴⁴¹

Rather than a full-fledged literary vision of the future, Nuri's work – as can be understood from the piece's sub-headings – is a very entertaining little fantasy. Nonetheless, it is a valuable work which offers abundant clues as to the imagination of a Turkish intellectual in 1913, an imagination which is not limited to the pressing issues of the day.

⁴⁴⁰ “Peri-i zaman Klio bu levha-i mehabetin karşısında artık muhafaza-i lakaydı edemiyordu. Bir galeyan ile kendisini bütün ganim-i âti ile Türk zabitanın yed-i galibiyetine teslim etti.”

⁴⁴¹ Celal Nuri, “İstikbal Sahne ve Levhaları: Dünyadan Ahirete, Ahiretten Cihan-ı İstikbale, Latife-i Edebiye” [The Scenes and Pictures of the Future: from this World to the World to Come, from the World to Come to the World of the Future – a Literary Jest] in *Tarih-i İstikbal*, v. 3: 148-164.

The piece begins with the death of its narrator. The Angels of Death – who, in accordance with Islamic belief, question those who have just died at their gravesite – arrive to find a departed soul who behaves in a manner to which they are quite unaccustomed. The narrator declares that because God is “all-knowing,” there is no need for them to question him; moreover, since he, the narrator, is already dead, he is not swayed by threats. The angels are taken aback, and leave.

The narrator finds the gate to the World to Come, and goes inside. He finds the World to Come to be as disorderly as the Ottoman state, for there is no one on duty there. Eventually, he finds someone on duty at the gate of Paradise, who greets the narrator in French with the words, “*Bonsoir Monsieur! Comment ça va?*” The narrator is angered on hearing this language of the infidels used by the devout gatekeeper of the Islamic Paradise; however, the gatekeeper does not take this personally, but asks the narrator all about the boulevards of Paris.

Overcoming the bureaucratic obstacles, the narrator is temporarily able to enter Paradise. Afterwards, thanks to a letter of recommendation from his religiously observant grandmother, he is able to settle there permanently. However, he feels unhappy there from the very start. First he becomes bored by the monotony of the place. The fact that no one dies in Paradise, and that everyone’s wishes come true without any difficulty, is very tedious. For instance, the walls of the room where he stays are made of tapioca pudding; the narrator thinks it would be nice if they also included a little *tavukgöğsü* [a Turkish pudding made from chicken breast], at which the walls immediately turn into *tavukgöğsü*. Then he complains about the disorderliness and lack of management in Paradise. Although Nuri writes memoranda and even books on this topic, nothing changes. By contrast, the narrator has heard that the Bulgarian and English paradises are very orderly. Interestingly, even in Paradise people are segregated according to nationality; furthermore, the presence of the Bulgarians and the English in Paradise is a sign that the author pays little heed to Islamic sensitivities.

Unable to cope with these difficulties anymore, the narrator obtains permission to go back to the world; he returns there with the help of a guide, by entering into the latter’s dream. The world has undergone drastic changes. The guide’s clothes are stuck to his body; moreover, all of the hairs on his body have been shaved off or plucked, including his eyebrows and eyelashes. People’s bodies have become slimmer, yet stronger. Intelligence and nerve function have greatly improved.

When the narrator asks his guide about the Austro-Hungarian question, he receives no answer; to his guide, such names belong to the distant past, like those of the Assyrians and the Romans. The narrator thus realizes that he has arrived in the hundred and fifty-second century. He and his guide prepare a two-day tour program, the first stop on which is the largest city in the world: Future City, Australia. They board a vehicle which catches a wave of “ether,” instantly taking them to Australia, thousands of kilometers away. In Future City, human beings are treated like machines. When the narrator requests some fresh air, a waiter attaches a hose to his stomach, and gives him an infusion of nitrogen; he also puts liquid drops on his tongue which sharpen his

intellect. Even so, the air is extremely hot. At that point, the narrator and his guide travel nearly at light speed to the North Pole, where fresh air can still be found. The Polar region is full of factories, dockyards, and cities.

At this point, we learn the history of the period leading up to this time. States ceased to exist in the twenty-second century; later, in the twenty-fifth century, the growing interconnectedness among human beings caused all languages to become one. By the twenty-seventh century, it had become impossible to tell apart men and women. The institutions of family and marriage were also done away with; however, women were held responsible for giving birth. The world was now run by a single government, on a communistic basis. Medicine became capable of treating brain and nerve disorders, thus eliminating crime, murder, immorality, and alcoholism. With advances in food technology, hunger and poverty disappeared, and people's stomachs and intestines became smaller. Most diseases were eliminated; in any case, with immunization of newborns, children no longer became ill. Because transportation had become so fast, telegraphs, telephones, and the postal system were all abolished. Money and capital had already ceased to exist by the twenty-first century. Finally, a radical solution was found to the problem of population growth: from the hundredth century onward, whenever the population became too large, cities were established at the bottom of the ocean.

The narrator and his guide then travel to the University of the Equator, in Chad. Here, thanks to an artificial wind, the air is ice-cold. A professor of history gives a lecture in a classroom in which historical events are projected onto a screen, listened to by 1500 students reclining on their backs. This lecture is simultaneously broadcast to all the universities in the world, via a device called the "cinemaphototelephonoviograph."

Although marveling at this future society, the narrator expresses his displeasure at the end of the text, finding this world uncongenial. In his opinion, what is missing in this future world is beauty.

This piece is valuable in providing a true alternative to other works of the same genre. Here, it is possible to see a different sort of speculation at play concerning the distant future, far removed from the pressing issues of the time; examples of this kind of text are so few as to be virtually non-existent. In the book titled *The History of the Future* in which this piece is included, Celal Nuri discusses in detail the Balkan War, its consequences and the ways to be followed for salvation. In "The Scenes and Pictures of the Future", however, he prefers to depict a far fetched vision of an ideal social order.

5.7. İbrahim Hilmi: The Scribe of the Balkan Catastrophe

This chapter will focus on the publisher and author Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan (1879-1963), one of the most renowned figures in the history of Ottoman Turkish publishing. Çığıracan himself wrote many books in the fields of politics, education, and culture. Here we will discuss a short narrative titled “Twenty Years Later” which imagines the glorious future following the Balkan defeat, as well as the book in which this piece was included, i.e., *Turkey, Awaken*.



Illustration 35: İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan (right) and novelist Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar⁴⁴²

Like many of the individuals considered in the present study, Çığıracan was an immigrant from the Balkans. He was born in the Romanian city of Tulcea, and his family moved to Istanbul in 1883. Çığıracan was quite mindful of the political and social problems of the Balkans. As a publisher, he was instrumental in creating a new discourse following the Balkan Catastrophe, a discourse which constitutes the subject of this thesis.⁴⁴³

After the start of the Balkan War, Çığıracan started to publish a series entitled “Kitaphane-i İntibah” [The Library of Awakening]; he later published 18 books in this series, some of which are dealt with in the present study. The series aimed to raise a general awareness about the reasons for Turkey’s defeat, and to propose ways to save the collapsing empire.

⁴⁴² <http://www.sanatkitabevi.com.tr/tr/?sku=32182> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴⁴³ Mention should be made of a source from which I have greatly benefited in writing this chapter. Başak Ocak’s book *Bir Yayıncının Portresi: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan* [Portrait of a Publisher: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan] (Istanbul: Müteferrika Yayınları, 2003), which is based on the author’s doctoral thesis, is a very well-written monograph which also fills an important gap on this subject. Unfortunately, data on the history of publishing is extremely limited in Turkey; this has had a negative effect on scholarly works in the humanities and social sciences. Ocak’s study of this important publisher constitutes an invaluable resource in this field.

Six of these 18 works were written by Çığıracan himself: *Zavallı Millet* [Wretched Nation], *Milletin Hataları* [The Nation's Errors], *Milletin Kusurları* [The Nation's Faults], *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz* [Our Learning and the Wealth of Our Knowledge], *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken], and *Avrupalılaştırmak* [Europeanization]. The first five of these books were published at the end of 1912 or in 1913; in other words, they were written right in the midst of the Balkan War, and reflect the atmosphere of that war. What they all share in common is a call to “awaken”:

Let us awaken! Let us wake up a people that has been asleep for centuries. Let us demonstrate our societal, national, and moral errors. By constantly fearing one another, by constantly flattering one another, we have fallen into these catastrophes today. However, it is possible to prevent these catastrophes, and to save this building which is about to collapse from destruction.⁴⁴⁴

Let us provide an outline of the topics which Çığıracan addresses in these books. *Wretched Nation: the Causes of Our Catastrophes* was written in November of 1912, during the initial shock of the Balkan War, and sold 45,000 copies (an extraordinary number for that era).⁴⁴⁵ The book sees the government as responsible for said catastrophes, while the nation itself is without fault. While the nation may be self-sacrificing, the incompetence and corruption of the state administration have brought about these catastrophes.

By contrast, the second book, *The Nation's Errors: the Cause of Our Catastrophes*, focuses on society's mistakes, calling attention to problems like passivity and laziness, and suggesting solutions to these problems. The third book, *The Nation's Faults: the Causes of Our Catastrophes*, is a continuation of the previous one, with a particular focus on economic issues and poverty.

Our Learning and the Wealth of Our Knowledge, as its name implies, deals with the issue of education. In his discussion of education – which he sees as one of the most important ways of achieving universal salvation – the author addresses the backwardness of the Ottomans, contrasting it with the educational systems of Western countries (and, incidentally, the Balkan states).⁴⁴⁶

The last book, *Europeanization*, published after the end of the Balkan War, takes a striking position on the issue of Westernization. In a period when nearly everyone was in search of a sort of “East-West synthesis,” Çığıracan adopts a more

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted from İbrahim Hilmi, *Milletin Hataları*, in Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 79: “Let us awaken! Let us wake up a people that has been asleep for centuries. Let us demonstrate our societal, national, and moral errors. By constantly fearing one another, by constantly flattering one another, we have fallen into these catastrophes today. However, it is possible to prevent these catastrophes, and to save this building which is about to collapse from destruction.”

⁴⁴⁵ Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 207.

⁴⁴⁶ Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 209.

radical attitude, claiming that Westernization is the single, all-encompassing solution for every issue other than religion and nationality:

Let us neither be cross with Europe, nor hold our enemies responsible. Let us assume total responsibility ourselves. Let us understand our situation, and seek a bandage for our gangrenous wounds. To my mind, Europeanization is this bandage. Both my own experiences and my study and scrutiny of the matter have made me strongly convinced that Europeanization, Westernization – or, if you like, modernization – is our only salvation. I am absolutely positive that our Asian, Eastern way of life will not allow us to preserve our character or our independence, and that we will not be able to surpass the West by resurrecting an extinct civilization.⁴⁴⁷

However, the book which deserves a more detailed examination is the fifth book, *Turkey, Awaken*. This book includes the narrative “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later], which we will examine below, and which reflects the author’s vision of the future. *Turkey, Awaken* is entirely focused on the Balkan War, dealing with numerous themes such as awakening, the future, salvation, and revenge, and is composed in a different, sterner tone than the others. Despite this stern tone, a relatively optimistic atmosphere prevails in the book, a result of the popularity, and impressive sales, which “The Library of Awakening” enjoyed among its readers.⁴⁴⁸ Not conforming to any specific genre or format, the book was written in parts, in a style that could be called essayistic. It contains long excerpts from other books published around that time which the author liked, such as Ahmet Cevat’s *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap* [The Red and Black Book], Mehmet Ali Tevfik’s *Turanlının Defteri* [A Turanist’s Notebook], and Satı Bey’s *Vatan İçin* [For the Fatherland].

In the introduction, dated 22 Mayıs 1329 [June 4th, 1913], Çığıracan expresses the purpose of the book as follows:

In writing this work, I wished to enact a reform in the minds, in the sensibilities, of young students. By writing a work conducive to personal and national improvement, let me do away with the malady of hopelessness which is taking root in the minds of my fellow-citizens; by compelling these young hearts to experience the woes of disasters

⁴⁴⁷ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Avrupalılaşmak* [Europeanization], ed. Osman Kafadar-Faruk Öztürk (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1997), 22-23: “Biz ne Avrupa’ya küselim ne de düşmanlarımıza suç bulalım. Bütün suçu kendimizde bulalım. Anlayalım da, artık bu kangren olmuş yaralarımıza bir sargı arayalım. / Ben bu sargıyı Avrupalılaşmakta buluyorum. Gerek şahsi tecrübelerim, gerek araştırma ve incelemelerim Avrupalılaşma-Garplılaşma veya Yenileşmenin tek kurtuluş olacağına bende güçlü bir kanaat uyandırdı. Asyalı ve Doğulu hayatımızla ne kişiliğimizi ne de bağımsızlığımızı koruyamayacağımıza, sönmüş bir medeniyeti tekrar dirilterek Batı’ya üstün gelemeyeceğimizden kesinlikle eminim.”

⁴⁴⁸ Tüccarzade, *Avrupalılaşmak*, 5.

and catastrophes, let me inspire feelings of revenge, of resolution, and of purposefulness.⁴⁴⁹

Çığıracan ends the introduction with an address to the young, declaring, “March! With complete bravery and patience, march! Always march ahead! You are entirely in charge of your future!” Immediately following which, he discusses the Balkan Atrocities, the starting-point of the book. Depictions which we have encountered in many other texts are reprised here in virtually the same words: old women have their breasts cut off; girls have their chastity violated; elderly people have their eyes hollowed out and hung on strings; young women are forcibly converted to Christianity; bells are hung on the minarets of mosques; dervish lodges are turned into stables; the stones are removed from graves; etc. (12-22) It is contemptible, in the author’s view, to forget these atrocities, or not to harbor feelings of rancor against the enemy.

Subsequently, Çığıracan highlights the need for a “national goal,” namely, to take revenge on the four Balkan “bandits” who have assailed the Muslims’ honor and dignity and annihilated half a million people. The author foresees a new war with these enemies – especially the Bulgarians – within 15 years. At that point, they will be called to account for these atrocities. (30-34)

Yet the methods which the author proposes to attain this goal are quite diverse. We stated earlier that Çığıracan unambiguously advocates Europeanization. At the same time, however, he writes that it is necessary to establish a great Islamic Empire in order to take revenge on Turkey’s enemies. He also stresses the need for Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism. Yet it is unclear how these different approaches will be reconciled to one another as part of the same “national goal.”

After once more stressing the need for Europeanization and hard work, the author leaves his readers with a sense of hope, in the chapter entitled “Bugünkü Balkanlılar Yarınki Türkiye’den Korkmalıdırlar” [Today’s People of the Balkans Ought to Fear the Turkey of Tomorrow]. If educational and military reforms are made immediately, and if people work resolutely and patiently, it will be possible to wipe out the Balkan states in the future, and to take revenge on them. (75-77)

The chapters “Ümit Benim Kuvvetimdir” [Hope is My Strength] and “İstikbal!” [The Future!] attempt to instill feelings of optimism in younger readers. In the latter chapter, the author writes that even catastrophes can be a means and opportunity for awakening and making progress.

The author alludes to many scenes from Turkey’s “glorious past,” and portrays other scenes of Bulgarian atrocities, in order to rouse people to anger and animosity.

⁴⁴⁹ İbrahim Hilmi, *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken], (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329(r) [1913], 5: “Ben bu eseri yazmakla istedim ki genç mekteplilerin hissiyat ve dimağında bir inkılap yapayım. Terbiye-i şahsiye ve milliyelerine hadim bir eser yazarak vatandaşlarımın zihninde yerleşmekte olan ümitsizlik illetini kaldırayım ve bu genç kalplerde musibet ve felaketlerin acılarını yaşatarak intikam ve azim ve meram hislerini uyandırayım.”

Afterwards, he creates a vision of the future, depicting the end-result of all the issues he has discussed and the claims he has made, once they have become a reality.

“Twenty Years Later”

There is a chapter in this book entitled “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later].⁴⁵⁰ This short eight-page piece is highly significant in terms of showing what kind of solution was foreseen by an intellectual with first-hand experience of the recent trauma of the Balkan War, as well as what kind of reactions were produced by this trauma.

The text portrays Turkey in the year 1933; by this time, the country’s borders have come to include both Anatolia and Arabia. We see that the idea of a “national goal” – whose absence is frequently bemoaned in texts of this period – is widespread at this future date, “from the mightiest of sovereigns down to the smallest village child.” (241) This irredentist “goal” is to re-conquer the Balkan territories lost during the recent conflicts.

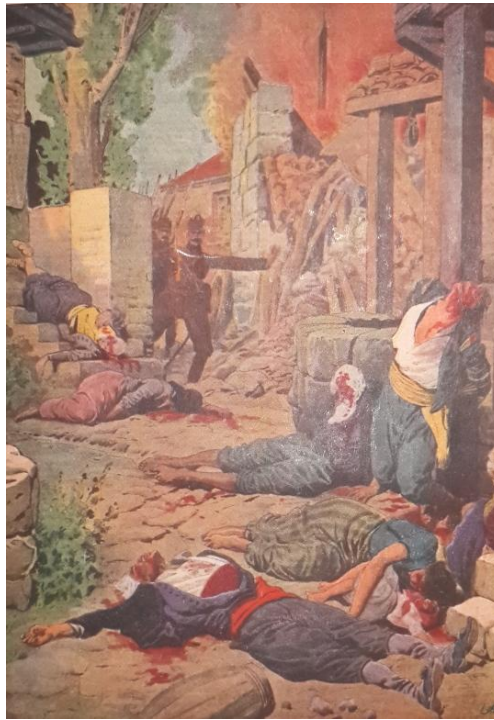


Illustration 36: An illustration from İbrahim Hilmi, *Türkiye Uyan*.⁴⁵¹

Although he does not mention an air force, the author commends the power of Turkey’s fleet and army; the education, discipline, and determination of their members; and their

⁴⁵⁰ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi [Çığırçan], “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later], in *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]), 241-249.

⁴⁵¹ Private collection (E.K.). Caption: “The brutal spectacle seen by the Ottoman army after its entry into Thrace!” [Osmanlı ordusunun Trakya'ya duhulünü müteakip gördüğü manzara-i vahşiyane!]

copious weaponry. This deadly force, made up of a million soldiers, is ready for action after a mobilization lasting a mere two weeks.

This kind of machine-like organization is not unique to the armed forces; on the contrary, the latter are the product of a society organized along the same lines. The country's transportation, communications, and logistical infrastructure are breathtaking.

Moreover, this development is not simply visible in material and technical matters, but also in the ideological order of society. As a result of the "psychological training" which has been practiced for years, religious, nationalistic, and patriotic sentiments are foremost in people's minds, and everyone yearns to die for these values; even women and the elderly make themselves busy in the service of this goal.

In the twenty years that have elapsed, not only Turkey, but the entire Islamic world has changed. The Islamic nations from Egypt to India, from Tatarstan to Java, are not stingy with financial and moral support; thousands of volunteers, and millions of lira, pour into Istanbul.

Meanwhile, Europe is terror-stricken by this stupendous Islamic awakening; it has long since come to regret its own deeds, and is no longer in a position to aid the Balkan nations, which are themselves trembling with fear. In any case, it is impossible for anyone to withstand this military campaign. For twenty years, a desire for revenge has been inculcated in schools throughout Turkey, with the support of the newspapers and other media; all of society cries out, "Revenge or death!" In addition to the material development that has been achieved, the awakening of the Islamic world, and the determination shown by society, the political order also presents a united front. Clearly, nothing will be able to stop this great power.

Suddenly, war breaks out, with deadly attacks culminating in a pitched battle involving 600,000 people.⁴⁵² Meanwhile, authors perform the duties that fall to them, as well.

One poet praises the soldiers, motivating them with frequent references to past victories, and stressing that the aim this time is not to defeat the country's enemies, but to annihilate them. The war ends with the Turkish fleet's destruction of the Greek navy; thereupon, the six Balkan nations cease to exist, and once more become subservient to the Turks.

After the war, the power of the Ottomans increases even further. All legal, religious, and commercial concessions made to foreigners and non-Muslims are rescinded, making Turkey the site of a great economic revival, educational campaign, and explosion in publications. Turkey also forges closer ties to the other Turkic nations, becoming a power which is looked on with envy by the whole world.

The salient features of this short text include the basic motif – found in many other texts as well – of a desire for "revenge" stemming from Turkey's losses in the Balkan War. This desire for revenge is clearly the main motivation for every societal

⁴⁵² The grandiose pitched battles which had become obsolete even by the time of the First World War – which would begin the following year – remain the author's preferred strategy in this text, in which he imagines a time twenty years into the future.

advance mentioned in the text, serving as the inspiration for a totalitarian social order; a pattern of development aiming at military power and wealth; an ideology which combines the notion of an “Islamic Union” with a racist nationalism; and a vision of the future which dreams of destroying or enslaving non-Muslims and non-Turks, especially the peoples of the Balkans. In other words, Çiğiraçan could not remain indifferent to the loss of the lands of his birth, as the result of such a devastating war. Both through the books he published as a publisher, and through those he wrote as an author, he attempted to help the country leave behind the shock and trauma created by the war.

5.8. A Vengeful Vision: Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – An Imaginary Ideal

A further example of the Turkist-Islamist utopias of this period consists of a work entitled *Ruşeni'nin Rüyası: Müslümanların "Megali İdeası" Gaye-i Hayaliyesi* [Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – An Imaginary Ideal].⁴⁵³ The book, by a Turkish member of parliament named Hasan Ruşeni [Barkın] (Chania, Crete, 1884-1953), is set 100 years in the future, and is in the form of a dream. The author claims to have written it in a "dark room" in Baghdad, between January 19th and January 20th, 1915.



Illustration 37: Hasan Ruşeni⁴⁵⁴

Before dealing with the aforementioned book, a brief discussion of the author's highly interesting life will help to better understand certain tendencies in the book. Normally, we would hardly be able to obtain any data concerning Hasan Ruşeni. Only thanks to a piece of his writing in a document discovered in the archives by the historian Cemil Koçak have we been able to obtain detailed information about the author's life.⁴⁵⁵ The document in question is a copy of a 1931 petition written to the Ministry of Defense by Ruşeni, who served in the army with the rank of *kolağası* [a rank in the Ottoman army between captain and major]. In the petition, Ruşeni also states that he has been a member of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* [Special Organization, i.e. the Ottoman intelligence service], and describes the top-secret duties he has performed since 1914.

⁴⁵³ Hasan Ruşeni, *Ruşeni'nin Rüyası: Müslümanların "Megali İdeası" Gaye-i Hayaliyesi* [Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – A Fantastic Aim] (Tehran: Matbaa-i Fârus, 1331).

⁴⁵⁴ From the Album of the Fifth Term of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed August 10, 2014)

⁴⁵⁵ Cemil Koçak, "Mission Impossible: Teşkilâtı Mahsusacı Bir Subayın Öyküsü" [Mission Impossible: the Story of an Officer in the Special Organization], *Toplumsal Tarih* [Social History] 128 (August 2004): 26-33.

During the First World War, Ruşeni had gone to Turkistan, engaging in a campaign against the Russian army; he was also active in the National Struggle, and later became a member of parliament. In light of this information, it is evident that some elements which we will see in the book stem from the author's personal experiences. Examples include the suggestion of concentrating on the East in order to bring about Turkey's salvation, or the idea held by certain Young Turks of stirring up rebellion among Eastern peoples.

At this point, let us return to Ruşeni's book. Its title seems to be searching for an equivalent to the term "utopia," which did not yet exist in Turkish. In the title, Ruşeni uses both the Greek term *megali idea* ["big idea," referring to the Greek irredentist dream of reconquering former Byzantine lands] and the Ottoman Turkish expression *gaye-i hayaliye* [an imaginary ideal]. Like the terms *gaye-i emel* [a desirable aim] and *aksa-yı emel* [an ultimate goal], *gaye-i hayaliye* is one of the terms proposed or created in this very period in order to meet the needs of utopian thought.⁴⁵⁶ Accordingly, the author is aware of having created a systematic vision of the future for Turkey. Muslims are the specific community to which this utopia is addressed; reading Ruşeni's book, we later realize that Turkey is the leader of this Muslim community.

In the introduction to the book, entitled "A Few Words" (1-3), the author highlights three of the concepts on which I will focus in the present study. The first is an emphasis on revenge. According to the author, this dream is intended for a readership consisting of "hearts which beat with a love of Islam," "consciences simmering with an urge for revenge," and "youths who love struggling for a cause." Moreover, these youths are no longer "Ottoman" youths, but rather Turkish youths. Another point stressed in the introduction is a call to "pursue one's ambitions." Turkish youths should think expansively, should harbor lofty ambitions, and should plant whatever seeds they can; even if they themselves do not witness it, the seeds they plant will definitely flower one day. The last element which Ruşeni emphasizes is that of "awakening"; the place where this awakening will occur is no longer in the West. Here, the author is proposing a sort of Islamic activism. Following his country's loss of its European territories, he counsels youths to turn towards the East, to pursue the ideal of eastern unity, and to go to the East as "missionaries" to stir up the slumbering, oppressed peoples of the region. "To make ready for the future, we should proceed eastward, always eastward" is his rallying-cry. (3)

Under the leadership of the Turks, all of Asia and Africa have united, and become the world's biggest power. Ruşeni's book is nothing other than an aerial voyage made by a "flying ship" from one end of this Great Islamic Union to another. Therefore, as was explained in the "Utopia" chapter of the Introduction to this thesis, Ruşeni's work has been written in the form of a travelogue to a utopian country. As the narrator travels around this new country, we learn details about life there along with him. Istanbul, the capital of this union, is also its westernmost city following the loss of

⁴⁵⁶ For a discussion on the subject, see Section 3.2.10.

the Balkans; thus, the journey will end there. Accordingly, the starting-point for the voyage is in Java, the easternmost location in the Islamic world.

A Voyage through the Islamic Union, from Java to Istanbul

As Ruşeni's voyage starts in Indonesia, Dutch imperialism occupies a central place in this first part of the text. Just as the author had counseled in the introduction, we learn that a Young Turk came to Java following the First World War, to find that its people had given up all their rights – their entire lives – to “a few hundred bayonets belonging to a handful of Dutch people.” He then succeeded in rousing them with the words “Muslims, awaken...rise up!”⁴⁵⁷ Thus began a revolt which concluded with the Indonesians being freed from the Dutch yoke; within a hundred years, they have become a developed country, with factories and universities. The Dutch – who were once a colonial power here – have remained a mere fairy-tale ogre in people's memories. (4)

In the next stage of the journey, the flying ship goes to India. Here, we are treated to a similar story, but this time the country we encounter is more luxurious and more advanced, the richest in the Islamic world. However, none of these countries have reached Turkey's level of development. For this reason, Turkey and the Turks – who have led the way with their own awakening, liberation, and progress – are spoken of as “patrons.” (6) Moreover, not even the tiniest trace of English influence has remained. Along with its beautiful cities, innumerable canals, and extensive railways (9-10), India boasts magnificent palaces, universities, and operas; all are breathtaking. The Hindus have also been Muslim for 50 years now.

The Indian writer with whom the narrator converses also comments upon political developments. Even though the text takes place one hundred years later, his comments are overly concerned with the year of the book's composition, i.e. 1914. A world war will soon break out, says the Indian intellectual; Europe, America, and the Far East may form an alliance and harm the Islamic world. Therefore, one should stay on good terms with the Germans, and use their power to keep Europe away from Asia. (13)

The narrator's visit coincides with the marriage of the Emperor of India and the Turkish princess Turhan Sultan, thus testifying to Turkey's prestige in India. Turkish flags, songs, and marches are everywhere. The Turkish fleet brings the bride to the wedding, with some of the names of the ships reading like a “Hall of Fame” of Turkish nationalism: Oğuz Han, Cengiz [Genghis Khan], Timurlenk [Tamerlane], Ertuğrul, Sultan Osman, Sultan Orhan, Murat Hüdavendigâr, Yıldırım [“Thunderbolt”] Beyazıt, Çelebi Mehmet, Murad II, Mehmet the Conqueror, Beyazıt II, Selim the Grim, Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim III, Sultan Reşat, Namık Kemal, Mithat Paşa, Süavi, etc. The ship carrying the bride is named Kayı Han.

⁴⁵⁷ “Müslümanlar uyanınız. ... Kıyam ediniz!”

As the ship passes over the Turkish Empire, over the Pamirs, over Kashgar, over Afghanistan, we learn that the different ethnic groups living in the Turkish Empire (such as the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Chechens, the Lezgians, the Tatars, the Turkmen, the Laz, and the Kurds) have now started to speak the pure Turkish of Turkey. As a result, all of these different ethnic groups have become assimilated to the Turkish identity. People have authentic Turkish names such as Oğuz, Turgut, Ertuğrul, Tekin, Aydın, and Gündoğdu. (30) The splendor of the Turkish Empire is described in the following terms: “uniting the spirits of Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and Suleiman the Magnificent, having the Caliph Umar rule over their offspring, and putting the Qur’an in his hands to legislate with.” (31)

The explicit or implicit comparison with Europe made at every point in the narrative also comes up in reference to the size of the country. The narrator is comforted by the sheer scale of the Turkish Empire; he spends days and nights traveling through places which he can call “his homeland.” By contrast, a similar voyage through a European’s homeland would take only three or four hours.

When the flying ship arrives in Africa, the narrator sees that this continent has progressed so far that it can be described as “the America of Islam.” The main problems faced by the continent are converting the remaining unbelievers – who are few and far between – to Islam, and reconquering Andalusia. (32)

Moreover, the narrator learns that Arabic is spoken everywhere in Africa, just as he found earlier that nothing but Turkish was spoken in the Turkish Empire. (In Delhi, by contrast, the narrator leafs through some Persian and Hindustani magazines in his hotel.) (11) It is clear that “linguistic unity” plays an important role in the narrator’s conception of a powerful state. Moreover, this fantasy can be interpreted as a criticism of the Ottoman Empire’s – and especially Istanbul’s – multilingual socio-cultural makeup.

Continuing on the journey, we see that the narrator’s – and author’s – Cretan origins have led special attention to be paid to Crete. Not only Crete, but all the Aegean Sea has been adorned with Turkish flags, Turkish fleets, a Turkish postal service – every spiritual and material aspect of Turkishness. Here, there are no remnants of the Greeks or their civilization. (34-35)

The History of the “Dream”

An Indian intellectual whom the narrator meets explains how things reached this state of affairs. Although the re-promulgation of the Constitution in 1908 represented a beacon of hope for the salvation of Turkey, by rousing the nation and getting rid of the oppressive Caliph, it soon became apparent that this beacon of hope was delusory. The events that took place in Yemen, Albania, and Macedonia extinguished people’s hopes, and the subsequent wars in Libya and the Balkans brought the nation to its knees. (26) Turkey’s armies were withdrawn first from Africa and then from Europe. At this point, the text reiterates a general trend by disparaging the Balkan states, claiming that they

are nothing other than “three or four vagabonds that have sprung up in the provinces of Turkey,” and that they are led by British Foreign Minister Grey.

We subsequently delve into “future history,” i.e., events occurring after the date the work was written. After the loss suffered by Turkey in the Balkan War, and the effective collapse of the state, a clamor for revenge begins to be heard all over the East, and the Turks begin to confound the occupiers’ plans.

The turning point is the call for holy war during the First World War. Now the Turks will throw off their base indolence and follow in the footsteps of their ancestors, rousing the entire Islamic world to action.

First a United Islamic Arab Republic comes into being in Africa, turning the entire continent into an “Islamic America.” Next, a Turkish Empire is founded, stretching all the way to the Pamir Mountains; this is followed by an Indian Empire. Along with the aforementioned trio, the Islamic union is rounded off by Java, Kashgar, and the kingdoms of Afghanistan and Iran.⁴⁵⁸ (28-29)

However, since this political entity is predicated on Islam, it is necessary to shore up its religious underpinnings as well. “the great Caliphate and mighty Turkey” have achieved the security of the Islamic world by selecting princes and princesses suitable for Islamic states, at the Congress of the Islamic World held every year in Mecca. (29) Moreover, the Turks establish a university in Medina; by abolishing all religious orders and sects, they bring about a revival of true Islam. It is clear that when it comes to the wish for the “unity” of Islam, the existence of sects and religious orders are a serious annoyance. In *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, Mustafa Nazım had also suggested the abolishment of sects (not only in Islam, moreover, but also in Christianity and Buddhism).⁴⁵⁹ Interestingly, Kılıçzade Hakkı, too, suggested the same thing in “A Very Vigilant Sleep.”⁴⁶⁰

Istanbul

Finally, the flying ship arrives at Istanbul, the capital. The last stop on the journey, this Istanbul 100 years into the future is unquestionably the place which receives the most detailed description in *Ruşeni’s Dream*.

⁴⁵⁸ It is significant that these imaginary states are all kingdoms. There is no room for democracy or democratic institutions in the future envisioned by the author.

⁴⁵⁹ Mustafa Nazım, *Rüyada Terakki*, 246.

⁴⁶⁰ Kılıçzade Hakkı, “A Very Vigilant Sleep,” in Hanioglu, “Garpçılar,” 157: “The leaders of various sects who have certain views should unite their opinions and goals at a sincere gathering organized by them and a completely new program should be adopted through the application of *ijtihad*. This program should be circulated and publicized in the Ottoman and Islamic lands by a religious decree of the Caliph of the Muslims. From that moment on, sectarian strife among sects will be eliminated in the Muslim community.” [Mezahib-i muhtelifenin söz sahipleri akdedecekleri samimî bir içtimada tevhid-i fikr-ü-maksud ederek yeniden biliçtihad tamamıyla yeni bir meslek kabul edilecek ve işbu mezhep umum memalik-i Osmaniye ve İslâmiyeye, Halife-i İslâm Hazretlerinin emr-i şerifleriyle tamim ve ilân edilip ba’dema Müslimler arasında mezhep şikakı ref edilerek ma’na-yı makuluyia gâye-i umumî olan İttihad-ı İslâm kaziyesinin husulü teşrî etmiş olacaktır.]

The city has changed a great deal; as the narrator puts it, none of its trademark sights remain apart from a few mosques. With the inclusion of the villages of Maltepe, Kavaklar, and Salahaddin Eyyubi (formerly Ayastefanos),⁴⁶¹ Istanbul has become an enormous city capable of accommodating a huge population. (37) These were villages on the eastern, northern, and western borders of Istanbul province; thus, the city described by the author is one which is severely over-developed. We should recall that the text is imagining a time one hundred years in the future – i.e., the present age. Today, this dream has become a reality in the worst sense. Although such over-development is the source of nearly all the problems currently faced by Istanbul, such was the obsession with size in Ruşeni’s day that the author describes it with longing.

The population has reached 10 million people.⁴⁶² (44) The entire city is full of minarets, palaces, universities, factories, and hotels. The streets are fifty meters wide; elevated trains flit about “like big jets of fire” from Çamlıca to Nişantaşı, from Beyazıt to Beyoğlu, and back and forth across the Bosphorus from hill to hill; funicular lines also operate on every hillside. In addition, electric trams whizz by on every street and in every underground tunnel. (38)

The Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara, and the Golden Horn are full of ships. Numerous bridges have been built on the Golden Horn. The seaside parts of the city are all a-glitter with electric billboards “which constantly change color and pattern,” advertising Turkish chocolates and Turkish fabrics. (39)

The centuries-old bridge fantasy crops up once more in this text; instead of just a single bridge, there are three.⁴⁶³ “Three suspension bridges, connecting Sarayburnu to Üsküdar, Üsküdar to Beşiktaş, and the Turkish Market (Galata) to İlyasi Square (Eminönü), the likes of which have never been seen, symbolize the Caliphate’s iron cincture, which cannot be undone.”⁴⁶⁴

Of these, the Marmara Bridge – i.e., the bridge connecting Sarayburnu to Üsküdar – is of particular significance. This three-level suspension bridge is not only accessible to traffic, but is also the commercial headquarters of the Islamic world. Along with hundreds of trading houses, the monumental Islamic Stock Exchange and Islamic Market are located on this bridge as well. (40) The Islamic Stock Exchange is especially important; in addition to its architectural splendor, it is the basis of the

⁴⁶¹ It is often the case in Turkey that governments in power frequently change place-names in accordance with their own ideologies. Needless to say, a village with a Greek name would be unthinkable in Istanbul, the capital of the Islamic Union. It seems that the author, to compensate for this, has decided to name the village after Salahaddin Eyyubi [Saladin], who fought against the Crusader armies.

⁴⁶² The author of *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization* had foreseen a population of 10 million in Istanbul, four centuries into the future. (214) Presumably Hasan Ruşeni was more realistic in his estimate.

⁴⁶³ The fixation with bridges over the Bosphorus, a constant item on Turkey’s agenda, is once more a pressing issue today, due to the construction of a third bridge despite much criticism. Given that this third bridge is under construction, it is a curious coincidence that the author’s vision of contemporary Istanbul predicts three bridges.

⁴⁶⁴ “Sarayburnu’nu Üsküdar’a, Üsküdar’ı Beşiktaş’a, Türk Pazarı’nı (Galata) İlyasi Meydanı’na (Eminönü) bağlayan üç bî-misl asma köprü hilafetin çözülmez demir kuşağını temsil” eder.”

caliphate's and the empire's economic might. As for the Islamic Market, particular emphasis is laid on the fact that non-Muslims are not allowed there.

Right in the middle of the harbor, amidst the three bridges, there is a hundred-meter-high statue of Mehmet the Conqueror.⁴⁶⁵ The statue's hands rest on its sword; a crown upon its head has searchlights which send beams all over the city. While this might horrify people, from the author's point of view these beams make Istanbul into a rising sun on the horizon, so to speak. On Sultan Selim Hill, there is also a 100-meter-high statue of Selim the Grim,⁴⁶⁶ holding a Qur'an in his right hand and sword in his left. Below the iron plaza where the statue of Selim is found, there is a cemetery – to which one descends on a golden staircase – with the graves of people who strove to awaken the Islamic world and bring about its ascendancy. (48) This picture is completed by a giant flag of the Caliphate (made entirely out of lights) at Sarayburnu. (43) Other breathtaking structures include museums, universities, the Islamic General Council, and the Great Islamic Opera House.

Naturally, the changes which have occurred in Beyoğlu – predominantly inhabited by non-Muslims and foreigners in the author's day – are quite interesting. The district now has streets which are 50 meters wide,⁴⁶⁷ full of Turkish markets, Turkish hotels, and Turkish buildings. Everywhere you go, everything is Turkish-owned; there are Turkish merchants and signs in Turkish. The author states that no trace of the “enemy stain” (i.e., the “stain” of non-Muslims) is left anywhere in the city. Istanbul's distinctive architecture has changed, as well, with Greek, Armenian, and Jewish houses now vanished. The buildings have all been constructed in an Oriental architectural style. (45)

⁴⁶⁵ Among the work's centennial fantasies about Istanbul, the Bosphorus Bridge fantasy is one of the most well-established, as is the 100-meter-high statue of Mehmet the Conqueror. The statue in this book is an early example of a wish that has cropped up in nearly every decade over the past century. Later, in Atatürk's time in the 1920s and 1930s, there were plans to build giant statues of the Conqueror on the island occupied by the Maiden's Tower, and in front of Rumelihisarı [the Fortress of Rumelia]; however, these plans never materialized. Still later, in the 1940s, there were suggestions of planting a statue of the Conqueror in Eminönü, Beyazıt Square, Dolmabahçe, or even in the square between the Sultanahmet Mosque and Hagia Sophia; however, these too never came to fruition. A statue campaign in 1965 was likewise unsuccessful. In 1967, an association was set up and a contest was held in order to accomplish this endeavor, again with no result. This never-ending saga has continued for so long that Melih Cevdet Anday ridiculed this obsession in highly ironic language in his 1974 novel *Aylaklar* [The Layabouts]. The latest unsuccessful endeavor is a project prepared by the present municipality to erect “a statue of Mehmet the Conqueror that will resemble the Statue of Liberty in New York.” For an article on this topic, see Engin Kılıç, “Fatih ve Dikilemeyen Heykelleri” [Mehmet the Conqueror and His Statues Which Could Not Be Built], *İstanbul*, no. 62 (January 2008): 128-131.

⁴⁶⁶ Even though Hasan Ruşeni dreams of an Islamic empire, he does not refrain from adorning the capital with statues. His fantasy is significant when one takes into account the Islamic prohibition on statues. When one also considers other fantasies of his (like opera buildings), the emphasis on the modernist aspect of this Islamic state is quite striking.

⁴⁶⁷ This dream could be said to have become a reality in the giant Tarlabaşı Boulevard, which was created by the municipality in Beyoğlu in the 1980s by razing houses and neighborhoods, most of which belonged to non-Muslims and featured original architecture.

But the greatest marvels are in “Istanbul,” i.e. the old historical peninsula.⁴⁶⁸ To get there from Beyoğlu, people use something called the “Metropolitan Underwater Line.”⁴⁶⁹ The author states that all the “manners and faces” of the Byzantine Empire (i.e., the remnants of its people, the non-Muslims) have been erased; now, lifeless monuments like Hagia Sophia, the Obelisk, the Byzantine Palace, and the city walls are all that remains of the empire; significantly, Ruşeni has not envisioned the demolishing of these, as well. The districts of the historical peninsula now consist of neighborhoods with various types of architecture: Indian, Arab, Persian, Chinese, Javanese, and Afghan. The new city center apparently lies between the areas of Fatih and Sultan Selim; the avenue joining these two districts is 100 meters wide, and is flanked by two first-rate universities, one on either side.

The “Zoo of the Patriarchs”

The discourse of hatred which prevails throughout this text reaches its zenith in the next section; the final stop on the tour is the district of Fener. Although the narrator cannot make the district completely abandon its former character, he does note that the old buildings and unwashed faces which he used to see there are now gone. As for the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it has been turned into a zoo. The guide tells what happened here:

Sir, in its day, there was once a church building here, in fact a whole neighborhood which was corroding our fatherland, corrupting our morals, and ruining our entire life. The community got rid of this place and made it into a garden. Later, they filled it with wild, dangerous animals, to remind people of what its old inhabitants had been like. But they secretly left the church building untouched in the middle of the garden, in order to impart a big lesson in history.⁴⁷⁰ (49-50)

Everywhere in the park, there are cages with monkeys, foxes, wolves, pigs, jackals, bears, and other animals. But the most important part of the zoo consists of the old church inside the Patriarchate:

Everywhere in the building, one saw things from previous centuries: great big lamps, pictures deriding the Turkish people, blue-and-white flags, precious carpets, ornate crosses, great black costumes, long

⁴⁶⁸ In contrast to today’s usage, “Istanbul” only referred to the Old City (lying within the Byzantine walls) at the time this text was written.

⁴⁶⁹ This presumably refers to a metro running under the sea. In another curious coincidence, the Marmaray project, which has opened a century after this text was written, has made it possible to travel beneath the Bosphorus by metro.

⁴⁷⁰ “Efendim! Vaktiyle burada, vatanımızı kemiren, ahlâkımızı bozan, hayatımızı ifna eden bir mahalle ile bir kilise dairesi var idi. Millet bu mahalleyi kaldırdı bahçe yaptı. Sonra, eski sükkânına alâmet olmak üzere vahşî ve muzır hayvanlarla doldurdu. Yalnız ahfada büyük bir ders-i tarih vermek için kilise dairesini haliyle bahçenin ortasında bıraktı.”

staves, numerous tables, old chairs and large seats. As soon as I entered, a chill came over me: the building was filled from wall to wall with glass display cases full of snakes, centipedes, and scorpions. (50-51)

Right in the middle, inside a display case, there is a very precious seat: it is the seat where the Patriarch sat in his day. Now a viper lies on top of it. With the author's hatred of Christianity, Greeks, and the Patriarchate having thus reached its peak, the work comes to an end.

Ruşeni's Dream, as is clear from the above examples, can be regarded as a highly militaristic Turkist-Islamist statist utopia, marked by a strong ideological tendency, namely a synthesis of the Islamic doctrine of the *dar al-harb* [the "house of war," i.e. countries in which Islam is not widespread] together with an irredentist nationalism and xenophobia. A pronounced discourse of hatred is present both in the introduction and in the body of the work itself. The text features many of the concepts dwelt on in this study, including hatred, revenge, xenophobic nationalism, and progress towards an ideal.

5.9. Dreams of a National Economy: *The Army of Labor*

In this chapter we will examine a novel published in 1332 [1916], three years after the end of the Balkan War, but taking the Balkan War itself (and not the First World War, which was then in progress) as the starting point of the rush of development for which it yearns. We stated earlier that – aside from *The New Turan* – almost none of the works mentioned in this study are known, canonical works. Certain studies do mention the names of some of these texts; however, the present study is probably the first to examine the work known as *İş Ordusu* [The Army of Labor].⁴⁷¹

In contrast to the lack of knowledge surrounding this text, its author is quite an important figure. Although an Istanbulite by birth, Kazım Nami [Duru, 1875-1967] spent his childhood in the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire, where his father was stationed at the time. He was educated at the Military Middle School in Salonica (Thessaloniki), and then at the Military High School in Manastır (Bitola), subsequently serving as an officer until his resignation in 1910. Kazım Nami began his educational and pedagogical activities while in the army, and continued to pursue them afterwards; as a renowned educationalist, he also played an important part in shaping educational policies in the early years of the Republic.



Illustration 38: Kazım Nami Duru⁴⁷²

The Army of Labor takes place between 1911 and 1915. The novel is a story of awakening and consciousness-raising in the aftermath of the destruction caused by the

⁴⁷¹ Kâzım Nami [Duru], *İş Ordusu: Kurtuluş Bayramı Armağanı* [The Army of Labor: The Gift of the Day of Liberation] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı 1332 (1916)).

⁴⁷² From the Album of the Fifth Term of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed August 10, 2014)

Balkan War; it presents a model of development under the rubric of Turkist ideology⁴⁷³ as well as the National Economic Project. The novel has autobiographical features here and there; its hero, Turgut, is based on a person named Turgut whom the author wished to emulate as a child for having chosen the soldier's profession. Below, I will attempt to lay out some of the novel's basic characteristics as regards the Balkan War and the novel's vision of the future.

Turgut's father Arif Bey, who will play a critical role in his son's life, is an educated, enlightened individual, with the position of Director of Pious Foundations. Arif Bey takes a great interest in the newfound movement known as Turkism; he is proud of his Turkish heritage, and keeps up with Turkist publications, subscribing to the journals *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland] and *Halka Doğru* [Towards the People], and reading the works of Necip Asım, as well as Tahir Bey of Bursa.⁴⁷⁴ (12) According to Turgut's father, the shame of the Balkan tragedy does not belong to the Turkish race. The Turks were merely deceived, and will regain their ascendancy in the near future. (13) He wishes for his son to be brought up well, and has promised him to Türkan, his neighbor's beautiful blond-haired daughter.



Illustration 39: A Greek Postcard Picturing the Torpedoing of the *Feth-i Bülend*⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ The cover of the book makes it clear that it was sold at the Türk Yurdu Kitaphanesi [Turkish Homeland Bookstore]; moreover, the fact that its epigraph cites the following quatrain from Ziya Gökalp's poem "İlahi" [Hymn] announces the work's Turkist tendencies right from the very start: "Mighty God! Revive your old wolves/Let the rampart be split with a blacksmith's hammer/To reclaim our dear homelands/May they lead us once more out of the valley of Ergenekon." ["Yüce Tanrı! Dirilt eski kurtları/Bir demirci çekiciyle sed yarsın/Geri almak için aziz yurtları/Bizi yine Ergene'den çıkarsın."⁷³]

⁴⁷⁴ The aforementioned figures took part in the Turkist movement along with the author, and wrote articles for the same journals.

⁴⁷⁵ On the night of October 18th, 1912, the *Feth-i-Bulend* was sunk by Greek torpedo boat No. 11, commanded by Lt. Nikolaos Votsis. <http://memetmechmet.blogspot.com.tr/2013/01/1912-2012100-yinda-selanikin-kaybedilis.html> (Accessed August 10, 2014)

Turgut graduates from military academy as an engineering officer; in 1911, during the Libyan War, he is assigned to Salonica. Before that war is over, the Balkan War breaks out, during which an Ottoman ship called the *Feth-i Bülend* [Great Victory] is sunk by a Greek torpedo; even worse, Salonica is handed over to the Greeks without firing a shot. Turgut is devastated by all of this news. (8) He is taken to Greece as a captive of the Greek army. The surrender of Salonica without a fight, as well as the cheerful attitude of some of his fellow officers while being taken into captivity, has caused Turgut to lose his respect for the Turkish army. An army in the hands of officers so devoid of morality or honor, he believes, is naturally doomed to defeat.

Returning back home from captivity in such an emotional state, Turgut is to be deeply affected by an encounter with someone he meets later: the blacksmith Hasan, whose shop is located near Turgut's house. While he may appear to be a simple artisan, Master Hasan's ideas and ideals are highly advanced. Although he is an excellent blacksmith, money is not his chief concern. He is a devout Turkist, and this ideology determines the choices he makes. His belief in the justice, the majesty, and the bravery of the Turks is heart-felt. He even blames the Balkan Turks who have migrated out of the Balkans during the war, an attitude which one would be unlikely to encounter in many other texts:

Just think of these refugees who say, 'The enemy is coming!' and abandon their villages, their fields, their households, their goods, their property, fleeing on a cart pulled by a pair of oxen or buffalo. Have none of them said, 'This place is mine: I was born here and will die here,' and stayed in the village to meet the enemy – if they haven't got a gun, then with a scythe – in an effort to defend their village? Everyone has forgotten God's command to wage holy war; everyone has forgotten Turkish heroism and honor. They have not clung to their own homeland, their goods, their property; it is as though the places they have inhabited for centuries were not theirs...as though they were a sojourner about to take off to somewhere else instead. People say that these refugees, fleeing out of fear for their lives, have played a big part in the defeat of our soldiers. There is no doubt that this is true."⁴⁷⁶ (27-28)

Hasan's personal conviction, which is of critical importance to this novel, is as follows: countries can be subjugated by the sword, but they cannot be retained by the sword. For this, one needs iron. That is, only by working with tools made of iron, by plying the soil

⁴⁷⁶ "Düşman geliyor diye köylerini, tarlalarını, ev barklarını, mallarını, mülklerini bırakarak, bir çift öküz veya manda koşulu arabalara binerek kaçmağa başlayan muhacirleri bir düşün. Hiçbirisi "Bu yer benimdir, burada doğdum, burada öleceğim deyip de köyde kalmış, düşmanı silahı yoksa tırpanıyla karşılamış, köyünün müdafaasına çalışmak istemiş mi? Herkes Allah'ın cihat emrini, Türklük yiğitliğini, namusunu unutmuş. Sanki o yüzlerce yıllardan beri yerleştikleri yerler onların değilmiş, orada başka yere kaçacak bir konukmuş gibi yerine, yurduna, malına, mülküne sarılmamış. Askerimizin bozgunluğuna bu ölüm korkusuyla kaçan muhacirlerin çok tesiri oldu, diyorlar. Öyle olduğuna ne şüphe."

and extracting the treasures it contains in order to make a profit, can one become the owner of that soil and that nation. For this reason, Hasan prefers to make plows for Turkish villagers rather than tools which will earn him a higher profit. In this way, he prevents non-Muslim blacksmiths from robbing Turkish villagers and using their money for their own national causes. (29-32)



Illustration 40: The inner cover of *The Army of Labor*⁴⁷⁷

Deeply influenced by these ideas, Turgut goes home and reads the epic of Ergenekon, and suddenly experiences a revelation. He decides to abandon the soldier’s profession – of which he is now weary – and build an iron factory, with Master Hasan as its foreman. Turgut’s father will support this decision of his, both morally and financially.

The author also uses the topic of marriage to reinforce the fact that Turkey’s national ideal takes precedence over everything else. When Turgut decides to leave the military, Türkan opposes this plan. She says that she loves Turgut because he is an officer, and that if he resigns, she will not marry him. Although Turgut is greatly saddened by this, he ends up leaving Türkan, whom he loves very much, in favor of the “ideal of Turkishness,” which he loves even more. (58) After separating from Türkan, Turgut will marry the daughter of Hasan the Blacksmith. The brief appearance of this young woman in the novel gives us an inkling of what the author’s ideal Turkish woman looks like: unlike the superficially-minded Türkan, her only preoccupation is with Turkishness, and her greatest ambition is to marry someone like Turgut, who devotes himself to this cause. Moreover, this episode also provides us with a clue about the place of religion in this ideal of Turkishness. In contrast to Türkan, whom Turgut cannot see (even though they are engaged) after she puts on a *çarşaf* [a black, full-length gown covering the hair and part of the face], Hasan’s daughter wants to meet

⁴⁷⁷ Private collection (E.K.)

with Turgut, and says that it is not appropriate for them to marry before Turgut has seen her. What is more, this young Turkish woman is bold and confident. She speaks with men “in a manner befitting a Turkish woman, without any false bashfulness,” and speaks her opinions with conviction. (59) Thus, in the author’s view, women’s place in society goes beyond what has been allotted to them by the precepts of Islam.

A Success Story

Turgut’s radical decision represents the starting point of the project at the heart of the novel. Learning his trade by working in an iron factory in Germany for six months, Turgut purchases a plot of land in Konya with the financial support of his father. First he has a Turkish architect draw up a blueprint for the project, which is in the Turkish architectural style; then, with Turkish laborers in his employ, he builds a large ironworks, which he calls the “Turkish Ironworkers’ House.” The factory goes into operation after a big opening ceremony; needless to say, the workers in the factory are Turkish blacksmiths from Konya and the surrounding area.

In a short time, the factory becomes a true success story. (53) Orders start pouring in, first from Konya, and then from the surrounding provinces. Turgut increases the size of the factory. Naturally, this causes imports to go down; European companies, and the “comprador bourgeoisie” who sell their products, are not pleased with this situation. They attempt to make a deal with Turgut and to purchase the factory; when this does not work, they start to compete strenuously, and lower their prices a great deal.

Turgut’s counter-ploy is not commercial, but ideological. He puts an advertisement in the newspapers, reminding readers of the Averoff Incident,⁴⁷⁸ which had great repercussions during the Balkan War and afterwards; he also points out that money paid to foreigners will fund enemy fleets, but that any profit he makes will stay in Turkey; finally, he announces that hereafter he will donate five percent of his profits to the Ottoman fleet. (55) By this stratagem, Turgut wins a decisive victory in the war of competition.

An Industrial Army, not a Military One

In the next stage, we see how Turgut’s individual success story and his attempt to find a substitute for imports are transformed into a springboard for national development. Arslan Bey, the head of the Sivas *Türk Ocağı* [“Turkish Hearth,” a national association founded with the aim of fostering Turkey’s economic, social, and cultural development], hears of Turgut’s success, and asks him to set up an

⁴⁷⁸ The allegation that the Greeks had purchased a ship named the *Averoff* (launched in 1910) with money paid by an individual of the same name (an ethnic Greek with Ottoman citizenship) caused a boycott campaign against Greek tradesmen in Turkey in 1913, and played an important role in the rise of xenophobic nationalism. For the decisive role this warship played in the Balkan War, see Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, 64-66; for a detailed account of the Boycott of 1913, see Toprak, *Milli İktisat*, 107-111.

Ironworkers' House in Sivas as well. The Sivas branch of the Ironworkers' House opens, once more with entirely Turkish personnel. Subsequently, a member of the Ankara branch of the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*]⁴⁷⁹ makes a similar request. An Ironworkers' House is set up there too. Meanwhile, demands start to pour in from Izmir, Bursa, and Erzurum, requiring a change in strategy. (55-56)

Turgut reaches two conclusions. First, he should not be content merely to build Ironworkers' Houses everywhere; iron is not the only thing that is needed. Second, Turks cannot do tasks on their own, but will only succeed if they band together as an organization, for Turks have a martial, communal mentality. This mentality is what always ensured their success in the past; when it began to break down, the collapse of the nation became inevitable. The sectors of the economy abandoned by Turks have become full of non-Muslims; as the latter have grown wealthy, they have given more financial support to their own national causes.

Accordingly, the solution is to set up an "army of labor." The rest of the story consists of a detailed blueprint for this organization, couched in programmatic language. Under this corporatist program (which is virtually a carbon copy of the National Economic Program of the Union and Progress Party⁴⁸⁰) production and trade, from the villages to the cities, will be organized within a disciplined hierarchical structure, within the network of the "Turkish hearths." At every stage, from the time a crop emerges from the soil until it becomes a finished product, it will pass through the hands of the Turkish hearths. The Turkish hearths will also be a center for social welfare and solidarity, providing support to those who are ill or aged.

This organization will doubtless bring about the integration of the Turks; after it spreads all over the country, Muslim Turks will be able to take over the industry and trade which are currently in the hands of non-Muslims. Furthermore, an import-export balance will be established, and citizens will be enriched – as will the state, through the taxes it collects. Thus, the country will become more powerful. (63)

At the end of the novel, Turgut goes to Istanbul and visits a Turkish Hearth, presenting his project to its members. When the project is accepted, the heads of the Turkish Hearths all over the country are summoned; a large assembly is created, thus laying the foundation for the "Turkish Army of Labor."

In the end, the author takes his narrative right up to the threshold of utopia, but no further. It would perhaps be possible to call this text a utopia had it described the developments that took place immediately following this point in the story. However, the author simply draws a road map which he believes will lead to utopia, and then ends the work. In this sense, *The Army of Labor* can be seen as a recipe for the development of the Turkish nation, rather than a utopian vision. We can end our analysis by recalling certain prominent elements in the text which bear upon this point.

⁴⁷⁹ For an explanation about the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*], see footnote 418.

⁴⁸⁰ For a detailed study on this topic, see Toprak, *Milli İktisat*.

First of all, one should note the frequent, strong emphasis on the rupture caused by the Balkan War, and on the central role which the latter plays in this process of development. At the opening ceremony of his Konya factory, Turgut makes a long speech in which he provides a brief history of Turkey, explaining how the country began to decline. This decline began with needless conflicts which depleted the Turks' energy, and worsened as a result of their taste for drink, lustful habits, and lack of regard for learning. As the country was thus deteriorating, Turkey's "inner enemies" – i.e., the non-Muslims – began to exploit the Turks, and the Europeans to whom they appealed for help only dragged them into a pit of debt. (47) This process concluded with the Balkan catastrophe:

Just as we forgot our Turkishness, so, too, our ties to religion began to slacken. They, on the other hand, attempted to become even stronger by adhering even more closely to their Patriarchate. Thus, over time, we have reached such a state that in the last Balkan War, hundreds of thousands of your brothers perished at the hands of enemies attacking from within and without. No trace remains of their existence. Our women and our maidens endured assaults on their honor. The bellies of pregnant women were cut open and the babies were impaled on bayonets. Our mosques were turned into churches. Bells were hung upon our minarets. Great Rumelia – every inch of which reeks with the blood of a different martyr of ours – has been taken away from us.⁴⁸¹
(48)

In this passage, one can see all the motifs typically employed in the creation of a trauma narrative: rape of women, attacks upon holy places, etc.

The second point to be made concerns the need for a guide. Taken as a whole, the symbolism of this story is obvious. The novel is an analogy of the Ergenekon Epic alluded to in the epigraph, and explicitly referred to in the body of the text. The Ergenekon Epic is an important text in the "invented history" of Turkish nationalism. This story is mentioned in some sources as the Mongolians' creation myth; with some modifications, it was turned into a Turkish epic in Ziya Gökalp's 1913 poem "Ergenekon."⁴⁸² In this new version there are some additions, such as the "Grey Wolf." According to the legend, the Turks, fleeing from the enemy, took refuge in the mountain-ringed valley of Ergenekon, where they remained for four hundred years, during which their population increased. When the valley could no longer

⁴⁸¹ "Biz Türklüğümüzü unuttuğumuz gibi din bağlarımız da gevşedi. Onlar, patrikhanelerine daha ziyade bağlanarak daha ziyade kuvvetlenmeye çalıştılar. İşte gide gide öyle bir hale geldik ki son Balkan Muharebesi'nde Rumeli'de içeriden dışarıdan hücum eden düşmanlar önünde yüz binlerce kardeşiniz mahvoldu. Ne yerleri ne yurtları kaldı. Kadınlarımızın, kızlarımızın ırzlarına geçildi. Gebelerin karınları yarılarak çocukları süngülere geçirildi, camilerimiz kiliseye çevrildi; minarelerine çanlar takıldı. Her karış toprağında birkaç şehidimizin kanı tüten koca Rumeli elimizden gitti."

⁴⁸² Mehmed Ziya [Ziya Gökalp], "Ergenekon," *Türk Duygusu* [Turkish Sentiment], no. 1 (May 8th, 1913), 7-10.

accommodate their growing population, a blacksmith melted the iron on the mountains and thus cleared a path for them. A grey wolf named Asena showed the Turks the way out, thus allowing them to exit the valley and be saved.

After the Balkan War, the Turks – just as in the aforementioned epic – fell into difficult straits, and became trapped. Duru states that the way out of these difficult straits will not be through war; the proper remedy is an economic mobilization campaign.

– Father, we have fallen into another “Ergenekon”; we need a “Grey Wolf,” don’t we?

– Indeed, my son, indeed. God willing, you will become the “Grey Wolf.”⁴⁸³ (40)

Thus, here too, Hasan the Blacksmith will provide a way out by melting the iron and making agricultural tools; Turgut, the “Grey Wolf,” with his pioneering strategy of economic development, will guide the people out of the economic trap into which they have fallen, and towards salvation.

Finally, one should add that this is a text in which the ideology of Turkism can be seen in its purest form. This is reflected in the language of the text, as well. A member of the *Yeni Lisan* [New Language] movement – which aimed at simplifying the language and freeing it of words with foreign roots – Duru produced a text in accordance with the goals of this movement, keeping words of non-Turkish origin to a minimum, and writing a work which can be easily read even today. Furthermore, his novel does not possess a fanatical approach to Islam as far as the issue of women is concerned. Westernization is also treated as something which should be avoided. By contrast, the ideologies of Turkishness and Turkism, which can be encountered throughout *The Army of Labor*, represent the focal point of this text.

⁴⁸³ “– Babacığım, yine “Ergenekon”a düştük; bir “Bozkurt” lazım değil mi ya? / – Doğru, oğlum, doğru, inşallah o “Bozkurt” sen olursun.”

5.10. From Defeat to the Dream of Turan: *Aydemir*

Aydemir was the name of a novel by a female author, printed in Istanbul during wartime. It enchanted me as soon as I started to read it. The book recounted the life of its hero, named Aydemir. (...) This novel was a fantasy, a product of a young woman's imagination, with no relation to reality... (...) On the front, I always kept it on my person, taking it out of my knapsack and reading it whenever I had the chance. Each time I read it, it gave me a fresh delight. (...) Reading this book, I sometimes closed my eyes, and imagined myself in the deserts of Turan, on its roads, in its towns and villages, giving hope and consolation to the people thronging around me. I believed that I had finally found my path. (...) Later, I too would take my own place on this path. I would use the name of this novel myself, and I too would become an Aydemir. Yes, an Aydemir...⁴⁸⁴

There is no doubt that the noteworthy 1918 novel *Aydemir*,⁴⁸⁵ by Müfide Ferit Tek (1892-1971), deeply influenced the writer and economist Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (the author of the above lines), in addition to many other people. Indeed, prominent names of the period such as Ömer Seyfettin and Mehmet Fuat Köprülü wrote articles brimming with praise for Tek's novel.⁴⁸⁶

For a young Muslim Turkish woman, Müfide Ferit Tek received quite an extraordinary education. Tek went to Tripolitania, where her father was stationed, and – as there was no Turkish school available – attended the St. Joseph Convent School. Her father later sent her to Paris, where she studied at the Versailles Lycée, with the support of Ahmet Rıza, one of the leading Young Turks. A significant event in the author's life occurred in 1907, when – at the age of 15 – she married the famous Turkist intellectual Ahmet Ferit Tek, who arguably was influential in shaping his wife's nationalist

⁴⁸⁴ This passage, which dates back to the time when Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was fighting on the Caucasus Front in the First World War, features in the author's memoirs, entitled *Suyu Arayan Adam* [The Man in Search of Water]. The author did in fact choose the surname "Aydemir" upon the passage of the Law on Surnames in 1934. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* [The Man in Search of Water], 10th ed. (Istanbul: Remzi, 1997), 127-129.: "Aydemir, harp içinde İstanbul'da basılan bir romanın ismiydi Bir kadının kaleminden çıkmıştı. Beni daha ilk okuduğum gün büyüledi. Aydemir, hayatı bu kitapta anlatılan bir kahramandı. (...) Bu roman bir fantazydi. Genç bir kadın muhayyilesinin hiçbir realiteyle ilgisi olmayan bir mahsulü... (...) Onu cephede elimden bırakamıyordum. [V]akit buldukça onu çantamdan çıkarırdım. Okurdum. Her defasında bana yeni bir şevk verirdi. (...) Bu kitabı okurken bazen gözlerimi kapardım. Kendimi Turan'ın çöllerinde, yollarında, köylerinde, kasabalarında, etrafıma koşan insanlara ümit ve teselli dağıtırken görürdüm. (...) Artık yolumu bulduğumu sanıyordum. (...) Bu yolda bir süre sonra, ben de yerimi alacaktım. Onun adını kendime ad edinecek, ben de bir Aydemir olacaktım. Evet, bir Aydemir..."

⁴⁸⁵ The following edition will be used in the present study: Müfide Ferit Tek, *Aydemir* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2002).

⁴⁸⁶ In contrast to the attention it received upon publication, *Aydemir* – after its first edition in 1918 – was never republished until 2002. The Conclusion will address the probable causes for this "consignment to oblivion," a situation also faced by other works dealt with in the present study.

tendencies. Later, when her husband was sent to France on diplomatic duty, Tek accompanied him and graduated from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. She also wrote her second novel, the 1924 work *Pervaneler* [The Moths], during this period. As we have mentioned, Tek was educated entirely at foreign schools; her second novel takes a stance which is severely opposed to such foreign educational institutions. *The Moths*⁴⁸⁷ is about Robert College in Istanbul (referred to as “Byzantine College”), which it strongly criticizes. Just as moths fly into a flame and are scorched, Muslim Turkish students – the author implies – are losing their identities at this school, making everyone’s life all the worse. “National education” occupies a prominent position in the author’s nationalist outlook.



Illustration 41: Müfide Ferit Tek⁴⁸⁸

Tek’s husband fought as a soldier in the Balkan War in 1912, later being sent into exile after a falling-out with the Union and Progress Party. She herself joined her husband in exile in Sinop and Bilecik between 1913 and 1918; indeed, her novel contains references to Sinop. *Aydemir* was written during this period, i.e., at a time when the effects of the Balkan War were still fresh in everyone’s mind.⁴⁸⁹ When one considers that Turkish nationalist literature emerged right around this time, *Aydemir* can clearly be regarded as a seminal work in this field. Indeed, Murat Belge has drawn attention to the novel’s pioneering status and utopian character, writing as follows: “The first ‘Turanist’ novel in the Turkish novelistic tradition – *The New Turan*, by Halide Edip

⁴⁸⁷ See Müfide Ferit Tek, *Pervaneler* [The Moths] (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2002).

⁴⁸⁸ <http://kaknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745>

⁴⁸⁹ Recep Duymaz, who wrote the introduction to the recent edition of the novel, states that Tek wrote *Aydemir* at the age of 24 (i.e., around 1915-1916). Recep Duymaz, “Aydemir Üzerine” [Concerning *Aydemir*], in Müfide Ferit Tek, *Aydemir*, 8.

Adivar (Tek's senior by 10 years) – had previously been published in 1912. *Aydemir* was the second such novel. Both novels were composed in the 'utopian' style."⁴⁹⁰

To provide a general overview of the plot of *Aydemir*: the story takes place immediately after the 1908 Revolution, before the start of the First World War, and centers on the love between the characters Aydemir and Hazin. Aydemir is an ideal character, both in terms of appearance and also, in particular, in terms of his beliefs. Hazin is pressured by her father into marrying an officer, despite the fact that Aydemir is the one she loves. As for Aydemir, his ideals take precedence over his love for any human being in any case; thus, although he loves Hazin, he leaves her and travels to "Turan" (i.e., Central Asia) in order to promote Turkish unity. Indeed, even though Hazin's husband dies soon afterwards (having been wounded in the Tripoli War), leaving nothing to prevent the two from marrying, Aydemir does not return to Hazin. In his view, the individual love he feels for Hazin will stand in the way of his efforts on behalf of the Turkish race. In a way that is reminiscent of the classical masnavis such as *Layla and Majnun* and *Mantiq Ut-Tayr* [The Conference of the Birds], Aydemir dies in Central Asia before the two can reunite.

Before discussing Aydemir's exploits in Central Asia, it will be useful to examine his understanding of nationalism. The novel begins in the optimistic atmosphere of the first days following the re-promulgation of the Constitution. We even encounter this optimism in a series of remarks made by a visitor, ones which are explicit enough that we could almost term this passage a "Constitutional Utopia." According to this visitor, the Constitution,

with its wealth of ideas, its military and economic might, will pave the way for an outstanding, brilliant Ottoman Empire for us within five years. All the lands which it conquered through its greatness and majesty – Crete, Egypt, Tunisia, Bosnia-Herzegovina – will be reclaimed. Foreign power, foreign exports, foreign oppression will no longer exist in our country. Fifty percent of our villagers will study. Fifty percent will work. Turkey will become a veritable rose-garden of talent. Liberty and independence, especially economic independence, independence in internal and external trade...⁴⁹¹ (33)

Here we see an example of teleological history; Aydemir, however, does not agree with this optimistic fantasy. In his opinion, the Constitution will not turn other ethnicities

⁴⁹⁰ Murat Belge, "Müfide Ferit Tek'in 'Aydemir' Romanı,"

<http://kaknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745> (Accessed 15.08.2014): "Daha önce, Türk romanının ilk 'Turancı' romanını, Müfide Hanım'dan on yaş büyük olan Halide Edip, 1912'de yayımlamıştı: *Yeni Turan*. Aydemir ikincidir. İki roman da 'ütopya' tarzında yazılmıştır."

⁴⁹¹ "bize beş altı seneye kadar fikir marifeti, harp ve iktisat kudretiyle müstesna ve parlak bir Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hazırlayacak. Onun şevket ve haşmeti ile bütün zaptedilmiş memleketler, Girit, Mısır, Tunus, Bosna-Hersek geri alınacak. Memleketimizde ecnebi eli, ecnebi ihracatı, ecnebi istibdadı kalmayacak. Köylünün yüzde ellisi okuyacak. Yüzde ellisi çalışacak. Vatan bir marifet gül bahçesi olacak. Hürriyet ve serbestlik, bilhassa iktisadî serbestlik, iç ve dış ticaretle serbestlik..."

into Ottomans; on the contrary, while the Turks, and Turkishness itself, remain asleep, their nationalities will be strengthened, inducing them to attack the Ottoman Empire and set up separate states. (30) Therefore, he is resolutely opposed to Ottomanism. The notion that it could be dangerous to create a nationalist current within the Ottoman Empire, and that this could serve as a precedent for other ethnic groups, is not taken seriously by Aydemir; in his view, all people – aside from the Turks – are serving their own national interests in any case. (30)

Aydemir's basic project is to travel to Turkistan ("Turan"), promoting the status of the Turks living there, and later establishing a Turkish Union. (14) His decision to begin this project in Turkistan rather than Anatolia is a conscious choice. The Turks of Anatolia, while they may be living in misery, are at least free. The way to their salvation lies in being freed from poverty. The author takes an essentialist approach to national identity; the core of such a national identity, she believes, already exists, and will emerge of its own accord when the right framework (in terms of education and other issues) is provided:

When a villager acquires wealth, you can be sure that he will seek a doctor of his own accord, will demand a school of his own accord, will learn his rights and duties in this school, will acknowledge his own nationality, will come to know his own country, and will become the sort of Turk we wish him to be!...⁴⁹² (15)

Tek adopts the standard attitude concerning the role of intellectuals in creating a sense of national loyalty. The crucial step is for the nation to become aware of this sense of loyalty. Afterwards, it will guide its intellectuals, and "advances in thought by Istanbul intellectuals will once more result from this national awakening."⁴⁹³ (15) It is the state's task to initiate this process.

However, the Turks of Turkistan are enslaved to the Russians. Russia is doing all it can to assimilate and Russify these people. Therefore, the project needs to begin there. The author prioritizes the role of religion in people's sense of identity, stressing that Islam is the strongest armor possessed by Russia's Muslims.

According to Aydemir, Genghis Khan and Atilla were not content merely to be Turks, but opposed all those who thought them savage and uncivilized. They were "geniuses of a civilization based on strength and heroism." Tek also has Aydemir turn other historical and mythological figures, e.g. Odin, into Turks:

The Turkish nation has not only produced conquerors and heroes, but even superhuman beings. Odin, for example – that idol of strength, heroism, intelligence, and knowledge, worshipped by a faith, a pagan

⁴⁹² "Köylü, servet sahibi olunca o, emin olunuz kendiliğinden doktor arayacak, kendiliğinden mektep isteyecek, mektepte hak ve vazifesini öğrenecek, milliyetini tanıyacak, vatanını anlayacak ve istediğimiz gibi bir Türk olacak!..."

⁴⁹³ "İstanbul münevverlerinin fikir ilerlemeleri de yine milletin bu intibahından doğacaktır."

religion, which has persisted until today. Odin was a Turkish chieftain who made raids from the coasts of the Black Sea all the way to the land of the Finns.⁴⁹⁴ (17)

According to Tek, the Buddha was another “famous Turk”:⁴⁹⁵

The Buddha, yes, the Buddha...he too was a Turk...As you were ridiculing “bravery” just now, did you never consider the possibility that this compassionate civilization might also be Turkish? Do not think that it owes anything to Christianity. Jesus and his compassion are nothing other than an imitation of Buddhist doctrine, one which diverges from it, and will never be able to equal it.⁴⁹⁶ (18)

Awakening the heirs of a nation with such a glorious past, and instilling in them a wish for a “free, independent, strong, happy future,” ought to be the duty of every intellectual. (18) In order to succeed in this endeavor, people will benefit from art and literature, just as this book has tried to benefit them.

Although Tek has a racist outlook, she does not promote an aggressive nationalism; for instance, her form of nationalism is not Social Darwinist in nature, as we have seen in the case of other authors. Nor does she categorically reject humanism. She does not dismiss the question, “Does the Buddha not command people to work on behalf of all humanity?”, merely stating that the present level of civilization makes this impossible.

Nevertheless, her underlying principle is that the nation is composed of a single, pure race. Cosmopolitanism, therefore, is not something to be desired. This is particularly true of Istanbul; Aydemir states that “it is impossible to be an Istanbulite and also a child of the nation.” (41) The still-existing traces of Byzantine civilization in Istanbul make Aydemir uneasy:

He jumped onto the departing train, sticking his head out the window, and falling into a reverie as he watched the scenery fly by before him. Every time he used to pass by this place, he would search in vain for any trace of Turkish habitation, which had existed here for five

⁴⁹⁴ “Hem Türklük yalnız cihangirler, kahramanlar değil, insanüstüler de yetiştirmiş bir millettir. Meselâ Odin! Bugüne kadar baki bir dinin, tabiatperestliğin kuvvet, şecaat, zekâ ve irfan mabudu Odin! O, Karadeniz sahillerinden Fin iline akın etmiş bir Türk Beyi idi.”

⁴⁹⁵ The publishing house responsible for re-publishing *Aydemir* has added a comments section at the end of the novel. Although clearly proud to be publishing Tek’s novel, the publishers have added an embarrassed note here (at the end of the sub-section concerning the Buddha) in which – while not wishing to openly discredit Tek – they state: “The claim that the Buddha was Turkish is implausible.” (129)

⁴⁹⁶ “(...) Buda, evet, Buda... O da Türk idi... Demin cesaretle istihza ederken şefkat-medeniyetinin de Türk olabileceğine ihtimal vermiyordunuz değil mi? Bu medeniyeti Hıristiyanlığa vermeyiniz. Hıristiyanlığın İsa’sı ve şefkati Buda akidesinin biraz değişen, fakat asla ona yetişemeyen bir taklidinden başka bir şey değildir.”

centuries. Even the names of the neighborhoods seemed to be making light of Turkish supremacy. (...) Everything suggested the immortal, omnipresent spirit of the enemy; at every step, it seemed as though the conquered ruled over the conqueror. Aydemir was stricken with grief and turned aside his head in order not to see any more. Once more, his love for his great, unbounded, infinite nation made his bosom swell with pride. His heart, as though unable to endure such a great love, was pained.⁴⁹⁷ (36)

Aydemir will travel to Turkistan – i.e., Khiva, Bukhara, and Kashgar, as well as Samarkand, which he regards as the main center of the region. His plan is to rouse the Turks and establish a Turkish Hearth everywhere he goes, thus creating a network of these organizations. When the time comes, this national network will lead to the development of all ethnically Turkish lands. (40)

As Aydemir is busy with these tasks, Hazin also sets up a school in Istanbul, in accordance with her beloved's vision. (57) The program of study will chiefly consist of history and philosophy; students will be inculcated with patriotic sentiment, a love of humanity, a duty to serve society, an eagerness to work, and a yearning for intense sacrifice. The school's aim is to produce idealists; the graduates of the school will immediately become Aydemir's students.

The Balkan War and Turkism

As Aydemir is sowing the seeds of Turkism in Turan, the country which he has left behind experiences an event which gives credence to his beliefs: the Balkan War. The novel attributes an especially important role to this war (79-81), presenting it as the most crucial turning-point in raising people's awareness of Turkism. The catastrophe of having the Bulgarians nearly at the gates of Istanbul has become a severe trauma in everyone's mind. Tek gives voice to this trauma by means of concepts like sorrow, pain, outcry, catastrophe, loss of belief in God, hopelessness, and fear. Added to these is the shame produced by the flight of soldiers in battle; dishonorable conduct on the part of officers; the loss of national prestige; the destruction of the country's sanctity; and the violation of ancestral gravesites.

Here the author expresses the sense of despondency felt during this period, by using a number of motifs which we will encounter throughout this text. In this bleak atmosphere, the Turks feel a deep sense of hopelessness, continually seeking "a glimmer of hope, a star to show us the way to the future." They eventually realize that

⁴⁹⁷ "Kalkan trene atladı. Başını pencereden çıkardı. Önünden kaçan manzarayı seyre daldı. Buradan her geçişte gözleri beyhude yere beş asırlık Türk hayatının bir eserini arardı. Mahallelerinin isimleri bile sanki Türk hâkimiyeti ile istihza ediyordu. (...) [H]er şey düşmanın ölmeyen, unutulmayan ruhunu söylüyordu. Her adımda mağlubun galibe hükmettiği gözüküyordu. Demir, meyus içini çekti ve görmemek için başını çevirdi. Bir kere daha göğsü azîm, hudutsuz, sınırsız milliyet muhabbetiyle şişti. Kalbi sanki bu kadar büyük bir aşka tahammül edemeyecek gibi sızladı."

what they are looking for is not to be found without, but within, i.e., in the depths of their souls. What they find is the “sun of the nation” long worshipped by Aydemir. In explaining how this came to be, the author states that people have possessed a national identity since time immemorial, but this identity has lain dormant; the Balkan War has been the means by which people have become aware of it. Uneducated people

had never really forgotten it in any case...their minds did not know it existed, but they felt it without knowing it...Had they not innately and unconsciously concealed this ambition for centuries – through a force as strong as it was involuntary – in their blood, and in the ignorance of their souls? This force which gave them life, which linked them to their ancestors, preserved this ambition inside them.⁴⁹⁸ (80-81)

By contrast, even if the intellectual class has not remained so innocent, it too will have to adapt itself to this awakening. Therefore, the dream of Turan will become possible once the nationalism which is about flourish in Turkistan (thanks to the seeds planted by Aydemir) has been united with the nationalism which will emerge in Turkey after the Balkan War.

A Nationalist Savior

Ah, who will save us?

This cry was let forth from the bosom of every Turk. A hope which, like a marvelous unknown remedy awaited by Hasan, was simple, yet extraordinary; too far off to be seen, but close enough to be expected at every moment!⁴⁹⁹ (66)

This work is a typical example of the motif of the “savior/guide,” one of the themes which were introduced in Part Three, and which frequently and consistently recur in many of the texts examined in this thesis. Aydemir takes on the function of a pioneer, a leader, and a guide in the liberation of the Turks and all the Turkic peoples. Interestingly, the author adds a spiritual dimension to this function, with certain passages in the book representing nationalism as a kind of religion. For instance, when Aydemir is in Central Asia – where he has gone to pursue his Turkist aim – he receives word of the death of Hazin’s husband; he then desires be reunited with her. However, the moment he feels this love for an individual human, he is beset by the thought that he has forsaken his ideal and “committed a sin.” (72-74)

⁴⁹⁸ “onu zaten hiç unutmamıştı. . Dimağıyla bilmiyordu; fakat bilmeden hissediyordu... O, bu emeli asırlardan beri meçhul ve fitrî bir halde, iradesiz olduğu gibi cibrî bir kuvvetle kanında ve ruhunun meçhuliyetinde saklamamış mıydı? Onu yaşatan, onu ecdadına bağlayan kuvvet, bu emeli de onda korumuştur.”

⁴⁹⁹ “- Ah bizi kim kurtaracak? / Bu, bütün Türklerin göğsünden kopup gelen bir feryattı. Hasanın beklediği fevkalade ve meçhul bir deva gibi basit, lâkin harikulade, gözükmeyecek kadar uzak, fakat her an beklenilecek kadar yakın bir ümit!”

Thus, Tek's novel imparts a spiritual, religious dimension to its main character. Right at the beginning of the novel, this is effectively confirmed by a comment which a visitor (with Hazin's approval) makes concerning Aydemir: "Aydemir Bey resembles a hermit, an apostle – a man from another world." (27) However, this spirituality is not limited to a specific religion. For instance, Hazin identifies Aydemir with the Buddha; like the latter, he too has set out in search of happiness by sacrificing everything he has for humanity. (55)

In addition, the manner of Aydemir's departure for Turkistan is evocative of a Mahdi or Messiah; he leaves proclaiming the slogan, "I have come to bring good tidings to the poor, liberty to slaves, consolation to the broken-hearted, and freedom to the oppressed." (64) The Turks of Turkistan perceive Aydemir in precisely the same way. The people there talk of how Aydemir finds work for the unemployed; teaches the illiterate to read; gives money to the poor, bread to the hungry, books to those who lack them, and knowledge to the ignorant; and, most of all, brings tidings of the imminent day of liberation. (66)

The Ottomans knew that the Sultanate would one day come and save them. Did not their books say so?...[Aydemir] waited at people's bedsides – even those of his enemies – procuring a remedy for their illnesses. He opened his door even to those who wished to kill him. His door was unlocked in any case, and his bread was there for whoever wanted it. In order to aid the poor, he would lie outside shivering in the cold of winter. He knew all languages, all branches of knowledge, and was the first to discover everything.⁵⁰⁰ (67)

But the most powerful reference is to Jesus. At the very start of the text, while Aydemir is in Turkistan, Hazin attempts to promote his views in Istanbul. As Aydemir pours out his views on paper, he compares himself to St. John, the author of one of the Gospels. (56) Moreover, he states that the people of Turkistan have "followed them like a flock of sheep which has found its shepherd." (84)

After lighting the fire of nationalism in all the cities of Turkistan, Aydemir makes his way to the most important city in the region, Samarkand. At this point, he has a premonition of his impending death, just like Jesus. Samarkand will be the place where Aydemir's dream of the future – which he terms "a future unity of the race" (81) – will materialize, the place where his utopia will become flesh and blood. Religion is also evoked more frequently in this part of the novel:

⁵⁰⁰ "(...) Osmanlılar saltanatının bir gün gelip kendilerini kurtaracağını biliyorlardı. Kitaplar da bunu yazmıyorlar mıydı? ... O, düşmanı bile olsa, başı ucunda bekleyip şifa bulduruyormuş. Kendini öldürmek isteyene bile evini açıyormuş. Zaten kapısı kilitsiz, ekmeği açık dururmuş. Fakirlere yardım edebilmek için kışın titreyerek soğukta yatarmış. Bütün lisanları, bütün ilimleri bilir ve her şeyi evvelden keşfedermiş."

Like all prophets known to humanity, he too was an artist paving the way for an Age of Felicity in dark times, who was doomed only to be able to see the greatness of his ambition in his own imagination. Aydemir felt the same torments felt by all those prophets. Like them, too, Aydemir was a believer who knew that he might die without bringing to life the great vision of his deity, which he had seen and worshipped; he might die only having preached to people, without making them believe.⁵⁰¹ (82)

20 graduates of Aydemir's school – each one a missionary, so to speak – will go to various cities in Turan to work as teachers. (106) In Samarkand, Aydemir has supporters, in addition to his 12 followers (his “apostles”) such as Ahmet and Şakir, as well as enemies like Ömer the Teacher. An interesting situation emerges with the start of the First World War. The Turks of Turkistan are expected to fight in the Russian army, against the Ottomans. When the Turks ask him how they can fight against the armies of the Caliphate, which has declared a holy war, Aydemir gives an unexpected answer. Holy war, he says, is for free people; a revolt against the Russians will only mean death for the Turks of Turkistan. Therefore, he advises them to avoid such a revolt, and to join the Russian forces. (109) However, they do not listen to him, and rise up in revolt. The main encouragement for this revolt comes from Ömer the Teacher, the villain of the novel, who is certain the Russians will think that Aydemir is responsible. However, Ömer himself is arrested, and is sentenced to be hanged. His wife comes and implores Aydemir to save him. Aydemir takes pity on the woman and her children, and the novel reaches its climax with a great act of magnanimity on his part. In order to save his chief enemy, Aydemir turns himself in as the supposed instigator of the revolt, and is sentenced to death. (113-116) After his death, he becomes a legend.

As a novel, *Aydemir* does not depict a utopia of its own; rather, it can be considered a work which presents a blueprint for the racist-Turanist-nationalist utopia which was being developed during that period, one which it fictionalizes and idealizes. Moreover, aside from the novel's mainstream racism, which enjoys more widespread support, it is significant in exhibiting a variety of racism which Murat Belge has characterized as “cultural” and “female” in nature.⁵⁰² Violence plays little part in Tek's approach. In the novel, a worker dreams of the Turks' becoming stronger and crushing the Russians; by way of answer, Aydemir states that the Turks should not desire this outcome. Their aim should not be for the oppressed and the oppressors to change place, but to do away with oppression entirely. In Belge's view, the obscurity into which

⁵⁰¹ “Bütün insanıyet resulleri gibi o da karanlıklarda bir saadet devri hazırlayan ve emelinin büyüklüğünü yalnız hayalinde görmeye mahkum bir sanatkardı. Demir, bütün o resullerin azaplarını da duyuyordu. Onlar gibi mabudunun büyük hayalini gördükten, ona ibadet ettikten sonra gördüğünü yaşatamadan, yalnız telkin ederek belki inandırmadan öleceğini bilen bir mutekit [idi].”

⁵⁰² Belge, “Müfide Ferit Tek'in ‘Aydemir’ Romanı,” <http://kaknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

Aydemir later fell is linked to the predominance of a different variety of racism, more suffused with violence and aggression than Tek's.⁵⁰³

Finally, one should underline the role which Tek attributes to historiography in the realization of her nationalist ideal. Even when Hazin's sister Nevin jokingly compares Aydemir (who is about to leave for Turkistan) to Homer at the start of the novel, Aydemir is pleased by the comparison. "What I wish for," he says, "is nothing other than this: to resurrect Turkishness through art and love." (19) While in Samarkand, too, he normally goes every evening to a homely little cafe frequented by working folk, and reads a simple history of the Turkish people to them, written in the style of a fairy tale. This reading, rather than wearying them, arouses their curiosity, thus familiarizing them with the concept of the nation, and helping them become aware of their own existence as a race. (89) In other words, according to Tek, the key to nationalist indoctrination lies in the glorious history of the Turks, and in works which extol this history. Indeed, this very novel was written in order to serve such a purpose, and, to an extent, was successful in doing so in its day.

⁵⁰³ Belge, "Müfide Ferit."

5.11. The Third Wave of Utopian Writing: The Republican Period

Part 4 dealt with the utopian works written before the Balkan War while Part 5 analyzed the utopias produced during and right after the Balkan War, and these works was the core of this study. Before we conclude, it will be useful to include a brief discussion of utopias written after the Balkan War period, i.e., those of the Republican era. This will help us to obtain a somewhat more wide-ranging perspective on Turkish utopian literature; to see how the rupture caused by the Balkan War effected visions of the future in the long term, and to observe the resulting continuities and discontinuities; and to be able to perform a more effective comparison by taking into account the process of creating a new identity which was inherited by the Republic.

As stated above, there were three waves, so to speak, in the utopian movement in Turkish literature, all three of which followed in the wake of great socio-political transformations in the country. The first occurred in the 1860s, or the Young Ottoman period. During this era, the modernization process ceased to be limited to military affairs, and began to spread to the field of culture, causing considerable birth-pangs in the process; additionally, demands for a Constitutional regime became more vociferous during the same period. The long and repressive regime of Abülhamid II, who had first proclaimed the Constitution and then repealed it soon afterwards, saw the emergence of the Young Turk opposition. The Revolution of 1908, which occurred under the leadership of the Young Turks, had revived people's hopes for the future; however, the subsequent catastrophe of the Balkan War brought the country to the brink of destruction. It was within this setting that attempts to seek Turkey's salvation brought about the second wave of utopian literature, which has been dealt with in this thesis.

The third wave, which has not been considered in the present study,⁵⁰⁴ began after 1930, during the Republican period. Before we start analyzing them, a brief historical background would be helpful. As is well known, it was not through consensus that the new state regime founded after Turkey's victory in the National Struggle became a Republic. The 1920s were a difficult period for this new state. The transformational process which began in 1924 with the abolition of the Caliphate encountered a certain amount of resistance, which was silenced with increasingly severe policies. In 1924, the opposition gathered together under the rubric of the *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* [Progressive Republican Party]. Afterwards, the Şeyh Sait Rebellion in 1925 led to the following successive measures by the government: the proclamation of the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* [Law for the Establishment of Peace]; the re-establishment of the *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri* [Independence Tribunals]; and the closing of the Progressive Republican Party itself. Later, following an assassination attempt on Atatürk in İzmir in 1926, there was a manhunt for former members of the Progressive Republican Party and the Union and

⁵⁰⁴ For a detailed study of the Turkish Republican utopias, see Engin Kılıç, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi."

Progress Party; at that point, it was no longer possible for any opposition movement to remain in existence. This repressive environment – together with the destructive effects of the worldwide Economic Crisis of 1929 – caused societal discontent to reach its peak.

The regime then embarked on an experiment with controlled opposition, having the *Serbest Firka* [Free Party] set up in 1930. However, this party soon became uncontrollable, threatening to turn into a general movement of opposition to the regime. It was shut down, and Turkey began the process of constructing a totalitarian, single-party regime. The party apparatus and the state bureaucracy were united (as had been done by the German Nazi Party), and the legal framework was prepared for rule by a single individual.

It was under these conditions that the Kemalist order enacted its reforms, in line with the principles it had adopted. The Kemalist approach wanted to control religiosity,⁵⁰⁵ cast the Ottoman past in a negative light, and put a premium on national identity as well as on a Westernizing, Jacobin process of modernization. In order for this approach to achieve hegemony, it needed artistic support as well. Thus, what I have referred to as the “third wave” of utopian literature coincides precisely with this period. Starting in 1930, we see that the production of utopian works picks up speed once more. Giving a few specific examples of these works will provide some clues about the nature of this “third wave.”

The first example we will mention is Ahmet Ağaoğlu’s 1930 work *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* [In the Country of Free People].⁵⁰⁶ One of the leading figures in the Turkist movement, Ağaoğlu became famous as a liberal Westernizer. At the same time, Ağaoğlu was one of the founders of the Free Party, which achieved prominence for its liberal opposition to the CHP; *In the Country of Free People* was written and published during this very period. Therefore, one would expect a criticism of the existing order in this book, as well as an endorsement of the notion of an ideal country in which political and economic liberalism hold sway. However, this is not the case; on the contrary, Ağaoğlu’s book espouses a vision which largely shares the ideological and political principles of the hegemonic ruling discourse.

Ağaoğlu praises the level of development in this imaginary country, as well as its ideal social order. There are, of course, political parties in this country; however, there is never any political conflict. The prevailing doctrines are ones like nationalism, the guidance of the people by intellectuals, solidarism, Westernism, positivism, and a rejection of the past. In other words, the societal order closely resembles Kemalism. In fact, on this note – at the cost of marring the narrative by destroying its image as an

⁵⁰⁵ For an analysis about the use, control and instrumentalization of Islam by the new Republican regime, see Erik Jan Zürcher, “The Importance of Being Secular: Islam in the Service of the National and Pre-National State,” in: C. Kerlake, K. Öktem and P. Robins (ed.), *Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity. Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010), 55-68.

⁵⁰⁶ Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* [In the Country of Free People] (İstanbul: Sanayii Nefise Matbaası, 1930).

“imaginary country” – Aġaoġlu states that the goal of those who guide this free country is “the realization of the wishes and desires of the Genius who established the Republic of Turkey.” The author’s main thesis is that in 1930, moral degeneration began to be seen among the ruling cadres in Turkey (who faced no opposition) and that this led to the corruption of the regime. In other words, the book aims to legitimize the existence of the Free Party, of which Aġaoġlu was himself a founder.

Another relevant work is the 1933 novel *Semavi İhtiras* [Celestial Desire]⁵⁰⁷ by Rafi Necdet Kestelli, who described himself as a socialist. Kestelli’s novel depicts a powerful, happy, prosperous Turkey in 1953. Turkey is now the heart of Europe: there have been great advances in technology, with airplanes becoming so commonplace that they are used in daily sports activities by high school girls. Large passenger planes, with built-in swimming pools, are used to stage opera performances. Telephones have become “telescopes” as well. The hero of the novel, a Nobel laureate named Nejat, is the director of the Turkish Girls’ College, which provides education in English. Turkey’s salvation depends on an out-and-out process of Westernization. Undoubtedly, spirituality should be a priority as well; however, there is no room for religion in this understanding of spirituality. There is a complete rejection of the past. The era of Abdülhamid had produced oppression and ignorance; the members of the Union and Progress Party thought primarily of their own gain, thus perpetuating this darkness.

However, in the period starting with the founding of the Republic and stretching into the future, the country modernized, science became dominant, a meritocratic system came into effect, and reactionary thinking came to an end. There are now two parties in Parliament: the “socialist republicans” and the “conservative nationalists.” However, there is no strife between the two, but rather a harmonious, constructive dialogue. In this work as well, rather than presenting an alternative order, Kestelli is evidently implying that the Kemalist republic was itself the realization of a utopia, and that if society continues to apply Kemalist principles patiently and consistently, the future will look very bright.

In contrast to these two almost unknown texts, the third work we will consider is quite well known, indeed is one of the few works which come to mind when speaking of Turkish utopian literature. The 1934 novel *Ankara*,⁵⁰⁸ by the author and politician Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoġlu, who was a member of the Kemalist cadres, consists of three parts. In the first two parts, there is a critical treatment of the National Struggle and the period that followed. In the author’s opinion, the Kemalist revolution and reforms became corrupted, and never truly took root among the people, with the West being imitated in a superficial manner. The third part contains the author’s own vision of an ideal future, which could be described as statist, corporatist, and nationalist-Westernist in character, and which was in harmony with the official ideology of the 1930s.

⁵⁰⁷ Raif Necdet [Kestelli], *Semavi İhtiras* [Celestial Desire] (İstanbul: Yeni Şark Kütüphanesi, 1933).

⁵⁰⁸ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoġlu, *Ankara*, 5. bs. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996).

This Turkey of the future has emerged as the result of a miraculous transformation, whose details are not totally clear. A protectionist economic doctrine holds sway, while profiteering and speculation have disappeared. Workers' problems have ceased to exist, too, as they have all become "state officials." That said, there is no mention of any improvement in their standards of living. Nonetheless, once workers were proclaimed state officials, they became aware of the great service they were rendering their nation and society by this honorable position, and thus became happy as well. The villagers, too, have been saved from the inhuman conditions described both in this novel and in Karaosmanoğlu's *Yaban* [The Stranger]. Organized into cooperatives, the villagers' earnings and living standards have improved. Corporatist models of organization find their equivalent in this novel, in the form of these village cooperatives, as well as community centers and institutions like the Social Liability Organization.

All these things are followed by a great spurt of development. By 1942, productivity is increasing "30 times" every year. The country's network of railroads and highways has been completed. Turkey has been divided into various regions of production: Central Anatolia is a center of craftsmanship and animal husbandry, while the East has become a paradise for cattle-rearing. As for Western Anatolia, advanced agricultural techniques are practiced in this region, turning it into the Turkish equivalent of Provence.

This Turkey of the future is ruled by a single-party regime, as was the case at the time of the novel's composition. Twenty years after the founding of the Republic, Atatürk is still President, and İnönü is still Prime Minister. In this novel – in a manner recalling attempts in the 1930s to enshrine Kemalism as a religion in place of Islam – we see Atatürk turned into a divine figure, while a positivist world-view is promoted in place of Islamic dogmas like chance and fate. The press, the cinema, the theater, and literature now have the duty of endorsing state doctrines. Reactionism, cosmopolitan snobbery, and all movements contrary to national aims have come to an end.

In preserving Turkey's national identity, Karaosmanoğlu recommends a formula which he terms "nationalist Turkish Westernism," which will fulfill the country's modernization needs, and which will be brought about with the aid of linguistic and historical organizations. Moreover, in creating this strong Turkey the leadership and guidance of enlightened cadres have made it possible to include the people, as well, in this process of transformation. In short, as a novel, *Ankara* once more portrays the existing system and ideology as an ideal, endeavoring to make everyone see things in the same way.

In the 1940 story "Yurda Dönüş" [The Return Home]⁵⁰⁹ by author and politician Memduh Şevket Esendal, we find a very interesting vision of the future, even if it too does not challenge the fundamental principles of the regime. All throughout his life,

⁵⁰⁹ Memduh Şevket Esendal, "Yurda Dönüş," [The Return Home] in *Gödeli Mehmet* (İstanbul: Bilgi, 1988), ss. 149–189.

Esendal advocated a solidarist-corporatist model of social organization, and a culture based on rustic values. In this story, he turns this outlook into a dream of the future, depicting a Turkey which has become a giant village, where all people live in harmony, being connected to the land, to their professional associations, and to their local region.

The narrator, who has been absent from Turkey for 15 or 20 years, returns to find a country which is very different from the one he remembers. Turkey is now covered from top to toe in vineyards, gardens, fields, and forests. In the middle of these fields and gardens, there are houses, nearly all of which are single-storey. As the narrative progresses, we learn that almost all of the country looks like this. We learn that this change in Turkey's appearance is due to changes in its economic and social order, which has been a great success, and has made life cheaper and easier. Cooperatives and professional associations are the underpinnings of this new order. Farmers, doctors, textile workers, and cheese-makers all have their own organizations, without which it is impossible to practice these trades.

Esendal's story reflects the philosophy of "villagism" which was promoted by the CHP government during the 1930s and 40s. Esendal advocates corporatism, solidarity, and villagism in a quite comprehensive and consistent manner. He is antagonistic towards industry and industrial civilization; his faith in the eventual collapse of the latter (which he refers to as "vertical civilization") is complete. In its place, he believes that in laying the groundwork for the country's future, a "horizontal," agriculture-based conception of civilization should become the norm. Even if Esendal's vision of the future is different, this story still does not depart from the ideological framework created by Kemalism; rather, it represents the viewpoint of a faction within that camp.

A largely similar situation prevails in another, later work, namely the 1963 novel *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy]⁵¹⁰ by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976). Aydemir's novel follows in the footsteps of Mizancı Murat's *Is It New Or Is It Nonsense?*,⁵¹¹ which we considered earlier. *If the Earth Awakens* tells the story of a poor village which grows wealthy by carrying out a miraculous program of development under the leadership of a teacher who is stationed there. This idealistic teacher succeeds in repairing the school, which was previously in a dilapidated state. Next, he drains the swamp adjacent to the village, engaging in high-tech agricultural activities on the resulting plot of land. The villagers set up cooperatives, which allow them to make a great deal of money through these efforts; they crown their successes by building a brand-new, modern village. Aydemir stresses that the model which has been implemented in this small village can also be implemented all throughout Turkey. This model does not abolish private property. Rather, under the leadership of the state, it makes society more orderly, and then makes use of society's labor within the

⁵¹⁰ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy] (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi 1963).

⁵¹¹ See Chapter 4.5.

framework of a planned economy. Moreover, it is agriculturally-based, with a focus on cooperatives. Certain preconditions must exist in order to realize this model, including a need for social order; guidance of society by the intellectual class; and a belief that development can only be achieved through statist, villagist policies.

As a result, *If the Earth Awakens* – though written at a later date – contains a vision of society which has many similarities with utopias written in the 1930s and 40s. Aydemir was active as an intellectual during the creation of a single-party regime in the 1930s; three decades later, he does not seem to have changed his position very much. Aydemir takes a dim view of political pluralism and societal differences; he foresees the modernization of society through disciplined strategy and planning of a statist, Jacobin character, under the leadership of a reformist cadre organized under the aegis of the state.

Apparently, works belonging to this third wave of utopian literature do not contain many visions which might constitute an alternative to Kemalism. In fact, in Şaziye Berin's 1933 utopian novel *Baybiçe* [The Lady],⁵¹² which is set in the year 1973, Atatürk is still alive and serving as President. The national hero is "like a God in charge of the nation which he created from scratch."⁵¹³ During celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Republic, a young girl prostrates herself in front of a statue of Atatürk, calling this the "dance of the Republic."

Clearly, this work was written in the intellectual climate of 1933. However, we should point out that works written in this vein continue to be produced. For example, İlhan Mimaroglu's *Yokistan Tasarısı* [A Plan for Nowhereland],⁵¹⁴ written as recently as 1997, shows that such tendencies exist even today. Mimaroglu's book, which he has described as "the best of all utopias to date," foresees a society in which workers will be state officials, just as in *Ankara*. Additionally, the author describes electoral democracy as "handicapped" and as "a narcotic game," longing for a totalitarian regime with a long list of prohibitions.⁵¹⁵

Without a doubt, other kinds of utopian texts have also been produced. For instance, Ertuğrul Aladağ's 2000 novel *1908: Birlikte İlerleyebilseydik* [If Only We Had Been Able to Make Progress after 1908]⁵¹⁶ is based on the scenario of "if only the 1908 Revolution had been successful," showing what a happy, prosperous country Turkey would have become if all those wars, deportations, and ethnic cleansings had not taken place. In addition, many works have been produced, and continue to be produced, which feature alternative visions concerning Turkey or the world. However, what I wish to stress is that the process of creating a new identity which began with the rupture of the Balkan War – though it entered a new phase with the founding of the

⁵¹² Şaziye Berin, *Baybiçe* (İstanbul: Marif Vekâleti, 1933).

⁵¹³ Berin, *Baybiçe*, 24: "Yeniden yarattığı vatanın başında bir Allah gibi"

⁵¹⁴ İlhan Mimaroglu, *Yokistan Tasarısı* [A Plan for Nowhereland] (İstanbul: Pan, 1997).

⁵¹⁵ Mimaroglu, *Yokistan*, 41.

⁵¹⁶ Ertuğrul Aladağ, *1908: Birlikte İlerleyebilseydik* [If Only We Had Been Able to Make Progress after 1908] (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2000).

Republic – has perpetuated its existence, and has continued to reproduce itself, for a long time. The main difference between post-Balkan War utopian works and the ones written after the foundation of the Republic is that the former ones sought for an alternative social and political order to the present reality whereas the Kemalist utopias are focused on the further development and consolidation of the Kemalist Republic.

5.12. Evaluation

At this point, it will be helpful to take a closer look at Part Five and make a brief evaluation of the works analyzed here, just as we did at the end of the Part Four. The projections of the future provided by these works are –when compared with the earlier utopian works- much more full-fledged depictions of the “new Turkey.” Despite the differences in their ideological inclinations, all of the writers of this post-Balkan-War weave the major elements of the trauma narrative which involves the theme of a vengeful urge to rise from the ashes as a nation imagined as an ethnically and religiously homogenous whole.

The first common feature of these works, in terms of their form, is that the “dream” continues to be a popular choice in this period as well. Many works, (*A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, “Thirty Years Later”, “Colloquy under the Pines”, “Scenes and Pictures of the Future” and *Ruşeni’s Dream*) uses the dream form in this or that way.

But of course the most significant characteristic they all share is that the Balkan catastrophe is their common subject (either the main topic or an important point of reference). All these works –except the Republican ones- were written in a six-year-period during and after the Balkan War, therefore the social and political context in which they were produced was the same and that deeply influenced their tone. In that respect, most of the concepts we discussed in Chapter 3.2 as elements of the trauma narrative of the Balkan War (shame, need for a guide, awakening, hatred, revenge, need for a national ideal, etc) are their common themes. It is here that utopian works are directly linked with the trauma narrative: This thesis argues that the traumatic narrative of the Balkan War was constitutive of the utopian projections of the national awakening as reflected in these works.

From an ideological perspective, we see the fall of Ottomanism and the rise of other ideologies, particularly Turkism and Islamism. Especially Turkism in its various forms seems to be a common ideological orientation for all these works (with the exception of Celal Nuri’s work). In connection with this, another outcome of the Balkan defeat is that ideological positions are sharpened, xenophobia, need for a homogeneous society, and all sorts of radicalism gain favour.

Another common feature among these works is that none of them yearns for a democratic regime. On the contrary, almost all of them longs for an authoritarian, totalitarian regime (again, with the exception of Celal Nuri). In that sense, it is also not surprising that the utopian works of the Republican period do not condemn the authoritarian regime in the 1920s and 1930s.

All these works also wish to have a rich and powerful state as in the case of earlier utopian works. The reflection of this wealth and power is seen particularly in transportation. Automobiles, trains and airplanes are easily accessible in their ideal future. We frequently encounter a love of buildings, roads and bridges (especially over

the Bosphorus). And a dense population is seen as a prerequisite of being a flourished, prospered country.

All the same, they differ from each other in various aspects. Since it is written before the dire consequences of the War are witnessed, *The New Turan* looks for a solution in a way that incorporates ethnic and religious minorities, although it still reflects an arrogant approach towards them. This novel is also unique for foregrounding a feminist attitude and for suggesting to follow the American model for development. *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, on the other hand, comes into prominence with its meticulously detailed social and political order and original, inspiring technological designs. It is also the one that most consistently champions an Islamic order. We can call “Thirty Years Later” the most prescient one, because all the topics this small and condensed piece discusses are still topics of hot debate in Turkey today. Yahya Kemal’s “Colloquy under the Pines” shares the Turco-Islamist approach of many other texts but differs from them in form. It is constructed as a “what if ...” scenario in a counter-historical fashion, and this makes it unique among the others. Ethem Nejat’s works are literary representations of his political projects he developed after the Balkan War. Similarly, *The Army of Labor* aims at depicting an ideal future in which the principles of the National Economy is strictly applied. Celal Nuri’s piece is one of the most distinct ones, for it goes beyond all the boundaries of race, religion or geography. The remaining ones advocate various variants of nationalism and racism. Among them, *Ruşeni’s Dream* is the most aggressive example of hate discourse.

The table below provides a graphic categorization of the works in terms of the themes and topics they cover:

	<i>The New Turan</i>	<i>A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization</i>	<i>“Thirty Years Later”</i>	<i>“Colloquy under the Pines”</i>	<i>The Heroic Turks and The Farm Overseer</i>	<i>“The Scenes and Pictures of the Future”</i>	<i>“Twenty Years Later”</i>	<i>Ruseni’s Dream</i>	<i>The Army of Labor</i>	<i>Aydemir</i>
A Clearly Stated Attribution of a Misson to Literature	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Imperial Blindness	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Shock and Shame	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
Hope for a Savior or Leader	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Awakening	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Never Forget	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
Hatred	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
Rancor and Revenge	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
Envyng the Enemy	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
Need for a National Ideal	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Dream Form	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
Subject: Balkan Catastrophe	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
Ottomanism	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Islamism	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
Turkism	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Totalitarian tendencies	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Longing for a wealthy and powerful state	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

CONCLUSION

In the beginning of this study, we asserted that Turkish utopian literature is little known; that it has not received its due share of attention in Turkish literary history; and that many works in this tradition have languished in obscurity. Furthermore, we stated that the Balkan War of 1912-1913 has been overshadowed in Turkish historiography by the First World War and the War of Independence, and that it has not been sufficiently appreciated despite having been a defeat which had a profound influence on later generations. The present dissertation has aimed at performing a comprehensive examination of the utopian literary corpus – which furnishes invaluable insight into the Ottoman Turkish political, cultural, and literary history in the 19th and 20th centuries – and at bringing these works to light in the process. In addition, it has made the claim that the Balkan War represents a significant rupture in the trajectory of this literature.

At this point, examining the subject from a broader perspective, we can discuss some of the findings of this study, addressing the similarities and differences among these works from different time periods – or, to put it another way, their continuities and discontinuities.

A New Genre in Turkish Literature?

As I hope this study has demonstrated – and despite widespread beliefs to the contrary – there exist a rich collection of works of Turkish literature which contain visions of the future, and which could be termed “utopian”.

In terms of genre, perhaps not all of these could be termed utopias in the full sense of the word; nonetheless, within the framework of the definition of utopia we developed in Chapter 2.1., these works are products of the modernization process, promote the notion of progress, and stipulate that this progress should take place in a rational manner. All of these works produce the “defamiliarization effect” which is required by utopias, either through the use of a past or future timeframe or through the use of an imaginary location. Moreover, they aim at evoking a desire to live in such a society on the part of the reader. At the same time, there are two more prerequisites for a text to be considered a utopia according to this same definition. First, it must contain a viewpoint which is explicitly or implicitly critical of the existing social order; second, it must develop a vision of an ideal society as an alternative to this order. Not all the texts which we have considered meet both of these two requirements in their fullest sense.

Indeed, a characteristic shared by works of this utopian literature is that their authors are fully committed to an existing political project, and have written these works in the service of that project. The time periods which saw the proliferation of

literary utopias in Turkey – i.e., the three waves of utopian literature which I mentioned earlier – corroborate this principle. Utopian authors endeavor to turn their political projects into a hegemonic ideology which has been internalized by society. The common features of these political projects are inevitably reflected in the utopias in question. Consequently, Turkish utopias in the periods under consideration are mostly top-down, homogenizing, totalitarian projects which are imposed upon society. In other words, what these works have in common is that they are “state-centered utopias”.

This may partially explain the fact that the works we have examined in this study are so little known. And indeed, the vast majority of these works are not widely recognized texts with a place in the Turkish literary canon. While novels such as *The New Turan* and *Ankara* are more prominent (due to the fame of their authors), this is not the case with most other utopian texts, which are unlikely to be found in literary anthologies, coursebooks, etc. In fact, it is thanks to the present study that some of these works have come to light, or been analyzed, for the first time.

As we mentioned in the Introduction, this is partly due to the way that the concept of “utopia” is perceived in Turkish culture. However, another reason undoubtedly has to do with the monistic political culture of the society in which these texts are written. There is generally an increase in texts of this kind during periods of crisis regarding the regime or the political and social system/order. At the end of such periods, as stability returns and the existing order is consolidated, it can be assumed that society will not approve of visions which diverge from that order, will not wish to recall them, and thus will not be encouraged to reprint them and perpetuate their existence. One could hardly expect otherwise from a political culture in which authoritarianism and totalitarianism hold sway. For instance, the newly established Turkish republic might use state resources to print the books of Müfide Ferit Tek in great numbers; however, there would have been no chance of reprinting the works of the Islamist Mustafa Nazım Erzurumi, or of Ali Kemal, the opponent of the National Struggle who ended up being lynched.

Balkan War and the Traumatic Transformation of the Visions of the Future

Departing from the concept of “cultural trauma” as defined by Jeffrey C. Alexander as a phenomenon which arises in the group consciousness of societies faced with a painful event, and which produces a fundamental change in their future identities, this dissertation asserts that the trauma of the Balkan War was transformed into a narrative in the course of creating a new identity.

This study offered an analysis of the conceptual elements of this trauma narrative specific to the Balkan War, by focusing on the examples of the narrativization of this trauma in literature. As a matter of fact, in the aftermath of the Balkan defeat, the mission imparted to literature was to narrativize this trauma, to describe a new national identity, to evoke a desire of attaining a new national ideal, and to depict the shining future which people will experience if it is adopted. Hence many of the utopian works of the post-Balkan War period revolved around themes that we summarized

under the tags: *Imperial Blindness*; *Shock and Shame*; *Hope for a Savior or Leader*; *Awakening*; *Never Forget*; *Hatred*; *Rancor and Revenge*; *Envyng the Enemy*; *Need for a National Ideal*.

In the literary narrativization of the Balkan War trauma, the humiliation of the enemy before the War was a most important narrative element. It became evident that Muslim Turkish intellectuals' habit of looking down upon the enemy prior to the Balkan War – a tendency we have termed “*imperial blindness*” – magnified the shock produced by Turkey's later defeat. In the first stage, this defeat manifested itself as a great psychological collapse, sorrow, hopelessness, *shock and shame*. Furthermore, an expectation of a Mahdi-like figure; the search and *hope for a savior*, leader, or guide came to the fore. Another means of saving the country from destruction is the call to awaken. The theme of *awakening* can be encountered in numerous texts, in many different senses: an awakening from a lethargic state, from laziness, and from ignorance; or an awakening to a national identity. Another important component in the cultural trauma narrative and in the creation of a new identity is the call *never to forget* the catastrophe in question. Thus, the events which have been experienced will function as a “foundational catastrophe,” will prevent a recurrence of the same situation, and will keep alive the feelings of *hatred* which are necessary to take *revenge*. Indeed, hatred is one of the concepts to which people most often have recourse in these circumstances, and whose effects are most permanent.

The trauma experienced by the Ottomans paved the way for the birth of a Turkish “literature of hatred,” so to speak, with the feeling of hatred being used as one of the most vital elements in this new identity. Accordingly, a desire for revenge is also put forth as a national goal; the possibility of future revenge is one of the ways of enduring the shame experienced by the nation. The most striking element in this new discourse is the phenomenon of *envyng and “emulating” the enemy* by whom one has been defeated, whom one hates, and against whom one harbors a desire for revenge. While this might seem like a contradictory state of affairs, actually it is quite consistent. According to nationalist authors of this period, Turkey's enemies had already created their own identity, one equivalent to the new national identity which Turkey sought to create; as this had caused them to be successful in the Balkan War, it would be prudent to take them as a model. Another key point in the success of enemies was their possession of a “*national goal*”; only by possessing such a goal can a new identity be successful. This goal is crucial in placing elements like awakening, remembrance, hatred, and revenge within a specific system. In the literature of this period, we encounter a good deal of discussion about what this national goal would be; thus, the need for literary texts containing a vision of the future arises precisely at this stage.

We can better delineate the peculiar characteristics of these post-Balkan War visions of the future by comparing and contrasting them with the ones produced before the Balkan War and with those written in the Republican period.

Works Written Before and after the Balkan War: Continuities

In the pre-Balkan War works we observed that all of the authors in question devised their visions of the future as tools to reflect their political projects, viewing them as a means of creating material manifestations of their ideological positions. Similarly, we saw that (some exceptions aside) their fundamental goal was the survival and future prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, and that an inclusive, optimistic, more gentle tone – devoid of violence or hatred – therefore prevailed in these works.

One point which these works have in common with the post-Balkan War works is that they are all focused on the Ottoman State; none of them contain a vision which encompasses the whole world, or all of humanity. Besides, all of these texts have two fixed goals for the future: to become wealthy, and to become powerful. The limits of wealth and power are also set with reference to the West. In this sense, it is impossible not to concur with Uğur Tanyeli's conclusion that what is envisioned as Turkey's future is present-day reality in the West.

In terms of how this power manifested itself materially, there are some striking common features in these works. For instance, a Bosphorus Bridge (or bridges) can be encountered with startling frequency. In fact, this is a part of a more comprehensive dream: that of a widespread, smoothly operating transportation network employing advanced technology. The authors' greatest dream is to have a simple, comfortable, and fast system of intracity and intercity transportation, with different vehicles and different pathways. Airplanes are the epitomy of this system, and we see them used in many texts as a means of everyday transportation. Another common characteristic of these texts is a concern with population growth. While an excessively large population seems like a problem today, for the authors' era it was something to be desired; authors of different ideologies were united in wishing for a large, healthy population. In similar fashion, the phenomena of over-development and industrialization were universally desired. Moreover, an effective communications system is another aspiration for this ideal future.

And, in nearly every work, education is put forth as the key element in arriving at this ideal future which the authors desire. Other requirements, such as hard work, national unity, etc., are often mentioned; however, these works make clear just what a pressing issue the country's lack of education was for intellectuals of the period.

Works Written before and after the Balkan War: Discontinuities

On the other hand, works written after the Balkan War have fundamental differences from those written before; these largely have to do with the consequences of the Balkan Catastrophe and the trauma narrative it engendered. Arguably, the biggest difference is the abandonment of the ideal of Ottomanism in its erstwhile form. After the war, people no longer defended the claim that individuals of all languages, religions, and ethnicities could be held together through one Ottoman identity. The fundamental wish was now to achieve a more homogeneous population. Thus, in these works, Islamic or Turkic unity begins to take ideological precedence over Ottomanism.

The concepts and themes such as shame, awakening, hatred etc. that are detailed in Chapter 3.2, and referred to throughout this study, also shed light on this difference. The ideal society envisioned in post-Balkan War texts is a far more militarized society; in contrast to the earlier era, the primary goal is not modernization, but survival. Leading intellectuals should hold up a national ideal to society and should rouse all its people; the events they have experienced should not be forgotten, hatred should be kept alive, and – in the end – society should take revenge on its enemies. This state of affairs led to a radical change in the tone and atmosphere of these works. Extreme tendencies such as xenophobia, hatred, racism, irredentism, and revanchism, which were previously unheard of, became the chief trends to be projected onto the future.

In this period, there also began to be a change in Turkey's perception of the West. Before the war, the West had been a model of development and progress. It still remained the basic reference-point for modernization; however, as it was thought that the West had pursued a two-faced policy during the Balkan Defeat, it also became a focal point for people's animosity. Thus, through this pathological attitude, the West came to be both envied and hated. Indeed, in most of these works, the Turkey of the future has become as powerful and wealthy as the West is in its own day, while the West is depicted as poor, weak, and fallen into great need. Thus, the existing hierarchy of East and West is reversed in visions of the future found in works of this period. The means by which this is accomplished turns up in many works as the theme of "the East uniting under the leadership of the Turks." This unity can be ethnic or religious in nature. In either case, the peoples of the East are saved from colonization and backwardness; the great development which they achieve under the leadership of the Turks brings about a state which is much stronger and wealthier than Europe. Visions of the future flourished precisely in proportion to the scale of the trauma suffered due to the Balkan Defeat, and the likelihood of the country's annihilation.

We could mention an interesting reason why post-Balkan War visions of the future display these sorts of characteristics. One significant fact that this study reveals is that nearly all the authors who wrote these works after the war (as we have stated in the relevant chapters) had some connection to the Balkans, either being of Balkan roots, or having been born themselves in Balkan countries, or having grown up and/or worked there. This state of affairs meant that the woes experienced by the nation simultaneously became personal sufferings; it also set the harsh, bitter tone of these authors' narratives. Erik Jan Zürcher has shown that during the First World War – and especially during the period of the National Struggle and the establishment of the Republic – intellectuals, officers, and politicians who had experienced the Balkan tragedy as a personal misfortune would play a decisive role in setting national policies.⁵¹⁷ Now we see a similar picture in the field of literature. Thus, these authors –

⁵¹⁷ A striking similarity can be seen in the domain of political leadership. In his article "The Young Turks – Children of the borderlands?" Erik Jan Zürcher shows that almost all the Young Turk politicians, officers and administrators were from the Balkan provinces, and hence, after the Balkan War, they lost their ancestral homes. (Eric Jan Zürcher, "The Young Turks – Children of the

these producers of culture – served as a bridge between the Balkan War period and the Republic, and the transmission of this trauma became a cornerstone of Turkey’s new collective identity.

Post-Balkan War Works and Republican Works: Discontinuities

Nevertheless, there are no direct references to the Balkan War in the utopian works of the Republican period which we have briefly mentioned in Chapter 5.11. One could list numerous reasons for this, such as the wish to forget the Balkan Defeat during the Republican period; the wish to build a new national identity on victory and pride, not trauma; the desire to make a clean break with the CUP cadres; a tendency to completely demonize the pre-Republican, Ottoman past; and the fact that the Islamist emphasis so often found in post-Balkan War visions of the future would have been unwelcome during the Republican period. Indeed, one can see specific categorical differences in utopian works of the 1930s, when the country was moving towards the goal of hegemonizing the single-party regime. For instance, a broader ideological scope is noticeable in works written prior to the Republican period, while the options in works of the Republican period itself are more limited. There is no work which proposes an alternative order to replace Kemalism. The differences among these works only arise through their emphasis on different tendencies within Kemalist ideology, such as nationalism, villagism, and Westernism. Kemalist utopias⁵¹⁸ no longer make survival their goal; rather, they adopt aims such as national unity, development, and progress. Moreover, tendencies which did not exist in earlier works – contempt for the Ottoman past, an inimical attitude towards Islam, and the cult of Atatürk – are widespread in Kemalist utopias. Unlike visions of the future written immediately after the Balkan War – which fantasize about a great empire spanning the entire East – Kemalist utopias contain more modest visions of the future which are rooted in their present spot. None of them dream of expanding the country’s existing borders.

Post-Balkan War Works and Republican Works: Continuities

Despite all these discontinuities, when one considers their basic underlying tendencies, one can also see a definite continuity in several specific areas between Kemalist utopias and earlier ones. The Republic’s legacy of the trauma caused by the Balkan Defeat can be seen in tendencies like a desire for wealth and power; a hesitant, love-hate relationship with the West; a longing for a homogeneous population; an enmity towards democracy and sympathy for a Jacobin, authoritarian regime; an outlook focused on the state rather than the individual; the vision of an organicist

borderlands?” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 9/1-2 (2003): 275-286.) and in another article, he states that a significant portion of the core leadership of the Turkish Republic in its first 20 years came from the Balkans. (Erik Jan Zürcher, “How Europeans adopted Anatolia and discovered Turkey,” *European Review* 13/3 (2005): 379-394.)

⁵¹⁸ Engin Kılıç, “Kemalist Perspectives in the Early Republican Literary Utopias,” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no: 36 (Spring 2007): 69.

society; and a preference for centralism. In this sense, the continuity between administrative cadres before and after the establishment of the Republic also meant a continuity in ideological, cultural, and cognitive processes. The trauma narrative of the Balkan War played a key role in this process; the woes, fears, and longings which are the main elements of this narrative – as is reflected in visions of the future from this period – left deep marks on the policies which shaped the young Republic.

Final Word

This study has aimed at bringing to light and defining a field which currently does not exist in Turkish cultural and literary history. The goals of this thesis have included a description of Ottoman Turkish utopian literature, its history, characteristics, stages, and breakpoints; its transformation over time; its relationship with political movements; and findings and analysis regarding works in this genre. Its attempt to shine light on the existence of this field, and the relevant works of literature – and to link these to the literary, cultural, and intellectual history of Ottoman and Republican Turkey – can be regarded as a gain for scholarship. It is hoped that this study will play a pioneering role for further work in this field.

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SAMENVATTING (SUMMARY IN DUTCH)

Over het corpus van Turks literaire utopieën is vrij weinig bekend. Dit onderwerp heeft in de Turks literaire geschiedenis niet de aandacht gekregen die het verdient en veel van dit soort werken zijn in de vergetelheid geraakt. Dit proefschrift stelt zich tot doel deze werken aan de vergetelheid te onttrekken en een uitgebreid onderzoek te doen naar dit corpus om hiermee een waardevolle inzicht te verschaffen in de Osmaanse Turkse politieke, culturele en literaire geschiedenis van de negentiende en twintigste eeuw. Het toont bovendien aan dat de Balkanoorlog van 1912-1913 een belangrijke breuk vormt in de ontwikkeling van deze literatuur .

Deze dissertatie beargumenteert dat het catastrofale verlies van de Osmanen in de Balkanoorlog, samen met de tragische gevolgen hiervan, een diepe schok en een trauma hebben veroorzaakt bij het Osmaans Turkse publiek en de intelligentsia. De staat balanceerde op de rand van de afgrond en hierdoor veranderde en radicaliseerde de politieke en ideologische standpunten over de toekomst van het land. Tegelijkertijd transformeerde deze enorme nederlaag ook de literatuur, die de missie toebedeeld kreeg om dit trauma te verwoorden en een toekomst voor Turkije te verbeelden. Daarom produceerde de Turkse literatuur in de periode na de Balkanoorlog vele utopische werken en sommige van deze werken zorgden tevens voor de ontwikkeling van nieuwe categorieën van identiteit.

Binnen deze context, focust het proefschrift zich eerst op de geschiedenis van het genre en de verschillende definities van het begrip utopie, van waaruit ten behoeve van dit proefschrift een basis definitie wordt geformuleerd. Volgens deze definitie is een literaire utopie een fictieve vertelling die het product is van het geloof in de menselijke reden; die plaats vindt in een andere tijd en/of plaats dan het “hier en nu,” die een openlijk of impliciet kritisch standpunt inneemt ten opzichte van de bestaande orde, die als hoofdthema een visie van een ideale samenleving heeft, die een alternatief verschaft voor deze orde en die deze voldoende gedetailleerd beschrijft, zodat deze ideale samenleving in iemands geest tot leven komt. Vervolgens behandelt de dissertatie het onderwerp van de Balkanoorlog. Het schetst de fasen van de oorlog evenals de catastrofale en traumatische gevolgen ervan voor de Osmanen.

Dit wordt gevolgd door een analyse van de belangrijkste conceptuele en thematische elementen waaruit het trauma narratief, geproduceerd in post-Balkanoorlog context, is opgebouwd. Tot dit doel wordt het concept van “cultureel trauma” geïntroduceerd, ontwikkeld door Jeffrey Alexander en zijn collega' s. Deze wetenschappers leggen uit hoe cultureel trauma – dat zij definiëren als een fenomeen dat ontstaat in het groepsbewustzijn van samenlevingen die geconfronteerd worden met een pijnlijke gebeurtenis en dat een fundamentele verandering aanbrengt in hun

toekomstige identiteiten – is omgevormd tot een narratief tijdens het proces van het creëren van een nieuwe identiteit.

Uitgaande van deze definitie van cultureel trauma benoemt de dissertatie een aantal terugkerende thema's in het trauma narratief dat ontstond na de Balkanoorlog, tezamen met voorbeelden van verschillende werken. Een van deze steeds terugkerende thema's is hoe schrijvers ingezet worden en hoe literatuur wordt gezien als een prothese van het tot stand komen van dit trauma narratief en de formatie van een nieuwe identiteit. Een ander thema is hoe de arrogante benadering van de vijand door de Osmanen na de schokkende nederlaag is vervangen door een gevoel van schaamte en vernedering. Nog een ander thema is “hoop op een redder,” dat als onmiddellijke reactie opkomt. De analyse van de thema's richt zich vervolgens op het bestuderen van de verschillende componenten van het trauma narratief in de maak, zoals de noodzaak voor het ontwaken en het herdenken van de wreedheden gepleegd door de vijandige soldaten, als ook het aanprijzen van gevoelens van haat, wrok en wraak. Vervolgens wordt de schijnbaar tegenstrijdige neiging om de vijand te benijden voor het aanhangen van zijn nationalistische idealen onderzocht. Als laatste wordt de oproep tot een vergelijkbaar nationaal ideaal geanalyseerd, dat de hier behandelde utopische werken pogen te construeren.

Na deze inleidende discussies volgt het belangrijkste deel van de dissertatie, dat bestaat uit een bestudering van de utopische werken geproduceerd in de jaren 1860 tot de Balkanoorlog (Deel 4) en van de werken geproduceerd tijdens de Balkanoorlog en daarna (Deel 5).

Deel 4 begint met een analyse van twee vroege werken geschreven door twee prominente Jong Osmanen. De eerste hiervan, *The Droom van Ziya Paşa* (1869) gebruikt de traditionele literaire vormen van de droomvertelling en adviesbrieven. Het kan gezien worden als een overgangswerk, dat een deur opende voor latere werken van dezelfde aard door zijn boodschap van de redding van de staat door het prioriteit geven aan het parlementaire systeem, wetenschap en onderwijs. Het tweede werk, *Droom* (1872) van Namık Kemal, presenteert een aanzienlijk gedetailleerdere visie op de toekomst. Het werk benadrukt de motieven van welvaart, macht en vooruitgang. Wanneer de “dromen” van Ziya Paşa en Namık Kemal beschouwd worden als een groep, wordt duidelijk dat het representatieve werken zijn die tonen hoe de Jong Osmanen – en Namık Kemal in het bijzonder - reageerden op de problemen van het Osmaanse Rijk in die periode en een visie boden op de toekomst.

In tegenstelling tot de “dromen” van Ziya Paşa en Namık Kemal, verschaft het werk van Gaspıralı, *De moslims van het land van comfort* (1887), een volwaardig beeld van een denkbeeldige toekomst, vormgegeven op basis van een geïdealiseerde Islamitische beschaving gesticht in een verborgen plaats in Spanje na de *Reconquista*. Mizancı Murat's toekomstvisie *Is het nieuw of is het onzin* (1891) incorporeert, daarentegen, de drie ideologische stromingen van zijn generatie, namelijk Ottomanisme, Islamisme en Turkisme. Murat beweert dat een succesvolle ontwikkeling op microschaal – in een enkele dorp – een model kan worden voor de ontwikkeling van

het gehele land. Het anonieme *Wat Ligt er in de winkel* (1897) probeert de waarschijnlijke gevolgen van het repressieve regime van Abdulhamid II over te brengen door middel van een gruwelijk, dystopisch scenario. Om angst op te wekken bij de lezers, hanteert deze tekst het motief van de bezetting en het afschaffen van de Osmaanse staat door de Russen. Een ander ontwerp van de toekomst, een nogal escapistische literaire fantasie, gericht op het ontsnappen aan het repressieve regime van Abdülhamid II, “Het groene hart” (1898), vindt men bij een literaire kring uit deze periode, namelijk de *the Servet-i Fünun* groep, wiens leden droomden van een idyllische samenleving als een alternatief voor de bestaande orde. *Fetret* (geschreven in 1911) door Ali Kemal, het laatste werk dat besproken wordt in deel vier, verdient een plaats in deze studie dankzij de radicale stellingname ervan in het tweehonderd jaar oude Oost-West debat van Turkije, en de zoektocht naar een ideale toekomst. Volgens dit werk moeten de Osmanen systematisch en onvoorwaardelijk het Westen imiteren, in het bijzonder de Engelse levensstijl, sociale orde en onderwijs methodes.

Zoals hierboven benadrukt, de Balkanoorlog (1912-1913) vormt een begin van de ontwikkeling van dit genre. De oorlog creëerde de historische condities voor het ontstaan van een trauma narratief dat de utopische werken van de daaropvolgende periode zou kenmerken. De opkomst van een nationalistische ideologie die haat- en wraakgevoelens cultiveert kan niet begrepen worden zonder rekening te houden met de verspreiding van dit trauma narratief, teweeggebracht door de Balkanoorlog. In deel 5 wordt onderzocht hoe de utopische werken geschreven tijdens en na de Balkanoorlog dit trauma narratief hebben opgebouwd.

Het eerste werk, dat in deel 5 wordt geanalyseerd, is *Het nieuwe Turan* (1912) van Halide Edip Adıvar. Deze roman reflecteert de politiek gespannen sfeer bij het uitbreken van de oorlog. In haar utopie, bepleit Adıvar dat een federatieve politieke structuur onder leiding van de Turken de enige hoop op redding is voor de staat. De roman benadrukt ook dat Anatolië prioriteit gegeven moet worden boven de Balkan.

Het volgende werk, *Droom van vooruitgang en Islamitische beschaving* (1913) door Mustafa Nazım, is wellicht een van de meest fascinerende en meest utopische werken in dit onderzoek. Met zijn verbeelding van Istanbul vier eeuwen in de toekomst, focust het in feite op het ernstige trauma veroorzaakt door de Balkanoorlog. Het ideaal van een rijk, invloedrijk Turkije is zo een product van de hiervoor genoemde oorlog. De machtige staat, geschetst in dit werk, is gebaseerd op het concept van een regime dat een Turkistische en Islamitische politiek en een totalitair bewind heeft aangenomen. Het werk streeft naar industrialisatie, over-constructie, bruggen over de Bosporus, een grote bevolking en een religieus en etnisch homogene populatie.

Het korte stuk genaamd “Dertig jaar later” (1913) levert een ander opvallend voorbeeld van hoe de psychologie van de traumatische na-oorlogse periode de nieuwe identiteit van Turkije heeft gevormd. Het voorgestelde beleid – tegenwoordig allemaal controversiële kwesties – bestaat onder andere uit over-constructie, prioriteit gegeven aan gigantische winkelcentra boven historische monumenten, een obsessie met bruggen, hydroelectrische installaties bouwen op rivieren, lokale autoproductie en

export gebaseerd op goedkope arbeidskracht. In deze droom is Europa bovendien verarmd terwijl het rijke en machtige Turkije niet door een meerpartijstelsel wordt geleid maar een totalitaire eenpartijstaat is.

“Colloquium onder de dennen” (1913), geschreven tijdens de oorlog door de beroemde dichter Yahya Kemal, beschrijft wat er zou hebben plaatsgevonden als bepaalde verkeerde handelingen in het verleden waren vermeden en betere keuzes waren gemaakt (zoals het verdrijven van de Byzantijnse geestelijken na de verovering van Constantinopel en daarvoor in de plaats het behouden van hun geleerden en kunstenaars). Het alternatief is een sterk, Turkistisch-Islamistisch Turkije, dat zich door middel van onderwijs zou ontwikkelen.

Ethem Nejat’s belangrijkste prioriteiten in *De boerderij opzichter* en *De heldhaftige Turken* (1913) zijn onderwijs, sport en ontwikkeling gebaseerd op landbouw. Deze werken weerspiegelen het heftige leed van de Balkanoorlog, evenals enkele verschijnselen die dit met zich meebracht: een verlangen naar wraak en een poging tot een ingrijpend social engineering project.

Het volgende hoofdstuk, dat zich concentreert op het werk van Celal Nuri, presenteert een prowesters visioen op de toekomst van Turkije. Zijn stuk getiteld “De scenes en beelden van de toekomst” (1913) vindt plaats in de verre toekomst (152^e eeuw) met een onbegrensde creativiteit. In die toekomst kent de wereld, geleid door één enkele regering op een communistische basis, milieuproblemen, terwijl mensen tegelijkertijd genieten van een geavanceerde beschaving dankzij wetenschappelijke en technologische prestaties.

Het boek van İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan *Turkije, ontwaak* (1913) en het gedeelte van het boek genaamd “Twintig jaar later,” weerspiegelen het toekomst ideaal waarmee Çığıracan gepreoccupeerd was. Dit nationalistische, islamistische, revanchistische ideaal kan een voorbeeld van haatliteratuur worden genoemd. Zijn nationale doel laat geen ruimte over voor niet-moslims in het glorieuze Turkije van de toekomst.

Een van de meest onverbiddelijke visies op de toekomst in deel 5 vindt men in *De droom van Ruşeni* (1915). Het werk, dat Turkije 100 jaar in de toekomst voorstelt, is een zeer militaristische Turkistisch-islamistische etatistische utopie. Een uitgesproken discours van haat is aanwezig zowel in de inleiding als in de tekst zelf. De tekst bevat veel van de concepten die in deze studie behandeld zijn, inclusief: haat, wraak, xenofobisch nationalisme en vooruitgang naar een ideaal.

Het volgende werk, *Het leger van arbeid* (1916) door Kazım Nami, verandert het Nationaal Economisch Programma van de Unionisten in een visie van de toekomst en schetst hoe dit beleid concreet zal worden uitgevoerd. In deze tekst is een Turkistische ideologie overheersend, die zich bezig houdt met hoe ontwikkeling zal plaatsvinden onder leiding van een leider.

Müfide Ferit Tek’s *Aydemir* (1918), aan de andere kant, is een Turanistische utopie in de meest volledige zin van het woord, en tevens de uitdrukking van een racistische visie die de wereld vanuit een Turanistisch perspectief bekijkt en ervoor kiest om de bestaande politieke grenzen van Turkije te negeren.

Deze dissertatie toont aan dat de eerste voorbeelden van utopieën in de Turkse literatuur werden geschreven door Jong Osmanen rond de jaren 1870 en dat de Balkanoorlog de tweede en sterkste golf van utopisch schrijven markeerde. Het laatste hoofdstuk van deel 5 is gewijd aan de derde golf van Turkse utopische literatuur, n.l. de werken geschreven in de Republikeinse periode na 1930. Dit hoofdstuk toont dat deze werken, de Kemalistische utopieën, om zo te zeggen, verschijnen wanneer het nieuwe regime propaganda activiteiten nodig heeft om publieke steun te krijgen. De werken hier bediscussieerd, bekritisieren het Kemalistische regime niet, integendeel; ze loven het als de ideale orde. Echter, wanneer het gaat om het sociale en economische beleid dat tot de ontwikkeling van Turkije zou moeten leiden, brengen ze allen andere aspecten van de Kemalistische leer naar voren, n.l. sommigen verdedigen industrialisatie terwijl anderen solidarisme, corporatisme of agriculturalisme verdedigen. Analyse van deze werken toont de overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de Balkanoorlog utopieën en Kemalistische utopieën wat betreft utopische dynamiek, tendensen en thema's.

Samenvattend; deze studie heeft zich gericht op het aan de vergetelheid onttrekken en het definiëren van een genre dat nog niet bestaat in de Turkse culturele en literaire geschiedenis. De doelstellingen van dit proefschrift omvatten het beschrijven van Osmaans-Turkse utopische literatuur, de geschiedenis, kenmerken, fasen en breekpunten (met speciale nadruk op de centrale rol van de Balkanoorlogen) ervan; de veranderingen door de tijd heen ervan; en de relatie met politieke bewegingen ervan. Hopelijk vormt deze poging om het bestaan van dit genre en de relevante literaire werken voor het voetlicht te brengen – en om deze werken te koppelen aan literaire, culturele en intellectuele geschiedenis van het Osmaanse en republikeinse Turkije – een betekenisvolle bijdrage aan de wetenschap en stimuleert het tot verder onderzoek op dit gebied.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Engin Kılıç was born in İstanbul in 1972. He graduated from Pertevniyal High School in İstanbul in 1989. He obtained his BA degree at Boğaziçi University, Department of Turkish Language and Literature in 1995. He was a research assistant at the same department from 1996 until 2000. He enrolled at İstanbul Bilgi University in 2002 and received his MA degree at the Graduate Program in Cultural Studies in 2005 after he completed his MA thesis entitled “Visions of an Ideal Society in Literary Utopias of the Republican Period”. He enrolled the PhD program in Turkish Studies at Leiden University and started working on his dissertation in 2005. Since 2000, he has been working as an instructor at Sabancı University, School of Languages, Istanbul. Since 2012 he is the coordinator of the Turkish courses at Sabancı and he teaches Turkish language and literature, Turkish for foreigners, and communication skills in Turkish. His research interests cover modern Turkish literature, early Turkish novel, and late Ottoman and early Republican cultural and intellectual history.