

THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER, LOVE, FAMILY AND SEXUALITY IN
THE CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL NOVELS
OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

by

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OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

In the conclusion of this thesis, it is observed that the authors of both the canonical and non-canonical novels prefer to discuss modernity through using gender and related themes. Moreover, *namus* (sexual honor) and nationalism form the limits of alternative discourses.

There is also another big difference between the non-canonical and canonical novels in terms of modernity: the canonical novels explicitly criticize a definition of modernity as a process that increases the possibilities for individual liberation, perceives it as reflection of selfish individualism and defends rather a model of modernity based on a more rationally and centrally controlled society. According to the canonical novels, the first model of modernity shows its darker side in woman's degeneration. The fundamental sign of this degeneration is that woman loses her sexual *namus*. Thus, in the canonical novels, although there are few examples that perceive woman from a positive point of view, the degenerating influence of modernity remains the secret basis on which the story is built. The main question of the canonical novel is a negative one : How shouldn't we modernize? It is a question that reminds the reader primarily of the dangers of modernity.

In this study, the defensive position of the canonical novels towards modernization is explained by the tension between nationalism and modernism, in Kemalist ideology and practice (as is the case in many other nation-building processes, too). National identity requires the construction of certain essential characteristics for the nation, peculiar to itself. Whereas modernization, especially a project that explicitly declares that it is based on a western model, has to refer to universal values and include elements from the "other". This tension is solved in these novels by suggesting a modernization model "peculiar to the Turks". In this process, the critical point is the fact that national uniqueness as difference is defined through the purity of the female body, which is manifested primarily in the protection of her *namus*.

ÖZET

Bu tezin sonucunda hem kanonik hem kanon dışında kalmış romanların modernlik sorununu, cins kimliği ile ilgili alanlar üzerinden tartışmayı seçtikleri görülmüştür. Ayrıca *namus* söylemi ve milliyetçi bakış açısı, göreceli olarak alternatif söylemlerin bile tartışmadığı, sorgulanamaz temalar olarak belirlemektedir.

Ancak bunun ötesinde modernleşme ve buna bağlı olarak kadın konusunda kanonik ve kanon dışında kalmış romanlar arasında önemli bir ayrım vardır : kanonik romanlar bireysel özgürleşme olanaklarını artıran bir süreç olarak modernlik tanımına açıkça karşı durmakta, bunu bencil bireyciliğin yansıması olarak görmekte, rasyonel ve merkezi olarak kontrol edilen bir toplum projesi olarak modernleşmeyi benimsemektedirler. Kanonik romanlara göre, birinci modernlik anlayışı en karanlık yüzünü kadının yozlaşmasında gösterir. Bu yozlaşmanın temel göstergesi de cinsel *namusun* yitirilmesidir. Böylelikle, kanonik romanda kadına daha saygın bir yerden bakmayı başaran ürünlere rastlansa da modernleşmenin özellikle kadın üzerinde yozlaştırıcı etkileri olabileceği hep saklı kalır. Kanonik romanın temel sorusu negatif bir sorudur : nasıl modernleşmemeliyiz ? Bu, okura, öncelikle modernliğin tehlikelerini hatırlatan bir sorudur.

Bu çalışmada, kanonik romandaki modernleşmeye yönelik bu savunmacı pozisyon, (birçok başka ulus inşası örneğinde olduğu gibi) Kemalist ideoloji ve pratik içinde milliyetçilik ve modernizm arasındaki gerilimli bağla açıklanmaktadır. Milli kimlik kendine özgü bazı doğal ve değişmez özellikler tanımlamayı zorunlu kılar. Oysa modernleşme, özellikle Batı modeline dayandığını açıkça belirten bir modernleşme projesi, “öteki”nden öğeler içermek, evrensel değerlere de dayanmak zorundadır. Bu gerilim söz konusu romanlarda “bize özgü bir modernleşme” önerisiyle çözülür. Bu süreçteki kritik nokta, milli kimliğin ayırdedici özünü ve farklılığını vurgulayan unsurun, kendini herşeyden önce *namusun* korumasında gösteren, kadın bedeninin saflığı oluşudur.

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To the memory of my grand mother, Melahat Özyıldırım,
who inspired this thesis through her life.

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COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF CULTURAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE WORLD AND IN TURKEY, BETWEEN 1922-1940

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments In the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1922	1922	1922	1922
Irish Independence	Liberation of Izmir And Mudanya Armistice	Establishment of the United Artists Film Company by Chaplin	Publication of <i>Çalikuşu</i> by Reşat Nuri Güntekin and <i>Kiralık Konak</i> by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu
Mussolini comes to power in Italy with a coup d'etat	Abolition of the Sultanate and the last Ottoman Sultan, Vahdettin goes to England as refugee	Corbusier manifests his modernist architecture Surrealism continues its effects	
	Lausanne Peace Conference	Wittgenstein's <i>Tractacus Logico-Philosophicus</i> published in 1921	
		Vienna Circle formulated logical positivism	
		Bergson published <i>Durée et Simultanéité</i>	

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1923	1923	1923	1923
Invasion of the Ruhr Region in France	Signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty	Duke Ellington's Kentucky Group and jungle style in jazz music	Poem named <i>Han Duvarları</i> of Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel
Financial bankruptcy of Germany because of high inflation	Proclamation of the Turkish Republic and the Election of Mustafa Kemal as its first President	Lukacs wrote <i>History and Class Consciousness</i>	Publication of <i>Türkçülüğün Esasları</i> (Principles of Turkism) of Ziya Gökalp
Establishment of General Motors			<i>Kadınlar Halk Fırkası</i> (Women People Party) is established, under the presidency of Ms. Nezihe Muhiddin, but it is not accepted by the Kemalist government. This organization is then turned into <i>Türk Kadınlar Birliği</i> (Turkish Women's Association)
Trotsky is abolished Stalin comes to power			

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1924	1924	1924	1924
Death of Lenin	Admission of New Constitution	<i>Magic Mount</i> of Thomas Mann	Law for the Unification of Education
	Establishment of state owned <i>Türkiye İş Bankası</i> (Turkish Labor Bank)	Shining age of novel: Proust, Joyce, Lawrence, Faulkner and Steinbeck at their most productive.	Abolition of the Caliphate
		Invention of frozen food	Law for Obligatory Primary Education
			Establishment of <i>Musiki Muallim Mektebi</i> (School for Music Instructors) in Ankara

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1925	1925	1925	1925
Stabilization of Western Europe frontiers with the Lacarno Treaty	Şeyh Sait rebellion in Eastern regions with Kurdish population	Watson published in United States <i>Behaviorism</i>	Abolition of dervish lodges and recluse's cells
Publication of Hitler's <i>Mein Kampf</i>	Abolition of tithe		Law to bring in western style male dress
	Closure of the unique opposition party <i>Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası</i> (Progressivist Republican Party)		Admission of Gregorian solar calendar system.
			Establishment of the Faculty of Law in Ankara
			Prohibition of activities of religious sects

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1926	1926	1926	1926
Reunification of China by Chang Kay Shek	Attempt of assassination on Mustafa Kemal	First successful TV broadcasting of Baird	Abolition of the Department of Turkish Music from the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory
Salazar comes to power in Portugal	Opening of the Kayseri Plane Factory	Metropolis by German expressionist director F. Lang	Admission of a new Civil Code according to the western model.
General strike in England		A. Gide's <i>Les Faux Monnayeurs</i> is published	Admission of gratis instruction at every level of education.
Acceptance of Germany to the Assembly of Nations			First Atatürk monument erected in Istanbul

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
	1927	1927	1927
	Recitation of <i>Nutuk</i> (Speech) by Mustafa Kemal in the Second Congress of the Republican People's Party, where he explained his view of recent history.	Principle of indefiniteness by German physicist Heisenberg.	"Victory Monument" erected in Ulus, the central public square of Ankara
		Lindbergh crosses the Atlantic Ocean by plane.	Establishment of Ethnographical Museum in Ankara
		Emergence of talking film. The Age of great directors: Griffith, Eisenstein, Clair, Visconti, Hitchcock.	Appointment of Muhsin Ertuğrul as artistic director of the Istanbul Municipal Theatre. He dominated both Turkish cinema and theatre until the end of the '30s.
		Heidegger published <i>Was ist Metaphysik?</i>	
1928		1928	1928
First Five Year Economic Planning and collectivization of agriculture in Soviet Russia		Fleming discovered penicillin.	Admission of laicism as a constitutional principle and cancellation of articles with religious reference. Admission of Latin alphabet

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1929	1929	1929	1929
The Great Depression throughout the world due to the crisis in the New York stock market	Right to independently determining tariffs	Bunuel and Dali's movie <i>Un Chien Andalou</i>	Inauguration of <i>Millet Mektepleri</i> (People's Schools)
Gandhi starts passive resistance against the English government in India		Hemingway's <i>A Farewell to Arms</i> is published.	
		The term "race" is first used to describe discrimination in South Africa	
1930	1930	1930	1930
Nazi Party wins its first election victory	Establishment of second party in opposition, <i>Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası</i> (Free Republican Party), by Fethi Okyar, upon the demand of Mustafa Kemal and its annulment after three months	Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse formed the independent critical Marxist philosophical movement known as the Frankfurt School	Publication of <i>Yaprak Dökümü</i>
	Kubilay Event at Menemen		

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1931		1931	1931
Occupation of Manchuria by Japanese forces		“Abstraction-Creation” group is formed in Paris; Kandinsky joins the group	Closure of <i>Türk Ocakları</i> (Turkish Nationalist Clubs)
Proclamation of Republic in Spain		Carothers develops nylon	Establishment of <i>Türk Tarih Kurumu</i> (Institution for Research on Turkish History)
			Publication of <i>Fatih-Harbiye</i>
1932	1932	1932	1932
Establishment of the Kingdom of Saudia Arabia by İbni Suud	Turkey joins the Assembly of Nations	Brecht adopts M. Gorki’s <i>Mother</i>	Establishment of <i>Halk Evleri</i> (People’s Houses)
Hitler passes to German citizenship.		First nuclear reaction is realized by English physicists.	Establishment of <i>Türk Dil Kurumu</i> (Institution for Research on Turkish Language)
Nazis win elections as the primary party		Electronic microscope is invented.	Recitation of Islamic call for prayer in Turkish
			Publication of <i>Yaban</i> and first issue of <i>Kadro</i>

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1933	1933	1933	1933
New Deal program of Roosevelt announced in United States to struggle against the economic depression	Statist economic policies and First five years planning	Lorca's <i>Bodas de Sangras</i> is performed in Spain	Establishment of Istanbul University instead of Darül Fünun; first Law of Universities; discharges in mass from the university; employment of foreign scholars escaping from German nazism
Hitler as prime minister. Nazis burn books in Reichstag; arrest communists and socialists and close Labour unions.		Trotsky finishes his <i>History of the Russian Revolution</i>	First issues of <i>Varlık</i> and <i>Ülkü</i>
1934		1934	1934
Mao's Long March		Horkheimer published <i>Dammerung</i>	Opening of Hagia Sophia as a museum
Italy represses resistance in Libya		Soviet Union manifests that socialist realism is recognized as a state art in Russia.	Right to vote for women
Bloody Purge in Soviet Russia			Publication of <i>Ankara</i>

Economic, Social and Political
Developments in the World

Economic, Political and Social
Developments in Turkey

Cultural, Scientific and
Technological Developments
in the World

Cultural Developments and
Reforms in Turkey

1935

Occupation of Abyssinia by Italy

Cardenas becomes president of
Mexico: Land Reform and the
nationalization of oil

1935

Modern Times by Charlie
Chaplin

Jaspers publishes first part of his
studies on logic

Watson-Watt develop radar
Technology

1935

Beginning of regular concerts by
the Presidential Philharmonic
Orchestra

Productive age for many
important Turkish novelists:
Uşaklıgil, Gürpınar, Adivar

Publication of *Sinekli Bakkal*

Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish
Women's Association) organized
in Istanbul, the International
Women's Association Congress.
Some months later the
association is closed, on the
pretext that it had completed its
duties, as female liberation had
been entirely achieved in
Turkey.

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments in the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1937	1937	1937	
Occupation of China by Japan	Opening of iron and steel factory in Karabük	Death of Gramsci	
Italy joins Anti-Comintern Pact	Resignation of Ismet İnönü from the prime ministry	First flights for jet engines in England	
		<i>Guernica</i> of Picasso	
1938	1938	1938	
Annexation of Austria by Germany	Death of Mustafa Kemal and election of Ismet İnönü as president	Death of father of phenomenology, Husserl	
		Breton founds Independent Revolutionary Art Federation by issuing a manifesto with Trotsky in Mexico	
		German chemists Hahn and Strassmann discover fission	

<u>Economic, Social and Political Developments in the World</u>	<u>Economic, Political and Social Developments in Turkey</u>	<u>Cultural, Scientific and Technological Developments In the World</u>	<u>Cultural Developments and Reforms in Turkey</u>
1939	1939	1939	1939
Non-aggression treaty between Germany and Russia	Completion of Sivas-Erzurum railway	Steinbeck's <i>Grapes of Wrath</i> and Joyce's <i>Finnegans Wake</i> are published.	Beginning of regular official exhibitions of fine art
Germany attacks Poland; Second World War starts	Hatay joins Turkey	Einstein declares that it is possible to make an atomic bomb.	
England and France wage war against Germany	Turkish-English-French Alliance Treaty	First jet engine aircraft is developed in Germany	
Announcement of impartiality by United States			
Occupation of Albany by Italy			
End of Civil War in Spain; victory of fascists			
1940	1940	1940	1940
Germany occupies Northern Europe, France and Benelux states. Italy unsuccessfully attacks Greece.	Inönü announces that Turkey will not enter the war.	<i>For Whom the Bell Tolls</i> by Hemingway is published	Establishment of <i>Köy Enstitüleri</i> (Village Institutes) and publication of world literature classics
		First artificial chemical element	

Sources : Chronology in *Sosyalizm ve Toplumsal Mücadeleler Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 6 (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1988)
Chronology in *Türkiye Tarihi : Çağdaş Türkiye(1908-1080)* Vol. 4, (İstanbul, Cem Yay., 1992) pp. 591-604

PREFACE

These women were those, who could overcome all the evil eyes without losing their balance. They were those who had to read and write in the Latin letters, while a day ago writing in Arabic; those who were expected to show a great mastery in adjusting the “dose,” when they danced with strangers; those who could look dressed, although they had got rid of the veil.¹

My grand mother was of rural origin. She was born in a little town in a Turkish province, to a very modest or rather poor family and had an arranged first marriage at age twenty. She didn't have the chance to freely choose her first spouse, the biological father of my mother, who died in his thirties of an unknown illness. Yet my grandmother always stated that she had come to love him with time, after marriage. Nevertheless after this early death, she didn't lose her courage. She started working. Her daughters, my mother and my aunt, sold in the little market of the town paper bags that she had produced in home. In spite of all the gossip, she continued to send her two daughters to school. Again in spite of all gossip, she chose by her own will her second husband, a splendid man who has always been a real father to my mother and to myself. Until the end of her life, this quiet Muslim woman defended love as the primarily ground on which to build a marriage. She transferred these values to her daughters and to me. She was never conservative. She even encouraged her daughters to seek out ways to build equal relationships with the men in their lives and to develop strategies to create strong selves. According to her, love was the most important of those ways.

With the aid of a state grant and more importantly due to the courage of my grandmother and her new husband, who had sold the last valuable possession, their cow, to send her to Istanbul, my mother finished university. She chose her spouse herself, through flirting. She declares that the primary criteria of this decision was love.

¹ Adalet, Karşılaşmalar (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, June 1997), p. 198. The original text is as follows: “O kadınlar, hiç dengeleri bozulmadan bütün ‘kem gözler’ altından kalkabilen kadınlardı. Daha dün Arapça yazarken, ertesi gün Latin harfleriyle okumaları, yazmaları gerekenler, ‘elin adamlarıyla’ dans ederken dozu ayarlamaları kendilerinden büyük ustalık isteyenler, yaşmağı, çarşafı atsalar da giyinik görünebilenler...”

My grandmother was illiterate; I have attended a graduate education. My grandmother lived in a semi-rural economy where money was scarce. I work at a salaried, professional job. Most importantly in terms of the concerns in this thesis, my grandmother had had an arranged first marriage; I lived with my present husband before marriage.

I think this is a huge and fascinating process of change. We now call it modernization. In spite of all its alienating effects and the identity crisis in which we live today, in spite of all its repressive aspects, it still seems to me a positive process of progress, in terms of opening up more possibilities of self-creation and happiness to the individual. With these words, I don't seek to deny modernity's darker sides or accept it as an unquestionably and wholly perfect entity. Rather, I want to argue that according to its different interpretations and practices, it simultaneously includes both advantages and disadvantages, in terms of human liberation. Like Marshall Berman and the nineteenth century authors he studied, I believe that modernity means both more liberty and more exploitation and control through the developed modern apparatus of power.

Moreover, in spite of all these numerous volumes on it, I believe that it is a process that still needs to be studied and described in a more detailed way. Many historical elements of this ongoing process are still unknown. Especially in the context of Turkey and in terms of women's past. This is why I find historical research a very important tool in understanding this complex adventure.

These were the main concerns and assumptions that led me to write this thesis. The principal motive behind taking on such a difficult task was my curiosity to understand more deeply the unknowns of the history of this process, which would also lead to elucidate the story of my own family or more precisely, the story of the strong women in it.

But these claims still don't explain why I particularly chose to study novels and more romances. The reason for this choice was based indeed just on intuition. I sensed that novels had had a considerable effect on transferring modern values and attitudes towards women. This raw knowledge was initiated in an interview that I had conducted with a middle class woman for an undergraduate course on qualitative research given by Nükhet Sirman. This woman had explicitly expressed her disappointment in not finding in her marriage the "modern" ideals (these are her words) that she had developed through reading romances during her youth. These

words made me think that the social codes constructed by romances have an important place in female minds, in terms of shaping and giving meaning to their lives and identities as “modern” women. This observation is also confirmed by the general interest shown by all of the women with whom I have talked about my thesis. Moreover, the infinite lists of novel titles that they gave me showed alone how these novels were widely read.

In this respect, I have tried to understand today through historical analysis. I wanted to understand myself, my own identity as a woman and the socially constructed and given codes that I, like other women, actively interpret to form it. More importantly I wanted to understand what my mother learnt while eagerly reading the serial romances that appeared in the newspapers bought to their house to be used as raw material for paper bags.

Finally, this is why I dedicate this work to the memory of my grandmother, to this splendid, brave, intelligent and tolerant woman who died during the writing process of this thesis. She transferred to me, through my mother, the precious knowledge that womanhood should be constructed by women as a praiseworthy identity, rather than to be accepted as a minor status left to the repression of others. Another important lesson that I learnt from my grandmother was to maintain the courage to believe in love.

Scope and Pediorization

This thesis examines the representation of woman, love and family in Turkish romances during the 1922-1939 period, in their relationship with modernity and nationalism and from a comparative perspective in canonical and non-canonical works. A study dealing with the concepts of woman, love and family, inevitably includes marriage and sexuality.

Of course such a framework or scope for this thesis brings along with it the theoretical question of whether the primary aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to gender or modernization history. The response is that there can not be a clear-cut answer to this question because the gender issue, especially women’s history, and modernity or the modernization process are intertwined with each other, as this study also will demonstrate.

The novels considered as popular in this thesis are the narratives that have been excluded from the official state canon, namely the novels of the writers whose names aren't mentioned in official high school books or anthologies of Turkish literature or found among the questions of the tests for the university entrance exams². In a way, popular is defined in this thesis, in reference to what is considered to be canonical or in better words, as the opposite of the canonical. In this respect, as the term "popular" has the meaning of "extensively consumed" rather than "exclusion from the official culture", the term "non-canonical" to define them is preferred in this thesis.

There are very few studies that directly deal with women's representation in early Republican literature. Among them, are the books of Esen and Çeri³. These studies, however, focus on literary analysis and don't use the conceptual or theoretical tools provided by a historical/sociological perspective. In addition to these works, there are a few other studies that use sociological tools and historical knowledge in their analysis⁴, but these works are basically limited to novels

²Jusdanis claims that these resources are crucial in the formation of canon. Gregory Jusdanis, *Gecikmiş Modernlik ve Estetik Kültür: Milli Edebiyatın İcat Edilişi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998), p. 82 and p. 105.

In the above-mentioned resources, the names of the authors considered as popular herein are absent, in contrast with the canonical authors: Ali Toygar, *Liseler için Edebiyat ve Edebiyat Tarihi El Kitabı* (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitaphanesi, 1937); Rıdvan Canım and Hasan Ali Kasır, *Edebiyat Dersleri 2* (İstanbul: Denge Yay., 1996); Özdemir Sarıca, Mahir Ünlü and Ömer Özcan, *Lise 1-Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yay., 27th Edition); Arif Hikmet Par, *Lise 3 Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Yardımcı Ders Kitabı* (İstanbul: Serhat Yay., 1984); Behçet Necatigil, *Eserler Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: Varlık Yay., 1989); Baha Dünder, *Roman Antolojisi* (İstanbul: Remzi Yay., 1971); *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yay., 1977); Şükran Kurdakul, *Çağdaş Türk Edebiyatı* (İstanbul: Broy Yay., 1987); Şükran Kurdakul (ed.), *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Edebiyatı* (Ankara: Edebiyatçılar Derneği Yay., 1998); Olcay Öner, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Roman ve Öyküsü* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yay., 1984); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatından Seçme Parçalar* (İstanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka, 1981); Zeynep Korman, *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı İncelemeleri* (Ankara: Akçağ Yay., 1998); Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel Bir Bakış* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1988); Fethi Naci, *Türkiye'de Roman ve Toplumsal Değişme* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yay., 1981); Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Türk Romanında Tarih Toplum ve Kimlik* (İstanbul: Afa, 1991); İnci Enginün, Mehmet Kaplan, Zeynep Korman, Necati Birinci and Abdullah Uçman, *Atatürk Devri Türk Edebiyatı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yay.); Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Ankara: Edebiyat Yay., 1970); Kenan Akyüz, *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Ana Çizgileri* (Ankara: Mas Yay., 1982) and Hüseyin Özçelebi, *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Edebi Eleştiri* (Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., 1998).

The tests for the university entrance examinations between 1985-1999 also were examined and it was determined that none of the non-canonical authors or works were mentioned in any of the questions on Turkish Literature, in contrast with canonical authors. Nurvet Yılmaz, *Çözümlü ÖSS-ÖYS Soruları-Türkçe* (İstanbul: Salan Yay., 1999).

³Nüket Esen, *Türk Romanında Aile Kurumu: 1870 - 1970* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırmaları Kurumu Yay.); and Bahriye Çeri, *Türk Romanında Kadın: 1923-1938 Dönemi* (İstanbul: Simurg, 1996).

⁴For a descriptive review of women images in Turkish literature, see Füsun Altok, "Türk Yazınında Kadın İmgesi", in Nermin Abadan-Unat (ed.), *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yay., 1979), pp. 317-328.

considered within the scope of "canonical literature", they neither include non-canonical works nor employ a comparative perspective. There is only an article by Mizrahi⁵, which concludes with the main argument defended in this thesis, that modernity is handled in different ways in canonical and popular narratives in early Republican period. But this article is limited to a comparison of two novels by Peyami Safa, *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* and because of his rejection of "ideology" as a useful tool in understanding literary text, the article fails to explain his important findings in terms of their historical and political implications⁶. So, this thesis aims to contribute to the understanding of the cultural history of the period from a sociological perspective and to put a starting point, on a comparative basis and using a wider sample, to compensate for the existing lack of historical studies on non-canonical novels.

It is argued here that these novels contributed to the creation of new gender codes in the Kemalist reform period. An exploration on the novels enables us to reconstruct these codes and their limits. In this respect, this thesis is a contribution to the study of how various stands of the Republican ideology represented different gender identities and practices in a nationalist and modernizationist context.

For a descriptive review of the representation of family in Turkish novel, see Füsün Akatlı, "Türk Romanında Aile", in *Türkiye'de Ailenin Değişimi* (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yay., 1984), pp. 11-18.

For sociological interpretations, see Nükhet Sirman, "Gender Construction and Nationalist Discourse: Dethroning the Father in the Early Turkish Novel", in Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (eds.), *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), pp. 162-176; Nükhet Sirman, "Writing the Usual Love Story: The Fashioning of Conjugal and National Subjects in Turkey", in Victoria Ana Goddard (ed.), *Gender, Agency and Change: Anthropological Perspectives* (Routledge, London and N.Y.: European Association of Social Anthropologists, 2000), pp. 250-272; and Deniz Kandiyoti, "Cariyeler, Fattan Kadınlar ve Yoldaşlar: Türk Romanında Kadın İmgeleri", in Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*; trans. by Aksu Bora, Fevziye Sayılan, Şirin Tekeli, Hüseyin Tapınç and Ferhunde Özbay (Istanbul: Metis Kadın Araştırmaları, 1997), pp. 133-147. For the English original of the last article, see Kandiyoti, "Slave Girls, Temptresses and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish Novel", *Feminist Studies*, no. 8 (Spring 1988), pp. 35-50.

Especially in the fourth chapter of their influential book, Cem Behar and Alan Duben also study the importance and influence of literature in building new gender identities, "Evlilik ve Aşk: Anlamlar ve Anlaşmalar", in *IstanbulHaneleri: Evlilik, Aile ve Doğurganlık (1880-1940)* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1996), pp. . The English original of this book is: Duben and Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility (1880-1940)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). In this book, which is crucial in terms of our concerns in this thesis, see particularly, the seventh and eighth chapters, in addition to the above-mentioned fourth chapter.

⁵ Dario Mizrahi, "Popular Poetics Discourse on Modernity in Early Republican Istanbul", *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 15, no. 1 (March 1991), pp. 83-96.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of Mizrahi's claims, see p. 58 of the present thesis and for my criticisms against his methodological priorities, see footnote number 17 of Chapter 2 on the same page.

This thesis approaches issues such as human sexuality, love, marriage, and family as socially constructed categories. Culture, including literature, appears as an important factor in determining different forms of these social categories. Although this determinative role of culture doesn't always shape the real practices, it works by drawing the limits of legitimacy or "maps of meaning"⁷. Therefore, cultural forms and social codes are ideological and political in the purest sense of the word and to deconstruct them is crucial in order to understand this process of social construction in depth. In Sholle's words, "the aim of this analysis is to examine the rules and methods that maintain the discursive fields in which the text functions historically. What happens here is a shift from text to history."⁸

Indeed, this thesis may be considered as an effort to re-build the bridges between the text (or meaning) and context. The former element is situated in the domain of literary analysis whereas the latter corresponds to the realm of historical and sociological inquiry. It should be stated, however, that because of the limits of its scope, this work does not include an analysis of receiver or audience and donor or author.

The approach in this thesis to the works of fiction is basically guided by questions about modernity (as an experience, which turns into a desire in Turkish case), modernization (as a project) and modernism (as a "modern" ideology). Another question is nationalism, particularly in terms of its articulation with modernity. In other words, this thesis is an attempt to re-establish links between a cluster of literary themes and a cluster of socio-political terms. Thus, it is an interdisciplinary study that stands between literature, sociology and history.

The analysis focuses on the period between 1922-1939. It starts a year before the establishment of the Turkish Republic and ends with the first year of World War II. This periodization is based on an existing classification of principal socio-political events and main economic tendencies on which many scholars agree. This time

⁷ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms", in *Culture, Ideology and Social Process* (London: Open University Press, 1971).

⁸David J. Sholle, "İdeoloji Teorisinden İktidar/Bilgiye", in M. Küçük (ed.), *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji* (İstanbul: Ark Yay., 1994), p. 242. The translation belongs to Hande Birkalan. The original text is as follows: "Bu analizin amacı metinlerin tarihsel olarak iş gördüğü söylemsel alanı sağlayan kuralları ve yordamları incelemektir. Burada söz konusu olan metinlerden tarihe doğru gerçekleşen bir kaymadır."

interval is generally divided by many scholars⁹ into two sub-periods, according to dominant economical conditions of the period, into 1923-1930 and 1930-1939.

The first years of the young Republic were distinguished by attempts to consolidate the economic structure, weakened by long years of war. Moreover, during this period, the newly formed state explicitly declined its aim to be the building of the foundations of a capitalist economy, based open the creation of a local, i.e. Muslim, bourgeoisie, dependent on itself with organic relations¹⁰. At the same time, a truly independent national economy could not be realized because of the control of the developed capitalist countries over the duty tariffs. The first half of this period was marked firstly by generally liberal policies. At the political level also, a more liberal trend appeared, in comparison to that of the following period. In other words, although the general aim was nationalization, the questions of how to define the new identity and how to achieve it were still open to discussion and investigation.

In this respect, the second half of the period under investigation, starting with the 1929 Depression, diverges from the first half in many respects. Those years are distinguished by strong state intervention and control, over both economic and political structures, enabled by the conditions of the world crisis. In other words, during this period, the more interventionist wing within the state gained advantage in the above-mentioned discussions and had the chance to determine the young Republic's priorities and preferences.

In addition to this, between 1929-1939, Turkey experienced efforts at the application of these ideologies through radical reforms and trials of expanding them among the non-elite classes of the society¹¹. Thus, this period is called the period of

⁹ For such a periodization, see for example Korkut Boratav, "İktisat Tarihi (1908-1980)", in Sina Akşin (ed.), *Türkiye Tarihi: Çağdaş Türkiye: 1908-1980* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992), 4: pp. 265-354. Yahya S. Tezel also handles different elements of the Turkish economy between 1923-1950, according to a similar periodization that splits the era by the world crisis in 1939. Yahya S. Tezel, *Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi: 1923-1950* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).

¹⁰ In the fourth chapter of his influential book, Çağlar Keyder explains this unusual process of the formation of a bourgeois class in Turkey. Çağlar Keyder, "Kayıp Burjuvazi Aranıyor", *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1993), pp. 101-126. In the fifth chapter of the same book, he claims that the primary consequences of the 1929 world crisis in the Turkish economy were the adoption of statist economic policies and the strengthening of the bourgeoisie's dependency on state. Keyder, "Devlet ve Sermaye", *ibid.*, pp., 127-162.

¹¹ Weiker argues that after the establishment and closure of the Free Republican Party in 1930, directed by himself and upon the great support that it raised among different strata of society, Mustafa Kemal understood that a huge opposition against the Republican Peoples' Party existed among the masses. To determine better the conditions of the country, after the closure of the FRP, he organized an inspection trip. In addition to these developments, in 1931, at its 3rd Congress the RPP accepted its first doctrinal program, based on six principles forming the essence of Kemalism. One of these principles was statism. Thus, the official ideology was crystallized and state control over society was

Kemalist reforms. The problem of women's emancipation in Turkey was discussed heatedly during this period and many reforms concerning women, particularly these aiming at the increased access of women to the public sphere, were realized in those years, starting in 1929¹².

In these respects, the general politics and gender policies during this period where the state was relatively strong may be considered as examples of a more crystallized form of the Kemalist project, as an ideology shaped in an integrated one-party system and whose main principles were nationalism and modernism. So, in terms of the focus of this thesis, seven of the eight novels studied in this thesis are from the 1930-1939 period.

But why then does analysis begin with 1922? In fact, choosing this year as the starting point of an analysis implies in itself a legitimization of the Kemalist claim that perceives the Republic as the breaking point for modernization. It is now common knowledge that the practices of and ideas on modern life did not start with the Republic and that the roots go back to the Tanzimat¹³ Period¹⁴. However, in this

intensified. Upon the observation that the relationship between the political elite or the state and the masses were weak, the party organization was changed and there was a larger attempt to disseminate the ideology of the new regime among the masses. For a detailed description of this transformation, see W. Weiker, *The Free Party of 1930 in Turkey: Loyal Opposition in a Rapidly Modernising Nation* (Princeton University, 1962, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis); and Eric, J. Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996). The English original of Zürcher: *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris Co., 1993). Especially pp. 44-45 in Weiker and Chapter 11 in Zürcher are useful to understand this period, "Kemalist Tek Parti Devleti: 1925-1945", *ibid.*, pp. 257-298.

¹² See Chronology. Arat also points out this fact and enumerates the main reforms as follows: "legal rights including the right to choose their own spouses, initiate divorce and demand child custody" (through the civil code of 1926), "Elementary education was made mandatory and free for both sexes in 1923. In the 1930s, women were granted certain political rights: the right to vote and run in municipal elections in 1930 and in national elections in 1934." Consequently, she states that in the 1930's, reforms aimed to provide Turkish women with political rights and greater access to education and to employment. Zehra F. Arat, "Kemalism and Turkish Women", *Women and Politics*, 14, no. 4, 1994, pp. 57-8. In sum, these reforms were definitely oriented towards a greater female access to the public sphere.

¹³ The Tanzimat was a period of great reforms and reorganizations between 1839-1871, which followed the reigns of reforming sultans, Mahmud the Second and Selim the Third and lasted until Abdülhamid the Second came to power. This was an era of renovations in the government, in a way turning the state into a modern apparatus. For the first time in Ottoman history, a rule of law according to a European model was established; the absolute power of the sultans was limited and an Ottoman citizenship was determined where non-Muslim subjects also were recognized with equal rights. It was also a period where for first time, the political power relatively changed hands and the weight of decision making in state policies passed from the sultan to a staff of high level bureaucrats.

¹⁴ For a periodization that seeks to emphasize a break in the modernization attempt with the proclamation of the Republic, see F. Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, trans. by Yavuz Alogan (Istanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1995); for the English original: Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (N.p: Raulledge, 1993). At the other extreme, there is the historiography of Zürcher, underlining continuity.

thesis, we are primarily interested in the way in which the articulation of modernism and nationalism influences gender imagination. During the Kemalist period, nationalism gained a much more explicit and systematic form under the policies of an established and politically recognized nation-state. In addition the modernization efforts (which are equal to westernization) accelerated and expanded during this period.

But indeed only one of the eight novels studied in this thesis, i.e. *Kiralık Konak* is published in 1922 and the rest are published between 1929-1939. Thus, this choice of starting our analysis in 1922 is based mainly to the facts that *Kiralık Konak* represents a good example in terms of our final thesis herein and that it shows similar characteristics with particularly *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Fatih-Harbiye*.

In addition to it, gender imagination seems not to have been radically changed by 1929. So, in the domain of the imagination of gender, there is no break visible as is the case in socio-political periodization. Indeed, the cultural discourse on gender related issues, such as male and female identities and relationships, shows a certain continuity during this period. But this claim should not be misunderstood to mean that it was been monolithic. On the contrary, as will be shown below, there are many deviations in the mainstream discourse, but within certain limitations. In this respect, the fact that a great majority of the works discussed in this analysis are dated in the 1929-1939 period is simply based on the care to assure the validity of the arguments on the character of Kemalist regime and is due to the reason that this period reflects a more crystallized form of the ideology and represents a more active era of its application.

In addition to general historiography, as far as the woman issue is concerned, it can be argued that there was a break. But to argue that there was a break in terms of modernization is very much linked to what someone understands by the concepts of modernization and woman's liberation. As we argue here, it is true that important reforms were made in the Kemalist period, to an extent that had never been seen before, but as will be argued in the passages concerning women's studies, the egalitarian nature of these reforms is still open to discussion. Besides this, if what you understand by modernity is a rise in direct political representation in non-governmental organizations, then the Kemalist Reform Period appears as a real period of decline. It is well known that feminism was a more pluralistic movement in the years of Second Constitutional Monarchy between 1908-1918 (see footnote number 26 for a review of this period). There were many charitable or political women's associations, organized by women themselves (who were of course mostly of elite origin) and many women's magazine published by these organizations (and some of which gained great popularity), but all of them were closed by the first year of the proclamation of the Republic and only one organization, the Association of Turkish Women, survived. For a list of non-governmental women's associations during the years of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, see Zafer Toprak, "Kadın Askerler ve Milli Aile", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 9, no. 51 (March 1988), pp. 34-38.

Sources

Female Typologies, Love and Family in Turkish Literature

In Classical Ottoman poetry, woman and love are central themes and they symbolized respectively an anonymous ideal of beauty and of passionate attachment¹⁵. On the other hand, in the literature produced by non-elite rural poets, woman is either the object of love or the strong mother. In Tanzimat poetry, the love and woman themes are neglected to some extent, under the dominance of more social problems-oriented writing; but when woman appears, she gains a more realistic portrayal than before and she is mostly the wife or lover of a modernizationist aristocratic bureaucrat. In *Fecr-i Ati*¹⁶ poem, on the other hand, the dichotomy between aestheticism and life is dominant: the woman is either perceived within the romantic image of a pale beloved that is considered within the sphere of the aesthetic or she is a dirty prostitute considered within the sphere of the dangerous "real" life to avoid.

In addition to poetry, in nineteenth century Ottoman prose, new genres such as the novel and the play began to emerge. Before the proclamation of the Republic there were many novels that dealt with the representation and the construction of new gender identities and relationships. These nineteenth century texts focused on the problems of new gender identity and relationships, primarily in the context of modernization. Indeed, until the nineteenth century, there was almost nothing said or written on the issue of family, but with this turning point we meet an explosion of ideas, the politicization and propaganda of gender related issues. This activity of talking and expanding ideas is in itself a very important step in the coming of modernity. In this era of discursive boom, the essence of modernity was associated

¹⁵ Altok.

¹⁶ This famous literary school, the name of which means "Dawn of the Future", was composed of a group of young intellectuals who gathered just after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, in 1909, around the literary journal *Servet-i Fünun*, or "Riches of Sciences". They introduced themselves as followers of an earlier literary movement *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* or "New Literature" gathered again around the same journal. Indeed the members of *Servet-i Fünun* were not a homogeneous group in terms of artistic style and concerns, but nevertheless they were more or less united around defending individuality and Western influence in literature and the idea of art for its own sake, rather than social concerns. Among the group, the most famous were Ahmet Haşim, Fuat Köprülü, Yakup Kadri and Hamdullah Suphi. This initiative lasted a very short time, only until 1912. Emin Özdemir, *Edebiyat Bilgileri Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1990), p. 116, and pp. 241-248.

with the nuclear family based on the romantic love and companionship between spouses. In this model of the Western bourgeois family the center is the child¹⁷. It is a model based on a definition of appropriate heterosexual relationship and oriented primarily towards biological production. These novels' main concern was the liberation of women; but they were written by "enlightened" men. Kandiyoti explains this strange situation by the fact that it is indeed a reflection of these Young Turk male authors' revolt against the figure of the patriarch father and his arbitrary rule symbolizing Ottoman absolutism.¹⁸

In earlier examples, the popular themes had been slavery (for example, the novel named *Sergüzeşt*, or Adventure, by Samipaşazade Sezai) or the negative effects of arranged marriages (for examples the novel *Taaşşuk-u Talat ve Fitnat*, or The Love of Talat and Fitnat, by Şemseddin Sami, or the play *Şair Evlenmesi*, or The Marriage of Poet, by Şinasi). Although these authors were important as being predecessors, there were not in their work, the stylistic maturation or a rich explanation for the social problems concerning them. They did not even exemplify the true "novel" genre because stylistically, they "were strongly influenced by the form of the traditional love story"¹⁹ and they "were producing narratives that were disconnected, moralistic and distanced from the texture of everyday life"²⁰ The main axis of their plot was built upon "the impossibility of the union of two lovers because of social and/or psychological obstacles."²¹ Parallel to the dichotomy in *fecr-i ati* poems between the sacred beloved and profane prostitute, the main female typologies in the late nineteenth century novels were the *femme fatale* (who is the product of false modernism) and the innocent victim (of the traditional order). Both

¹⁷ For a well organized evaluation of this evolutionary process, see Duben and Behar , Chapter 7, "Batılılaşma ve Ailenin Yeni Yönelimleri: Kültürel Yeniden Yapılanma", pp. 209-241.

¹⁸ Deniz Kandiyoti, " Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity", in S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.), *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1997), pp. 120-121; and also Deniz Kandiyoti, "Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society", in Şirin Tekeli (ed.), *Women in Modern Turkish Society* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1995), pp. 309-312. These articles are available in Turkish too: for the first one, see Kandiyoti, "Modernin Cinsiyeti: Türk Modernleşmesi Araştırmalarında Eksik Boyutlar", in *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, trans. by Nurettin Elhüseyni (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); and for the latter, Kandiyoti, "Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine yönelik Notlar", in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995).

¹⁹ Sirman, "Gender Construction", p. 164.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 165, by reference to Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar, Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1996).

²¹ Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 254.

of these characters are voiceless and narrated primarily from a male reformist perspective; thus, except for *Handan* by Halide Edip, we do not meet in these products the unification of these two dimensions in the same female character²² (although Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil's women typologies were enriched both qualitatively and quantitatively). Since the concern here is to deal with gender representations in a period where modernity and nationalism were articulated in the context of an established nation-state, the works preceding the Kemalist period are not included in this thesis. But still there was an important parallelism between these nineteenth century and early Republican novels: both of them were written in a quite didactic tune, to teach the reader of the new ways of life and particularly of the new gender identities or family model. This tune also contributed a lot to the just mentioned stylistic weakness of many examples²³.

With Yahya Kemal and Ahmet Haşım, who stood between the late Ottoman and early Republican period's, the realization of passionate love with a realistically portrayed woman gained a privileged status in poetry. Thereafter, although it appeared under different themes and ideals in different periods, this realistic tendency continued to dominate the conception of love and woman in Turkish literature. In the nationalist poetry of the Republican period, the beloved is a pure village girl (but still, it is not the poet who loves her but a shepherd's voice is heard in the text), or she is an enlightened urban woman. In the nationalist novels studied in this thesis, the degenerating effects of modernity, which may be primarily observed in the transformation of women, receive focus as does the dissolution of family in the modernization process and the Kemalist policies' influence in the lives of mostly elite women.

These early Republican works stand in contrast to the early Tanzimat novels, in which the degenerating effects of modern life style are primarily seen in the lives of "superwesternized" male characters, such as Bihruz Bey of *Araba Sevdası*, written by Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem. In the early Republican novel, however, the object of

²² Ibid.

²³ Duben and Behar also mention this explicit didactic aim of the authors. Duben and Behar, p. 32, or Berna Moran, p. 11, cited in Duben and Behar, p. 103. In the same passage, they argue that not only novels, but also a whole set of publications such as magazines or newspapers were governed by the modernists of these periods and were very influential in shaping the private life of their reader; so in a way, they achieved their modernizing aim.

A fascinating example of this didactic tone may be found in *Aşk Politikası*. In this narrative, just from the beginning, in the preface, Burhan Cahit who is one of these rare lucky authors who

criticism becomes the modernizing woman rather than the modernizing man. The woman, who before was the victim of a repressive tradition, appears now as an actor who initiates a series of familial disasters²⁴.

In yet another vein, Gürpınar, another writing for popular audiences, whose works form part of the bridge between the end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the Republic, narrates to some extent the life and the women in the ordinary, poor corners of Istanbul. Although he preserves a didactic and suspicious tone in passages where he wants to give social messages on modernization's influence, he differs from the writers of the mainstream nationalist novels in his interest in the lower classes. But in general, early Republican prose remains a literature that seeks only to influence cultural transformation and that does not consider the effects of economic changes. The era produced novels in which woman typologies are classless or at least, whose class origin is not primarily problematized.

In socialist writing, such as the poems of Nazım Hikmet, woman appear as the comrade and friend of the author, as one who struggles along with him for the first time, the wife and the beloved are the same woman. By the 1940s, the beloved turns into a completely ordinary woman from the lower classes, who is portrayed realistically, with both her strengths and weaknesses.

It was also the socialist novelists who introduced class difference among women, including peasant, worker and poor female characters. The theme of the repression of women under the feudal order in south eastern Turkey and more realistic female portraits are also given in a wider and more emphasized way. The works of Suad Derviş, in the '30s and later, constitute an early example of this kind of writing. She was followed by Orhan Kemal, Yaşar Kemal and Fakir Baykurt in the 1950s. It was only after the 1970s, however, by a generation of women writers (the most representative of which are Adalet Ağaoğlu, Firüzan and Sevgi Soysal) that women started to witness their own experience, in a deeper way, trying to find their own paths beyond the schematicisms of both nationalism and socialism.

When the representation of family in contemporary Turkish novel is examined a similar situation is observed²⁵: the central element that determines the narrative is

decisively knows his target, explicitly states his aim as teaching the youth modern gender relationships.

²⁴ This point is mentioned in Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler*, p. 137. Sirman does not read this fact as a familial disaster initiated by female characters, but she conceives it rather as a reflection of the search

the ideological position of the author. Here family appears just as a theme that exhibits the author's position vis à vis the existing moral code. In other words, the emphasis is upon the determinative role of ethical values. In this context, the development of central settings and themes are parallel to the process described above. The main motifs in canonical Turkish family novels during the Second Constitutional²⁶ and Early Republican eras were westernization, the effects of which are narrated in a general in a negative way, as a degeneration that shows itself primarily in the family and the family ethic. This is symbolized mainly by the sexual degeneration of the female characters. It is indeed a narrative of the dissolution of the urban family. The rural family is handled much later, after the Second World War, in the novels of Bekir Coşkun, Yaşar Kemal and Kemal Tahir, in the context of the feudal system's negative influence. The lower middle class family and the passage to factory working are described by Orhan Kemal. Again, the repression of the individual, particularly of woman and her resistance to it, are handled by the generation of female authors cited above in their troubled approach to the petty bourgeois family (for example in *Ölmeye Yatmak*, or Sleeping to Die, by Adalet Ağaoğlu or in *Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti*, or A Noon Time in Yenişehir, by Sevgi Soysal).

Novels

As examples of the nationalist canon, the following novels will be analyzed in depth, listed in order of year of first publication in Turkey: *Kiralık Konak* (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, 1922)²⁷; *Yaprak Dökümü* (Reşat Nuri Güntekin, 1930)²⁸; *Fatih-Harbiye* (Peyami Safa, 1931)²⁹; *Ankara* (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, 1934)³⁰; *Sinekli Bakkal* (Halide Edip Adivar, 1935)³¹.

for a just ruler, against the "false" one who is the product of modernity, "Gender Construction", pp. 172-3.

²⁵ See Akatlı, pp. 11-18.

²⁶ The proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy in 1908 is known as the *Jön Türk*, or Young Turk, Revolution. This was indeed the second attempt to establish a constitution and a parliament in Ottoman lands (the first had occurred in 1876 but had been unsuccessful as it lasted only one year). Thus, for the first time in history a civil organization came to power. The *İttihat Terakki* Party (Party of Union and Progress) was born from this organization's participants and stayed in power until the end of First World War. This era lasted until the end of the First World War in 1918, when the Party of Union and Progress left power after the defeat of the Ottoman armies.

²⁷ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1998). The title of the book can be translated into English as "Mansion to Rent". It is a title expressing the end of a period,

As non-canonical examples, *Aşk Politikası* (Burhan Cahit Morkaya, 1930)³², *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* (Peyami Safa under the pseudonym Server Bedi, 1930)³³ and *Bahar Çiçeği* (Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, 1935)³⁴ will form the basis of the sample.³⁵

These canonical and non-canonical novels were chosen primarily for the strength of their representations of the mentality and of the literature of the period in which they were written and for their intensity in terms of dealing with gender related issues. This thesis is not an exhaustive study in terms of covering all novels of the Early Republican Era, but it includes the main model narratives.³⁶

Plots

because of the westernization begun by the Tanzimat. The mansion is the symbol of the old days and its rental symbolizes the loss of its privacy and honor.

²⁸ Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Yaprak Dökümü* (Istanbul: İnkılâp Yay.). The title of the book can be translated into English as "Leaf Fall". This title expresses the collapse and dissolution of a family. As each child departs from the house, a leaf falls.

²⁹ Peyami Safa, *Fatih-Harbiye* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1995). The title of the book is composed of the names of two different quarters of Istanbul. Fatih is the traditional one, whereas Harbiye is the modern. A line of trolley-buses carrying the same name running between them associates these two words.

³⁰ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1994).

³¹ Halide Edip Adıvar, *Sinekli Bakkal* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1984). This novel was first written in English with the name of "The Clown and His Daughter" and published in Turkey in the same year, 1935, in installments in the daily newspaper *Haber*. In 1942, it won the novel prize from the Republican People's Party, the single party of Turkey. The Turkish title is the name of an old, traditional neighborhood, or *mahalle*, of Istanbul. Literally, it translates as "Grocery with flies". But it means that a place, especially a shop, is desolate, dusty and a little bit dirty. It is indeed the name by which the *mahalle* people call Tevfik's grocery. Thus, the *mahalle* is called by its grocery's name.

³² Burhan Cahit Morkaya, *Aşk Politikası* (Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Kitaphanesi, 1930). The title of the book can be translated into English as "Politics of Love".

³³ Server Bedi (Peyami Safa), *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 1998). *Cumba* is an architectural element in old Turkish houses. Rumba is the name of a modern dance music style. The title, meaning "From Cumba to Rumba", implies the passage of the central female character from a traditional life style to a modern one.

³⁴ Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, *Bahar Çiçeği* (Istanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka, 1980). The title of the book can be translated into English as "Spring Flower".

³⁵ In Appendix A, a summary of the plot and a list of central characters for each novel is provided.

³⁶ Kerime Nadir is a famous name identified with romance in Turkey because of her unusual popularity. But indeed it is a conscious preference that Kerime Nadir was not included in this analysis as Kerime Nadir may be considered as the first representative of another generation of romance authors in Turkey. As argued by Türkerş too, before Kerime Nadir the central concern of romance authors had been to contribute to the construction of a new "modern woman", but by 1937 when Nadir began to publish her works, popular romance had slipped to a more formalist axis: the characters' number, depth and diversity diminish; novel personalities became broken off from the historical and social conditions and their social origins, especially those of women are closed and narrated in domestic settings, instead in the rich social environments outside the households that the first generation of popular romance writers had so frequently used. In this respect, as Kerime Nadir symbolizes another period in popular romance, the analysis here ends with the beginning of her literary career. Ömer Türkerş, "Aşkolsun", *Virgöl*, no. 18 (April 1999), pp. 53-54.

In terms of their plots, the canonical novels may be divided into two groups of which *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Kiralık Konak* constitute the first and *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara* the second³⁷.

The stories in the first group of canonical novels present more or less a similar plot: one or more of young female members of the family try to live a more modern life. Their efforts lead them particularly to a bent for luxury consumption and participation in heterosocial Western type entertainment. This process carries always a risk of degeneration, manifested mostly in their loss of *namus*³⁸ and accompanied by economic destruction and the physical disintegration of the family.

In this context, both *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Kiralık Konak* end with the complete degeneration of their female characters, with both reduced to semi-prostitutes, loose women. This situation stands in contrast to the formation of a proper marriage and family. Thus, the disaster, which is equal to the loss of the woman's *namus*, is realized. Only in Peyami Safa's *Fatih-Harbiye* is this risk, generated by the behavior of the female antagonist, removed, due to the efforts of strong male characters. The novel ends with a happily. Therefore, according to the assumptions in these narratives, a happy ending means the reestablishment of order, which is equal to the preservation of conservative family values, the protection of the woman's *namus* and the formation of a new family through a recognized, proper marriage.

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CANONICAL EXAMPLES	NON-CANONICAL EXAMPLES
<u>The First Group Of Canonical Novels</u> <i>Yaprak Dökümü</i> (Reşat Nuri Güntekin) <i>Kiralık Konak</i> (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu) <i>Fatih-Harbiye</i> (Peyami Safa)	<u>The First-Group of Non-Canonical Novels</u> <i>Aşk Politikası</i> (Burhan Cahit Morkaya) <i>Bahar Çiçeği</i> (Muazzez Tahsin Berkand)
<u>The Second Group of Canonical Novels</u> <i>Sinekli Bakkal</i> (Halide Edip Adıvar) <i>Ankara</i> (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu)	<u>The Second Group of Non-Canonical Novels</u> <i>Cumba'dan Rumba'ya</i> (Peyami Safa, under the pseudonym Server Bedi)

³⁸ In the context used here, this word may be translated into English as "sexual honor", but it has a meaning that transcends this translation. It covers many practices, but first it comprises the prohibition of pre-marital or extra-marital sexual relationship for woman. Thus, it is based on the protection of the woman's virginity before marriage and also on the avoidance of attractive feminine behavior towards men. What behavior is considered illegitimate in this context may differ from one community to the other, but still the *namus* of woman continues to be the fundamental guarantee of identity and of the purity of community. Thereafter, the original term in Turkish is used here, in italics, as what is meant here is the practical and discursive usage of the term in Turkish society, which is hard to describe with the English term "sexual honor".

In the second group of canonical novels, a plot structure similar to that of the first group is not seen, although the second part of *Ankara* may be considered a replication of the above-mentioned narratives. In *Ankara*, for example, the woman puts an end to this degeneration process through her own initiative, which is unusually initiated by the corruption of a man. In Halide Edip's, *Sinekli Bakkal* the central female character symbolizes a positive distance to modernity, rather than a degeneration.

But apart from these affirmative representations of their central female characters, between these two novels, there is no commonality of plot or perspective as seen in the first group. Indeed, in addition to the similarity of their central female characters' distance to the degenerated model of modernity, the reason these last two novels are put in a second group is that they do not fit the typical characteristics of the first group. In this respect, *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara* appear, to some extent, to be exceptions within the canon, especially in terms of the representation of woman. This fact alone shows us that what is considered the "nationalist canon" does not form a completely consistent whole and that there is still place for opposition in it, although it remains within certain pre-determined limits.

Why do *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara* differ? I think that the case of *Sinekli Bakkal* may be explained partially by the fact that it is the product of a female author. *Ankara*, on the other hand, as mentioned above, carries hope of suggesting a new model of modernization rather than merely criticizing modernity as a whole. This situation may be explained by the fact that Yakup Kadri believed that Kemalism was a real possibility of revolution towards a holistic socio-economic transformation. His active participation in the *Kadro* movement proves how much he is politically engaged ³⁹. That is, he does not only produced ideas, but tried to put them into practice and such an attitude is reasonable only if you believe that there is possibility of applying those ideas.

It should be remembered that both of these authors remained to a certain degree in opposition with the government during the Kemalist reform period, too.

³⁹ *Kadro* is the name of a journal published by a group of famous intellectuals (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Vedat Nedim Tör, Burhan Belge and İsmail Hüsrev Tökin) for a short period of time between January 1932 and December 1934 for the purpose of forming a systematic thought that might serve as the ideology of the new Republic's ongoing revolution. In a very broad sense, the journal accepted a revolutionist, nationalist, materialist, determinist and communitarian perspective. It defended an elitist position in general and statism and central planning

The individual bibliographies of these authors may offer an explanation to the above question⁴⁰. But why then are these two works included in the canon? It may be partially due to the power of their works. It seems to have been basically due to their unwavering defense of modernity because, as will be seen later, the fundamental perspective of the author serves as a primary criterion to determine the state centered canon in Turkey.

Then, non-canonical novels in this study are also divided into two groups with *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* in the first and *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* in the second. The books in the first group have more or less fixed plots, reflecting many of the clichés of popular romance in general: an educated, modern young girl from a high class family and a similar young man have a very controversial and tense relationship. In time they discover that they love each other, but in each case, there is a problem concerning the man. He is not suitable for the girl because of his hidden nationality or his weak and free personality. This problem is resolved by the young girl and they get married.

Cumba'dan Rumba'ya is away from the clichés of popular romance altogether. Unlike the first group, it does not reflect at all an integrity in terms of its plot structure. In addition, in this novel the lower classes are explicitly defended against the elite; that the poor have a more traditional life style is explained by social inequality; and the form of modern life style, that is the life style of the elite, is described in a mocking tone. Moreover, in respect to the representation of woman, particularly in terms of *namus*, Server Bedi's *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, contains an astonishing discourse.

In contradiction with the canonical examples, in all of the non-canonical novels, the modernization of female characters is not conceived of as a danger against the order. On the contrary, the female characters are modern contributors to the formation of the family.

Thus, although *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal* contain alternative models or suggestions of synthesis, the primary concern of the canonical novels is to build or preserve a certain distance to modernity as a whole or to a certain model of it. The

at the economic level. But how to interpret their thoughts and situate their position remains a question: Were they defenders of a totalitarian or a revolutionary point of view?

⁴⁰ For the biographies of the authors in this study, see Appendix B.

question here, is how not to modernize. The non-canonical novels are much more open to alternative discourses and the authors start their work from a positive question of how should we modernize?

Themes

Family and Woman as Central Themes

In all of these novels, gender, particularly women, diverse relationships between the sexes, such as love, marriage and sexuality and family, make up the central themes⁴¹. Both the canonical and non-canonical novels deal with nation and modernity issues around these themes. In other words, the issues considered within the private sphere are the preferred medium for telling a story about themes related to the public sphere, that is, in about the possible influences of modernity or the formation of national identity.

For both the canonical and non-canonical novels, community rather than the individual is one of the central concerns. Indeed, these novels handle individuals in terms of their roles and significance in the community. Overwhelmingly, the most emphasized community in canonical novels is the family. Every female character lives within an extended or nuclear family structure.⁴² In addition to family, cases where the individual's link to bigger communities such as the nation (e.g. *Ankara*) or *mahalle*⁴³ (e.g. *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Fatih-Harbiye*, *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*) are also included in the plot.

⁴¹ Sirman points out the similarity between Bengali and Turkish nationalist novels, in how they both situated family as the main site of reforms. Sirman, "Gender Construction", p. 166. Her present argument is raised in reference to Chatterjee's influential book, Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), p. 2. For a translation into Turkish: Anderson, *Milliyetçi Düşünce ve Sömürge Dünyası*, trans. by Sami Oğuz (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1996).

⁴² Whereas in the non-canonical romances, we can see interesting independent female figures appear, like non-married young girls living alone, such as Feyhan of *Bahar Çiçeği*. But still the emphasis on family is dominant. Moreover, as will be discussed in the first chapter, the loneliness of the female heroine serves rather to increase the power of the paternalistic heritage, rather than underline the importance of female independence.

⁴³ *Mahalle* may be translated into English as "neighborhood". It signifies a community based on relationships among diverse households from different classes, situated in the same area of a city. Many scholars underline the importance of *mahalle* in the Ottoman and Turkish context, in terms of it being the main unit of social organization in the city. Hence, as this term indicates one fundamental and distinct character of Middle Eastern societies, hereafter the original word is used.

Generally, in both the canonical and non-canonical examples individuals aren't handled with their past or formations or with the depth and contradictions of their psychology. Thus, characters remain shallow. They carry symbolic values to expose the author's ideas on broader issues such as westernization and modernity. In this respect, in general, the characters symbolize certain routes in the modernization process of the country. They usually don't present moderate personalities, but rather extremes⁴⁴.

In the canonical and non-canonical novels female characters are quite important and are given greater emphasis than the male characters, at least in terms of their symbolic values. If this equation is considered in the opposite way, the conclusion is reached that in order to deal with the modernization process in Turkey, the novelists choose to tell us family stories and particularly about female characters.

Ankara by Yakup Kadri represents an especially good example of this argument⁴⁵. In this novel, Turkish modernization and nationalization history is conceived mainly with different conceptions and each conception coincides with a different stage in its female protagonist's life. The life of a nation is thus equated with the destiny of a woman, passing hand in hand with her through different marriages. Thus, through her own personal story the woman appears here as a carrier and symbol of Turkish modernization history,.

The Familial Origins of Female Characters

There are important similarities among the familial origins of the canonical female characters. A certain woman typology is dominant in almost all of the canonical novels under discussion. First, in all of them the women are of urban origin. There are no peasant women. Second, with the exception of Rabia in *Sinekli Bakkal*, all of the female characters are from a more or less elite and educated stratum of society. In the case of *Sinekli Bakkal*, although Rabia is of a non-elite origin, she gets her formation in the elite environment of Selim Paşa's *konak*

⁴⁴ In her analysis on *Yaprak Dökümü*, Çeri notices the same characteristic. See Çeri, p. 129.

⁴⁵ This observation is confirmed by Çeri too. But again its implications in terms of the formation of a discourse remain unexplained and it is handled from a non-analytical and non-critical perspective. Ibid., pp. 156-7.

(mansion) and has strong relationships with palace circles. In *Fatih-Harbiye*, too, Neriman and her father live in a traditional district of Istanbul. Although the family's position doesn't fit with the traditional elite, they can't be considered non-educated people at all. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, some of the female characters' (Leyla, Necla and Hayriye Hanım) lack of education is particularly emphasized, in order to underline their inclination toward degeneration, although some male and female family members (Ali Rıza Bey, Şevket and Fikret) are well-educated.

In all of the canonical novels, the female characters' fathers or pseudo-fathers (such as Selim Paşa for Rabia) are from the state bureaucracy. In *Fatih-Harbiye*, Neriman's father is retired from the Ministry of Education; in *Yaprak Dökümü*, Ali Rıza Bey is a retired civil servant who worked at the Ministry of Internal Affairs and then as governor in a small district; Selma Hanım of *Ankara* is also the daughter of an official. In *Kiralık Konak* and *Sinekli Bakkal* the fathers are from high positions in the traditional bureaucracy, which is disappearing with the rise of the anonymous and institutional modern state: Naim Efendi is represented as a symbol of high Tanzimat bureaucracy; Selim Paşa of *Sinekli Bakkal* was minister in charge of security during Abdülhamid's reign.

The authors of the canonical novels assume that a novel dealing with modernity, in its emancipating or degenerating effects, should have female characters of bureaucratic family' origin. They particularly chose urban women from bureaucratic families to describe and teach their readers about how modernity should or should not be done⁴⁶. Why? Is it because the authors came from a similar origin and did not know typology from other strata of society⁴⁷? The answers to this question should be affirmative⁴⁸, but in addition, it is based on the following point, that the authors perceived modernity as something that influenced primarily the elite stratum of society. They could not imagine otherwise because elite was the main protagonist of this story.

⁴⁶ For this didactic aim in the novels, see footnote number 23 of this preface.

⁴⁷ Interestingly, by reference to Mardin, Sirman explains the social origins of Turkish nationalists of the Tanzimat period as the modernist bureaucracy standing in opposition to the traditional ruling elite. As is explained in the passages of this thesis, concerning romantic love, this fact resulted in their conception of love with divine references rather than modern ones. See Şerif Mardin, *Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesinin Doğuşu* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1996), cited in Sirman, "Gender Construction", p. 169. For the English original version of Mardin's book: *The Emergence of Young Turk Thought* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962).

Interestingly, in the non-canonical novels a different typology of the familial origins of the central characters is seen. In Burhan Cahit Morkaya's *Aşk Politikası*, the male antagonist is of bourgeois origin, the son of a rich merchant. In the same way, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the female characters are from a lower stratum of society. But in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* this class status does not remain the same for the whole novel. In the end, central female character, Cemile, marries Şinasi, the intellectual university student she loves. This marriage does not signify a huge transformation in terms of the economic status of the new couple, but implies great hope in the near future, as Şinasi is a professional. But more importantly, it signifies a huge change in Cemile's social prestige: she is now part of the elite group. Nevertheless, in the whole of the novel, there is always sympathy for non-elite groups, for the poor people.

Kiralık Konak, *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Fatih-Harbiye* on the canonical side, and *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* on the non-canonical side are under a form of class blindness. Particularly *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* do not include the ironical perception of the elite, as the symbol of false modernity, that we meet in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, *Sinekli Bakkal* or the second chapter of *Ankara*. It appears as if the authors are unaware of class distinctions. However, some of the canonical narratives perceive a social hierarchy between two social strata, i.e. between the elite and the people. *Ankara*, in this respect, appropriates an explicitly elitist position that codifies the people on an inferior level. This attitude may be seen Yakup Kadri's representation of Sungurluzade Ömer Efendi and his family in the first chapter of his book. Moreover, in the second chapter, the people are shown watching the elite of the new regime entering a ball hall to celebrate the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic⁴⁹. This passage serves to show the distance between the elite and the people and to emphasize the irresponsibility and alienation of the westernized elite rather than dwell on the vices of the people's culture.

As an exception to the canonical novels, in *Sinekli Bakkal*, Halide Edip Adıvar presents a heroine from the lower classes. But here again her integration with the traditional upper classes is narrated as an non-problematic process. More or less, this

⁴⁸ Duben and Behar also point out to this commonality and explain this fact by the social origins of the authors, p. 212.

⁴⁹ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, pp. 116-118.

novel differs from other canonical texts in terms of problematizing the class of its female character and more importantly in terms of approving the defense of her class position against that of her husband or the Ottoman prince that she meets. In this novel, the elite-people contradiction is reflected in a way defending people, who are not conceived of as inferior or uncultured. On the contrary, the traditional culture is narrated with richness, as may be seen in the characterization of Kız Tevfik.

Among the non-canonical novels, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, class does appear as a distinct category. Moreover, the lower classes are regarded as submitted to the exploitation and abuse of the upper strata. Their pitiable situation is explained by social inequalities and the fault of this picture is attributed to the richer classes. In contrast with *Ankara* or *Fatih-Harbiye*, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* an explicit mockery of the elite emerges.

Themes of Child, Education and Motherhood

It is surprising that child character or child education as a theme does not appear in the majority of these canonical novels, in spite of all the emphasis on the family in the novels and on the education of children and youth in the context of modernization⁵⁰. In the same way, model mothers are not present in these texts, even though motherhood was determined as the main responsibility of woman in the Kemalist perspective.⁵¹

With the exception of Selma in *Ankara*, to some extent, there is no self-sacrificing mothers of the nation in either the canonical or non-canonical novels⁵².

⁵⁰ Many authors notice this fact. For example, for the importance of pedagogical themes and the relationship between nationalism and the concept of childhood in the mental history of the first years of the Republic, see Duygu Köksal, "İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İnkılâp ve Terbiye: Ulusun Çocukluğu", *Toplumsal Tarih* (Nisan 1997), pp. 7-12. Duben and Behar also argue that child education is conceived in this period within the framework of "nationalistic family" as a citizenship duty and as the primary purpose of marriage; therefore they state that this issue is largely dealt with in the early Republican press: "the emphasis in the more mature nationalistic family literature was on children and child-rearing function of families, in a qualitative as well as quantitative sense", p. 121; see also p. 242-253. The articles edited in *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* also show in the Western, late Ottoman and Republican contexts, and from a social historical perspective, how the modernization process went hand in hand with the construction and even invention of childhood. Bekir Onur (ed.), *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).

⁵¹ Duben and Behar, p. 231 and p. 236.

⁵² Indeed, in some other novels of Halide Edip, such as *Ateşten Gömlek* (published first in 1922) or *Vurun Kahpeye* (published in 1926) such a female typology can be seen. But interestingly both of these novels cover the years of the liberation war. Women sacrificing for the development of

None of the central female characters has a child, except Rabia. Only in *Sinekli Bakkal* is the theme of motherhood given importance.⁵³

Perhaps the narration of Rabia's childhood can present some keys on this issue. Rabia does not attend any school and receives at Selim Paşa's *konak* an informal education that is particularly focused on classical and religious Turkish music training. Although this type of education is based mainly on pre-modern methods, she is still exposed to Western ideas because she participates in westernized milieus too, such as Peregrini's, Selim Paşa's son Hilmi Bey's and his young Turk friends' gatherings or in meetings at an Ottoman prince's *konak*. Moreover she witnesses debates between Peregrini and Vehbi Dede on the qualities of Western and Eastern civilizations. In a way these facts and this informal training lead to her formation as a woman who is able to formulate a synthesis between the influences of the different cultures. She is still portrayed, however, as a character in which Eastern and traditional cultural traits are much more dominant⁵⁴. Nevertheless, although the problematization of the education issue to some extent is presented in this novel, this type of training fails to fully exhibit the debates and important issues of its period. Perhaps this book may be read as a proposition of synthesis on education and on culture. It doesn't include ideas on a more modern, public and national education like other contemporary intellectuals were dismissing at the time. Thus, in this way also, *Sinekli Bakkal* remains as an exception within the nationalist canon (but we should remember at this point that Halide Edip herself was a teacher and educationist; therefore it is not big surprise to meet this theme of education more frequently and deeply in her novels).

Among *Yaprak Dökümü*'s characters, Ayşe, a child, appears, but again, she appears as a very minor personality, used solely to show the reader first how Ali Rıza Bey's last dreams of his children are also exhausted. Moreover, the mother in the novel, Hayriye Hanım, is characterized by her "natural maternal weakness" towards her children and their immoral behavior, which concludes in her decision to fight

the newly born nation in the years following the liberation war are not as frequent in the novels as they are supposed to be.

⁵³ But the narrative covers mostly the pregnancy period in order to show how motherhood is a universal and most fundamental inclination of woman's nature. But even the existence of such a theme and the naturalization of motherhood may be read as an effort to legitimize the emphasis on motherhood and image of self-sacrificing mother, as defined by Nükhet Sirman, "Feminism in Turkey: A Short History", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 3, no. 1 (Fall 1989), pp. 1-34.

⁵⁴ The attributes given to this "Eastern" and "traditional" character are discussed in the second chapter. See particularly footnote number 9 of Chapter 2.

with her husband. This struggle or her revolt against him is represented as an irrational action that contributes to the familial disaster. In this context, although she aims at the opposite, she remains far away from the image of mother trying to protect her family's integrity at the symbolic and material levels. Actually, her behavior deepens the split in the family.

This stress on the weakness of the mother may be seen in *Kıralık Konak*, too: Sekine Hanım, mother of Seniha and Cevdet, is represented as a woman who can't show the necessary initiative to prevent her children's catastrophic fate. On the other hand, unlike Hayriye Hanım, she follows her husband's will, without objection. But her husband is similar to her daughter in terms of inclination to modernity and degeneration. Nevertheless, neither Hayriye Hanım and Sekine Hanım is a wicked personality like their evil-minded children; but they are still negative characters with respect to their weaknesses and consequences of their behaviors.

Emine of *Sinekli Bakkal* differs from these characters. She has a strong personality, like her daughter, but is also a very strict, authoritative and unaffectionate mother. In this way, although she is described as a negative personality, Emine still continues to represent Halide Edip's approach to Muslim woman as a strong personality. These mother typologies are in sharp contrast to the positive and almost sacred image of the self-sacrificing mother who has an inner instinct to guide her children to the right path.

Indeed, a most unexpected bit of evidence for this argument may be found in *Ankara*. This novel, which may be considered as the single and most explicit statement of a Kemalist utopia, does not include any detailed claims on the child education issue. Although in the last utopic chapter of *Ankara*, Selma works as the director of a school for girls, she does not have any child in any of her marriages. In fact, the ideal Selma Hanım-Neşet Sabit couple of the last chapter, doing everything they can in the name of the revolution, doesn't contribute to it at the level of biological reproduction. It might be argued that this lack strengthens her representation as the mother of the nation, rather than of a single child.

In the non-canonical novels, on the other hand, the only praise for the mother-child relationship may be seen in *Bahar Çiçeği*, in the lines of letters that the female protagonist Feyhan writes from Paris to her closest friend Mina, who has a child. Still it remains a very secondary theme within the whole of the novel. In *Cumba'dan*

Rumba'ya the mother of Cemile is portrayed as a completely weak, foolish and non-decisive woman, in sharp contrast to her daughter.

This striking lack of themes of motherhood, or its negative portrayals, in all the studied novels may be explained by the fact that motherhood is a very personal experience, which is hard to imagine for male authors⁵⁵. Because of this individuality, this experience also has no place in a novel like *Ankara*, underlining social concerns over individual issues. In other words, the authors could not find a way to combine motherhood as a personal experience and motherhood of the nation. That is why, only in exceptional cases like *Sinekli Bakkal* by Halide Edip, motherhood is represented from a female perspective and is perceived as a privilege and part of the strength of woman.

In the rest of this preface, the main theoretical concepts used in this study, such as culture, popular (or non-canonical), modernity, will be defined. This is followed by a brief account of the major lines of discussions concerning Turkish modernization and the women's issue. Finally, the methodological questions will be discussed.

The first chapter examines the common ground shared by the canonical and non-canonical novels. It is a descriptive inventory and offers interpretative comment on the representations of love, sexuality and family in these novels. At the beginning of each separate part, the way in which romantic love, sexuality and family are socially and historically constructed is discussed. In this chapter, I claim that both romantic love and sexuality appear as a source of degeneration, particularly in the canonical examples, because nationalism and rationality are put as categories above individual concerns and passions, a fact that can be observed in spouse choice, too.

The second chapter focuses on the observed differences among the canonical and non-canonical texts. The specific representations of gender seem to shape the main distinctions between the canonical and non-canonical novels chosen in this study, in reference to the imagination of modernity. In this chapter, three major issues will be discussed: first, how the definition of the different sexes as opposing categories corresponds to the contradiction between categories of the modern and traditional; second, how the categories "natural" or "civilized" are matched with man

⁵⁵ By reference to the interviews that they made, Duben and Behar also report that instead of the existing discourse, the process of child rearing remained for many women of this generation an activity performed with individual concerns, p. 248.

and woman and what that means in terms of nationalism and modernity; and third, what qualities are considered by the authors as signs of a strong character, how these are dispersed among male and female personages, and how especially the strong woman is perceived and narrated by the authors.

The third chapter is the conclusion, where a summary of the findings of the study, an overall comparison of canonical and non-canonical novels and my final interpretations will be provided.

Theory

Different Meanings of the Terms “Culture”, “Popular” and “Canon”

The definition of concepts is strictly dependent on the historical and social conditions in which they emerged and were used. In this respect, in *Marxism and Literature*⁵⁶ Williams provides a history of the term “culture” and gives its two fundamental usages. There is first the elitist and eurocentric definition that unites culture with the term “civilization” and that chooses certain products as the best ones. By the nineteenth century, however, this definition was challenged by such thinkers as the romanticist Rousseau, who discovered the negative side of Western “civilization”, i.e. its artificiality in contradiction to nature, and the early nationalist Herder, who started to use the concept to define all social practices or a whole way of life, including the non-elite strata as well.

A more recent group of scholars working in the field called “cultural studies” developed another approach to culture that transcends these two earlier and fundamental definitions:

(Cultural studies) defines ‘culture’ as *both* the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions and relationships, through which they ‘handle’ and respond to the conditions of existence; *and* as the lived traditions and practices through which those ‘understandings’ are expressed and in which they are embodied⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Raymond Williams, *Marxism ve Edebiyat* (Istanbul: Adam, 1990), pp. 15-21.

⁵⁷ Hall, p. 26.

This will be the understanding of culture used in this study as it takes into account the dimension of social inequality and thus it can equip the term culture with the power of social analysis. The conceptualization of culture as a sphere of negotiation is more suitable in an analysis that is based on a comparison of works accepted into and rejected from the canonical domain.

Different definitions of the term “popular” are parallel to the diverse turning points in the history of efforts at defining the concept of culture. Hall makes a definition of “popular” and “popular culture” that is parallel to his conceptualization of “culture”. “Popular” should neither be conceived as merely extensively consumed by the masses of people (commercial definition) nor as all those things that ‘the people’ do or have done” (anthropological definition), that include past and present, oral and written products of both the popular and elite classes, i.e. books, proverbs, meals, architecture, everyday life objects, and clothing.

Hall refuses two fundamental approaches critical towards it: 1. The Marxist Frankfurt School that conceptualizes popular culture as a tool of capitalism used for the ideological purpose of concealing the real conditions of life to working classes, i.e. as a factory of false-consciousness, 2. The conservatist elitism that accuses popular culture of degenerating the values of a qualified art and life.

Yet, he doesn’t situate himself into a totally non-critical position either where all products of popular culture are praised as representatives of an alternative culture of the repressed against the established order of the dominant classes. Hall criticizes this perception too for underestimating the power of cultural incorporation and by assuming wrongly the existence of a whole, authentic, autonomous cultural domain.

The distinctive feature of the popular, as understood in this thesis, following Stuart Hall, lies in its antagonism toward the dominant or mainstream culture and like all cultural forms, there is no fixed or essential meaning or an authentic, stable content of what is considered popular. In any given historical moment it is constituted of contradictory meanings:

Popular culture is one of the sites where this struggle for and against a culture of the powerful is engaged: it is also the stake to be won or lost in that struggle. It is the arena of consent and resistance. It is partly where hegemony arises, and where it is secured...that is why popular

culture matters. Otherwise, to tell you the truth, I don't give a damn about it.⁵⁸

According to this account, the key element of popular culture is its hegemonic and ideological content⁵⁹. In this respect, ideas or culture and texts as expressions of them shouldn't be considered unimportant factors because they are not material. In this sense, ideas and all cultural forms and 'words' in which they are embodied, constitute an autonomous, important and meaningful sphere of political struggle. Thus, the deconstruction of textual meaning in order to identify the formation of common sense codes appears as an important subject for a critical historiography.

So, what makes a product popular is the fact that it is excluded from the area of mainstream dominant culture, by different actors into the complex political and economic power networks of modern society and through different mechanisms including public education. According to one ideological process, certain cultural codes are chosen whereas others are refused, in order to give meaning to different things according to a certain power structure and thus, to establish or continue a hegemonic relationship⁶⁰. My choice of popular novels is very much dependent on the criteria of popular culture proposed by Stuart Hall.

⁵⁸ Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing the Popular", in G.S. Jones et al. (eds.), *People's History and Socialist Theory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 239.

⁵⁹ Hall's premise that situates cultural product and meaning into an ideological context necessitates also a theoretical re-definition of ideology.

Mardin states that the term "ideology" has two main definitions: "a systematic structure and narrative of thought" or "a structure of thought that doesn't reflect the realities as they are". But I think that we may use this term in another way too, formulated by English cultural studies, closer indeed to the first definition of Mardin: the whole of compromised maps of meaning that are embodied within language and daily life; that give meaning to things in the world; that enable us to build associations between them; make us assume that ideas born from those relationships are eternal, stable, logical and natural; that determine our actions and make them meaningful to us. In this respect, ideology does not stand in the domain of superstructure and consciousness as classical Marxists argue but according to Althusser, it is situated in the domain of unconsciousness and parallel to new-leftist cultural studies paradigm, it exceeds the limits of superstructure. For a detailed discussion, see Serif Mardin, *İdeoloji* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1993), pp. 31-34; Stuart Hall, "İdeolojinin Yeniden Keşfi: Medya Çalışmalarında Baskı Altında Tutulanın Geri Dönüşü", in M. Küçük (ed.), pp. 57-103; and Sholle, pp. 211-250. See also Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, trans. by Yusuf Alp and Mahmut Özışık (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991).

But still it should be stated that there is a problem with such a definition of ideology. According to such a conceptualization, the cultural is completely equated with the ideological and vice-versa. Then, the definition of ideology lost its clarity and it became difficult to distinguish the cultural content of any entity or practice from its ideological content.

⁶⁰ But such an argument does not mean to claim that this attempt always succeeds. There are also many channels of resistance. In the same way, the reader should not assume that the main codes determined in this thesis are necessarily accepted without any active interpretation. Here, an attempt is made rather to determine the raw material that social actors use in order to create meanings. How these codes are interpreted and consumed forms another domain of inquiry as crucial that undertaken here.

On the other hand, Jusdanis argues that canon has to be defined in terms of its functions rather than its aesthetic value and puts the main function of canon as the construction of (national or religious) identity. According to his perspective, the crucial question to answer is not which texts have to be included in the canon or what the aesthetic criterion are used to determine them, but why some texts are included into the canon and not others. When you ask the question in this manner, then your analysis turns into an historical one, with direct reference to ideological and political factors leading to identity construction that the concerning canon serves⁶¹.

In addition to this, in an interview (which constitutes, as far as I know, the only commentary evaluation of the canon formation process in Turkey), Koçak argues that "in Turkish a literary canon, i.e. a list of works which are considered as a non-separable part of national culture, whatever their ideological positions may be, has not been established even today"⁶². As an example of his claim, he states that poets or authors like Nazım Hikmet or Sabahattin Ali are still not included in the high school literature books. According to him, this fact can be explained by the particular relationship between criticism and the state ideology in Turkey. Koçak implies that criticism has remained relatively undeveloped and dependent on political preferences. The origin of this situation lies in the fact that Turkish modernization's main strategy has been based either on the denial or on the rejection of the past accumulation, including the literary one. In this path, which is in contradiction to the development of criticism and the organicist element of nationalism in the West, the nationalist priorities in Turkey did not lead to the making of an inventory of the past or of the local languages, but caused their rejection.

I do not agree with Koçak's claim regarding the absence of canon in Turkey. I think that for a better understanding we should make a distinction between the canon provided by the state (in the school books and in the official literary history) and by the critics (in anthologies and in alternative literary histories). As long as we consider Jusdanis' critical account on canon, which adds the necessary ideological dimension, we have to accept that there is a canon in Turkey, formed mainly by the state's priorities. The fact that it has remained rough, that it does not match the aesthetic

⁶¹ Particularly the third chapter concerning the formation of canon is important for this debate in Jusdanis, pp. 79-113.

⁶² "Türkçe'de Eleştiri: Bir Tarihselleştirme Denemesi", interview with Orhan Koçak made by Semih Sökmen, *Defter*, no. 31 (Autumn, 1997), p. 89. The translation belongs to me. His original

criterion of Western criticism, includes every work that deserve such a situation according to these criterions or that it is different from the canon put forward by critics, does not mean that it does not exist or unimportant. Therefore in this thesis, I use this category of "canonical" as a legitimate tool for analysis.

Concepts of Modernity, Modernism and Modernization

Marshall Berman explains some central concepts related to "modern", which are acquired in this thesis. He underlines the importance of the concept of "modern" in building contemporary life and makes a conceptual differentiation between modernization, modernism and modernity. He defines modernization as all processes that emerge with capitalist industrialization, modernism as the totality of values and standpoints on these processes, and finally modernity as a shared historical experience: "There is a mode of vital experience -experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils- that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience modernity"⁶³

Indeed, this thesis' main point of view is based on criticisms of the classical modernist theory. In its purest ideal form and except for its different versions, this modernist approach, developed primarily by economists and sociologists, has some basic assumptions: 1. Modern and traditional are mutually exclusive categories. Societies, which are considered as coherent non-contradictory wholes, explicitly stand in one of these extremes; 2. Passage from traditional to modern society is an unavoidable and unilinear process of progress, which is subject in many cases to economic transformation without the political or ideological intervention; 3. This process brings always positive outcomes with itself: Economic development, according to a capitalist model in many cases; the rise of individual freedom and consequently, the evolution of cultural plurality; the expansion of freedom of speech and organization and the establishment of pluralist democracy.⁶⁴

words are as follows: "*Türkiye'de bir edebi kanon, ideolojik rengi ne olursa, ulusal kültürün ayrılmaz bir parçası sayılan bir yapıtlar listesi bugün bile kurulabilmiş değil.*"

⁶³ Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), p. 15.

⁶⁴ For a meticulous review of different versions of modernist approach and their criticisms, see Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1991), especially Chapter I, pp. 33-54; and Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (NY: Cornell, 1996), Chapter 5, pp. 130-165. The translation into Turkish of this latter book is available: Burke, *Tarih ve Toplumsal Kuram*, trans. by Mete Tunçay (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994).

By the end of the 1960s, many scholars, particularly historians and anthropologists, who were more concerned with particular events than universal models, started to criticize this perspective. There was an empirical reason for the origin of these reactions: the actual developments in underdeveloped countries did not fit the theoretical model. In this way, the criticisms were directed towards three fundamental aspects of the model, towards its direction, its explanation and its mechanism respectively: 1. Direction of the change is not necessarily unilinear. The term modern may have different meanings in different social and historical contexts. To argue the opposite is to impose artificially a eurocentric model or a pattern of development based on specific history of Europe to other contexts. Moreover it means to raise a static model to explain change; 2. Societies may not be considered as consistent wholes. There are inner contradictions within them and they are open to external influences. So, both in pre-modern times and during the modernization, the elements considered as modern or traditional according to the classical paradigm may simultaneously exist in the same society; 3. We should explain how change occurs, rather than understanding why it should happen. Indeed, there is more than one root that leads to modernity. Thus, we should expect neither a unilinear way nor a positive outcome. In addition, we should be aware that in many cases modernization goes hand in hand with the political and ideological interventions of different social actors.

But such a critical approach doesn't necessarily mean rejecting all central premises of modernism. Rather, it is still possible to preserve some universal humanist claims of the modernizationist project and its liberating character while criticizing totalitarian or homogenizing interpretations of it. It is in this connection that Berman tries to re-explore different understandings of modernity, along an historical axis. For authors of the nineteenth century (such as Baudelaire or Marx), modernity created a dual feeling of hate and passion. The rise of capitalism included a bilateral process: the destruction of existing boundaries and restrictions, that is the liberation of emancipating forces alongside the disappearance of values that gave meaning to individual existence, i.e. alienation. In this respect, the modern experience produced by this process at the beginning had many contradictions, thus a creative potential in itself. Moreover, modernity or modernism are not non-contradictory categories, which have negative influences on human life by definition. By preserving a critical approach to twentieth century totalitarian modernists, Berman still defends the liberating potential of modern culture. This perspective has both an

ethical potential and a critical force, in addition to a certain academic distance. Berman employs normative criteria, more than a simple effort of understanding; in his account there is an intention to develop possibilities of human emancipation.

By referring mainly to this account, a differentiation should not be made between the political and everyday life practices of modernity, between the actions of modern states and the reactions of the people, and finally between ideas or ideals and practices. In this context, modernity is not a distant land that is hard to imagine and that may be perceived only from a theoretical perspective or from a point of view that takes into account only the political level. Rather, it is taken as a living, concrete, historical experience which is full of contradictions and unknowns, whose effects may be well observed in personal and social conflicts, in daily life or the life practices of the people, as well as in the mental categories that shape their action.

At this point, the interaction of modernism and nationalism or the nation building processes, which do not conceptually and historically overlap in all cases, appears to be particularly important. The categories of modern and traditional occupy an ideological importance in the formation of national discourse and identity that seeks to unify almost all of the existing differences. In this context, the convergence of nationalism and modernization also should be imagined as a process of articulation, rather than a process of distinct phases or mere correlation.

Modern nationalists in non-Western societies have a crucial inner tension: they have to adopt the progress in the Western "civilization", that is they have to be modernist for practical purposes, as they are aware of the backwardness. At the same time, however, they are against this alien "culture" that colonizes them because they are nationalists and have to create a national identity peculiar to themselves, including both the modern and pre-modern elements simultaneously. In other words, modern and tradition are articulated within the nationalist framework. Thus, "this attempt is deeply contradictory: it is both imitative and hostile to the models it imitates."⁶⁵

This inner contradiction may be explained by the distinction between what Chatterjee calls the "problematic" and the "thematic" of nationalist discourse⁶⁶. In a very broad sense, the problematic is the claim of nationalist discourse, i.e. its programmatic framework and its word on the possibility of the political movement to which it calls the people. On the other hand, the thematic is the proof that it brings for

⁶⁵ Chatterjee, p. 2.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 36-42.

gathering the legitimacy of its problematic. In this respect, it is composed of ethical and epistemological premises that define the rightfulness of its word. It is the language by which it convinces the people to participate into the movement. In other words, problematic is the thought itself whereas thematic is the strategy to produce the thought as legitimate. The contradiction of non-Western nationalism lies in the fact that its problematic is strictly based on a Western paradigm whereas its thematic constructs a non-Western self.

The inherent dilemma lies in the fact that nationalist movements are products of modernization, but at the same time they have to construct an identity for themselves which derives its strength from its historical references to pre-modern times. Thus, although it is invented in the course of modernization, "national", as a category, it has to comprise some original, stable, constant and permanent attributes, i.e. all that are codified under the adjective "traditional". By drawing such a theoretical framework, we emphasize contradictions and tensions within modern nationalism.

This thesis is guided by at least two of the five questions that Chatterjee raised in order to solve the "complexity in the relationships between thought, culture and power": "the question of the relation of (modernist nationalist) thought to the existing (non-modern) culture of society, i.e. to the way in which the social code already provides a set of correspondences between signs and meanings to the overwhelming mass of the people", and "the question of the implementation into new cultures of categories and frameworks of thought produced in other -alien-cultural contexts".⁶⁷ These questions may be asked in another way too: How do non-Western societies modernize and nationalize at the same time? or How is the tension between nationalism and modernism resolved, at least at the discursive level?

One way is of course to build a material-spiritual dichotomy between West and East and to seek a synthesis between them (or between modern and national respectively). This was the route that Ziya Gökalp adopted in his distinction between *hars* and *medeniyet*⁶⁸. But there is a further problem: Which elements of culture are chosen, emphasized and reformulated, so constructed as the basics of "our" national

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 26-27. The explanations between the parentheses belong to me.

⁶⁸ *Hars*, means to some extent "culture" and defines what "we", "the Turkish nation" particularly possess; but the spiritual elements of culture are much more emphasized in this definition. On the other hand, *medeniyet* means "civilization" and defines rather the material elements of culture that "we" can adopt from the modern world: See Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1990), especially pp. 46-68. On the other hand, Chatterjee mentions that in India, Chattopadhyay proposed almost the same formula as Gökalp, p. 51.

identity? At this point, like many other scholars, I argue that Turkish women's characteristics have been chosen and constructed as a special element of culture to define the national identity⁶⁹.

Mardin argues that during the Republican period the Turkish intelligentsia appropriated two main approaches to modernization, the Kemalist and Marxist points of view⁷⁰. According to him neither of these points of view is able to perceive social change as a spontaneous process, but rather they conceive it within a terminology of social engineering, as a matter of planned projects imposed on society. Such an understanding led the Turkish scholars from both camps to show a particular interest toward a macro analysis that put the state at the center, instead of society. In this context, although the Marxists developed a critical discourse, both views have dealt with social structure rather than agency and with the influence or repression of state rather than resistance.

On the other hand, like Mardin, Kandiyoti⁷¹ argues that in the Turkish intellectual climate paradigm of understanding modernization, the period of Kemalist reforms in Turkish scholarship is dominant: the perception of modernity as a process that emancipates the people by liberating individuals from the repression of tradition. She also points out the existence of another contemporary cluster of ideas, situated opposite this modernist approach: a new paradigm which wails for a lost past, blames Kemalism for this loss and produces a new-orientalism.

Kandiyoti claims that new studies on modernity should transcend the borders of both the modernist and orientalist approaches and develop a new point of view, with new questions in mind:

There is little doubt that interrogating central tenets of modernity such as science, secularism, nationhood and individualism has had a salutary effect and has destabilized artificial modern-traditional dichotomies. We are, however, faced with the task of moving beyond this critique and grappling with the actual content and meaning of complex contemporary cultural forms. Some crucial questions need to be raised in this connection. How has the field of meanings and practices designated as "modern" been constituted in Turkey? Have these meanings shifted and altered through time? What sources of legitimacy did discourses about the "modern" seek? How did they

⁶⁹ Even recently, the political discussions and contradictions in Turkey continue to be translated into the female body, as it is the case of the *türban* (headscarf) debates.

⁷⁰ Şerif Mardin, "Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science", in Bozdoğan and Kasaba (eds.), pp. 64-80.

⁷¹ Kandiyoti, "Gendering".

construct and define what they sought to displace? What sorts of relationships between the indigenous and the foreign, the local and the global were at stake? Did these relationships coalesce into items of taste and style and into discernible cultural codes?⁷²

Although it is not always felt by individuals, processes of social transformation such as modernization have deep influence on the emergence of new identities and subjectivities. From this perspective, modernity means a new way of life with new signs and definitions in fundamental categories including gender. In other words, modernity appears as new conceptualizations of such things as the human body, sexuality, and gender and as new intimacies that may be read into the most ordinary things.

A Short History of Feminist Ideas and Contemporary Women's Studies in Turkey

The emergence of "feminist" ideas and westernization in Turkey are independent and form a complicated, multi-layered historical process, which has resulted in complex consequences in the mentalities, material culture and daily life.

Indeed, these ideas first influenced the palace and then the elite strata of Ottoman society at the end of the nineteenth century. Before the Muslims, they reached the non-Muslim populations, even the middle and lower strata within them. By the 1860s, westernized attitudes had reached the Muslim populations in the big cities, too. After the First World War, they reached the middle and probably low class families, at least in big cities. Although it is almost impossible to determine when and how modernist ideas reached the non-elite people of the Ottoman Empire, the fact that the impact of modernization on middle class families started to appear in the novels of the era shows us something of this still unanswered question⁷³.

In the origins of a widespread feminist movement in Turkey, which can be considered to have lasted until the Second Constitution, there was rather the influence of material conditions, although ideas developed in this process affecting the mentalities of later generations. The socialization of woman occurred first around

⁷² Ibid., p. 114.

⁷³ Duben and Behar explain this process and report that there had been 15 magazines concerning the women issue published until the beginning of First World War, p. 121 and p. 230. See also footnotes number 14 and 23 of this Preface.

1908 when the Union and Progress Party came to power. Long years of continuous wars, mass mobilization or conscription and the death of a large part of the male population at the fronts, caused a huge deficit in employment which had to be filled by female labor. This obligation automatically led to the socialization of women. This socialization was supported by widespread ideas on women's liberation and both factors helped dissolve the traditional familial relationships in the more westernized circles of the big cities. The problem at this point was not to develop a resistance to this fact of dissolution, but was rather to decide how to monitor and direct this process. The decrease in population, effected this process from another direction too: due to the policies that promoted marriages to cover the population gap, issues previously considered to belong to the hidden private sphere started to be publicly discussed and politicized. In a way, they were introduced into the realm of public discourse. Moreover, all of these processes or the development of feminism were simultaneous with the rise of Turkish nationalism, in a way leading to an interchange between them.⁷⁴

In such an intellectual climate, in 1879, Şemseddin Sami wrote his *Kadınlar* (Women)⁷⁵. This booklet reflected the perspective of a fanatic defender of westernization on the woman's issue. I think that it is not wrong to evaluate Kemalists as nationalized followers of this early current of ideas⁷⁶. Sami's booklet is a good source to represent the "feminist" ideas at the end of nineteenth century. The emphasis was put on three main reforms: the education of women; their access to public life, primarily through working; and finally freedom of spouse choice, that is the abolition of arranged marriages⁷⁷. However these suggestions toward the liberation were always followed by a limitation: during this process, the women should not lose their *namus*. Moreover, a non-interrogated assumption was explicitly expressed: woman had a natural essence. According to the exigencies of her inborn nature, she behaved more according to her feelings than to her reason. Because of this tenderhearted nature, which had both advantages and disadvantages, she was always inferior to man, in the last analysis. Thus, her primary duty remained

⁷⁴ For such an explanation, see Toprak, "Kadın Askerler", p. 38; and Duben and Behar, pp. 216-7.

⁷⁵ Şemseddin Sami, *Kadınlar*, İsmail Doğan (ed.) (Ankara: Gündoğan Yay., 1996).

⁷⁶ Another canonical guidebook is Gökalp's "*Türkçülüğün Esasları*", whose ideas are explained on p. 17 and in footnote number 37 of Chapter 1.

motherhood. When she worked, she had to choose jobs suitable to her nature, such as teaching. A man could ask her opinion on a problem, but she should not be the decision maker, as she lacked a developed capacity for reason. Indeed, it is a demand for the liberation of woman (put forward by a man) that went hand in hand with limitations and that primarily underlined the interest of society rather than the interest of women.

Sami's work is a precursor of the logic of Kemalist reforms on women. It is no surprise then that women's studies⁷⁸ in Turkey are shaped mainly around discussions of the influence of Kemalist reforms on the woman issue. These discussions continue to be one of the most fundamental and controversial problematics of women's studies in Turkey and correspond to different perceptions of Turkish modernization: on one side there is uncritical praise of the Kemalist period, on the other, non-compensate criticisms of such Kemalist reforms as insufficient and superficial⁷⁹. The main arguments of this critical line may be summarized into some few main points, as follows⁸⁰:

1. When we look at the period of Kemalist reforms between 1929-1939, which Sirman calls the period of state feminism, although the new regime manifested itself as a perfect revolution in terms of women's liberation and although its future defenders continued this image, it may be argued that it appears as a period of

⁷⁷ Şemseddin Sami legitimizes his liberating ideas by the fact that Islam is indeed not an obstacle to such practice because it is not backward in its essence, as is assumed by Europeans. It is even superior to European civilization.

⁷⁸ Kandiyoti explains her methodological perspective of women's studies in general, which is also accepted for the present thesis. She states that she prefers the term "gender" rather than "patriarchy" as the former includes not only difference or inequality between sexes but comprises all gender relationships. Thus it is more suitable to explain relationships of power between the sexes in post-industrial societies. In this respect, according to Kandiyoti, women's studies shouldn't be concerned only with oppression, it has to be sensitive also to the resistance and the adaptation strategies of women. Moreover she argues that the asymmetric relationships between the sexes are produced, represented and reproduced by several cultural practices that transcend the borders of household, class and labor market. In institutions that are structurally and symbolically influential in the reproduction process of these relationships, there is not only the reflection of a monolithic patriarchal paradigm; on the contrary, each of these institutions are domains of political processes and relationships of power where gender is both created and questioned. Kandiyoti, "Patterns", p.316, Footnote number 1.

⁷⁹ For the main positions in this debate, see Yeşim Arat, "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey", in Bozdoğan and Kasaba, pp. 95-96; and Zehra Arat, "Kemalism", pp. 58-9.

⁸⁰ In any critical account, you may find almost all of these points. Therefore, rather than giving reference point by point, I would try to name the main sources: Yeşim Arat, "Project"; Kandiyoti, "Patterns"; Kandiyoti, "Gendering"; Sirman, "Feminism"; Nilüfer Göle, *Modern Mahrem: Medeniyet ve Örtünme* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992); Ayşe Durakbaşı, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadın ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Oluşumu ve 'Münevver Erkekler'", in Ayşe Berktaş Hacımirzaoglu (ed.), *Yolda Kadınlar ve Erkekler* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), pp. 29-50; and Zehra Arat, "Kemalism".

reforms rather than structural revolutions and that we see huge similarities between this process and the short past beginning with the Tanzimat. Like the Tanzimat years, during this period too, the woman issue continued to be a central issue that symbolized and legitimized the new regime's strength and into which many discussions on modernity were translated.

2. Around reforms that concern women, Kemalism aimed first to break off the Turkish national consciousness from the widespread Muslim identity and Ottoman heritage. In this context, the reforms such as the secularization of family law or the right to vote did not signify necessarily that the new regime was simply aiming at the liberation of woman: they were indeed tools to emphasize the break from the Muslim and Ottoman past toward a secular and Western culture and to legitimize the new order. So, at this point also, we meet again the use of a woman as a legitimizing symbol of political concerns. To an important extent, woman's body appeared as a vehicle for the symbolic representation of political intent. In this way, the suggested ideal was a desexualized female image, the image of comrade woman, an asexual sister-in-arms.

3. Access of women to the new and modern way of life occurred with the will, support and finally under the control of men.

4. Thus, state feminism was shaped around contradictions between modernization or westernization and traditionalism and Islam. The Kemalist government preserved the fundamental idea behind these paradigms, i.e. it continued to define an essential nature for woman, which was primarily based on motherhood and wifedom, in a way contradicting the observations made above regarding the absence of model mothers in the novels of the era. The new regime aimed primarily to open the public sphere to women's access, but it still wanted that this process be realized within certain limits and under its own control. Thus, reforms based on women's wider access to education and employment, did not aim to liberate individual women, but rather attempted that women contribute to the patriarchy as better wives and mothers.

5. In this process, the private sphere was considered outside the state's responsibility. Here woman had to protect her *namus*, to answer to the expectations of their own family while adapting the new life styles. Thus, the aim to modernize women strengthened indeed the differentiation of public and private spheres; it limited the reforms to an urban base, to public issues. Even the attempts considered

the most egalitarian reforms, such as the Civil Code of 1926, were not as liberating as is claimed by Kemalists because they included some non-egalitarian articles.

6. Moreover, during this process, factual distinctions between women, such as class or ethnic inequalities, were neglected and all differences were dissolved within the melting pot of the dominant nationalist image of the modernizing Turkish woman. In accordance with it, the reform policy remained for many years limited to a certain segment of society, i.e. to the daughters of Kemalist middle class fathers, on an urban base. In other words, although the Kemalist center claimed the existence of a holistic transformation and although the social movement channel for girls of lower classes was enlarged to a certain extent due to the implementation of public educational institutions on a wider base as a result of social and economic conditions, the main classes that reforms entirely reached and influenced were those directly integrated into the new regime. In this process, a group of highly educated professional elite woman emerged and provided the dominant image of the new Turkish woman.

To sum up, the dominant image of woman was drawn around a rhetoric of duties and responsibilities and an idea of collectivity and control, rather than a discourse of liberty and individual emancipation⁸¹. In this respect, woman plays a central role in the construction of national identity. She is perceived within the nationalist context in terms of five fundamental functions: 1. She assures the biological existence and continuity (or the biological reproduction) of the national community; 2. She is perceived as the main actor to contribute the nationalist socialization of future generations (or to the ideological/cultural reproduction); 3. She appears as a factor that affects the definition of citizenship and difference, following primarily the differentiation of public and private spheres; 4. She defines and protects the boundaries that define and differentiate the national identity. At this point, the female body serves as a symbol of these boundaries; 5. She actively participates in the economic, military and political struggles of the nation.⁸²

⁸¹ But for the sake of being fair, we should remember that Kemalism was itself based on "the West where the female was still perceived as the "second sex". Zehra Arat, p. 59. In this respect, in the 1930s, the ideal model on which critical claims were built did not exist even in the world's developed countries. But of course, this fact is not an obstacle to raise criticisms in reference to the gap between Kemalist egalitarian claims and the practical consequences of the reforms.

⁸² F. Anthias and N. Youval-Davis, "Introduction", in F. Anthias and N. Youval-Davis (eds.), *Woman-Nation-State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

In this respect, for new directions in women's studies in Turkey⁸³, it is necessary to include on the agenda new areas of research: The formation of male and female identities, as well as the institutional and practical causes and consequences of these new subjectivities. At this point, Kandiyoti remarks that modernity and tradition have been primary categories in shaping gender identity of Republican generations:

It could be argued that the terms of modernity and tradition also came to represent important but unacknowledged differences in patterns of masculinity and femininity. These patterns nonetheless informed the lifestyles and gendered subjectivities of men and women in the late Ottoman and Republican era.⁸⁴

This study adopts Kandiyoti's critical stance with regard to the Turkish modernization experience and women's studies in Turkey. Therefore, in the novels studied, it primarily searches for the relationship between the historical formation of gender identities and the categories of "modern" and "traditional". In this analysis, in accordance with the above-mentioned theoretical approach to modernity and modernization, based on Berman's account, Turkish modernization is conceived neither in a total rejection nor in an unquestioned acceptance, but would be handled from a basically critical perspective.

⁸³ It may be argued that the different perspectives in women's studies in Turkey and the methodological preferences has been, to a certain extent, in parallel with the basic points of views on Turkish modernization discussed above. In the first years of the Republic those who wrote on women's status in Turkey were rather uncritical and stressed the positive influences of the juridical-institutional reforms of the Kemalist government. It was an approach that claimed a huge transformation and break in women's lives. By the 1950s, there appeared scholars who were influenced by Marxism. Their studies were sociological research that underlined the continuity of the patriarchy and the material conditions. In this literature, which was also sensitive to rural Turkey unlike the earlier works, the emphasis was on the demographic structure or on the material indications of the unequal division of labor and the interfamilial power and authority patterns within the household. In both of them, the state was seen as the main transforming tool. Although both of these perspectives are still influential, by the 1980s, studies that stressed expressions of and discourses on gender identities began to emerge. This thesis also should be seen as an example of this later perspective. For a review of the development of women's studies in Turkey, see Kandiyoti, "Patterns", pp. 313-314.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 314.

Methodology

Iggers⁸⁵ points to the contemporary general trend in historiography from the focus on past social structures towards linguistic analysis. In addition, the economic or sociological sciences that influenced historians in the 1960s are being replaced nowadays by literary studies. This thesis may be conceived of as part of this contemporary trend. It is based on the detailed textual analysis of the novels. This analysis is not intended to extract hidden meanings of the text. It just tries to skim from the unity of the text the narrative elements just on the surface, such as plot or characterization⁸⁶.

The linguistic trend is related to the discussion on the relationship between fiction and reality. In general, literary texts are considered within the realm of fiction and historiography is considered to elucidate reality. This equation evokes many provocative and exciting questions, which for centuries have preoccupied many scholars working on historiography, the philosophy of history, epistemology and other disciplines of the social sciences and humanities: Does a reality or knowledge of reality or object independent of the historian's perspective or subject, exist? If the answer is negative, this leads to a post-modern position with all its advantages and disadvantages. But the most problematic side of such a position seems to lie in the difficulty of answering the following question : how can a critical line of thinking and its judgments be defended without reference to any "reality", and how the function of the intellectual would be defined? In other words, what would be the political consequences of rejecting the enlightenment ideal as a whole? We should keep in mind that there is still the possibility of what Iggers' expresses with the following words: "The path from Enlightenment to Auschwitz was definitely more complex than Adorno or Foucault made it appear and was deeply indebted to the antimodernism of its opponents."⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Georg G. Iggers, *Bilimsel Nesnellikten Postmodernizme: Yirminci Yüzyılda Tarih Yazımı* (Istanbul: Tarih Vaktı Yurt Yay., 2000). See especially the tenth chapter on this linguistic subject, "Dilbilimsel yöneliş": Bilimsel bir Disiplin olarak Tarihin Sonu mu?" *ibid.*, pp. 121-137. For an English version of this book: Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1997).

⁸⁶ Sirman also points to the importance of plot, as a narrative element crucial in the process of analyzing or reading a text, "Conjugal", p. 251.

⁸⁷ Iggers, p. 149; translated from the English version of the book, p. 147.

On this point about the relationship of reality and fiction, Todorov's ideas are quite elucidative⁸⁸. He makes a distinction between "truth-adequation" and "truth - disclosure". The former comprises the facts and the latter includes the interpretation of them. An example may be given from the issues discussed in this thesis as follows: the claim that "a Civil Code was established in 1926 in Turkey" refers to a truth-adequation; it is undeniable because it is based on a fact. But the claim that "the Civil Code of 1926 has been sufficient in guaranteeing women's rights in Turkey" has the value of a truth-disclosure. In such an analysis, the reality still exists but it has a multi-layered and much more complex character. Literature appears as a profitable source to study such a reality.

In fact, literary texts may be used as resources of historical data, in different ways. First, they may be handled as reflectors of facts and details concerning the every day life and ordinary people that classical historiography has usually neglected. It is especially true when an author writes about the time in which s/he lives. In this sense, literature is an extremely rich and profitable source of data for the historian. In literary texts, there may be details and hints that can not be found anywhere else. Moreover, as these kinds of factual details in literary texts do not have in general direct relationship with ideological positioning, there is little possibility that they are consciously distorted by the authors. But of course, the historian should keep in mind that authors do select some elements and exclude others (and this process has nothing to do with a conscious distortion based on ideological reasons). So, due to this kind of reading which is particularly useful for factual social history, many of (but not all) elements of the past may be disclosed.

Literary text may be handled in different ways too. Literature is, at the same time, a reflector of the conceptual world of a certain historical period. In addition to this, a literary text mirrors the main discussions preoccupying the intellectual circles at certain time in the past, as well as the ideological stand of their authors. In this context, literary products may be useful in showing two principal problematics of cultural history: First, what the maps of meaning were in the past, and second, what the main discussions and ideological positions of the intellectuals in a certain historical period were. In this context, an exploration of a literary text may be a contribution to the history of intellectuals and intellectual life and also a contribution

⁸⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Morals of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995),

to the mental history that goes well beyond the sphere of the recognized intelligentsia and includes “ordinary” minds as well and that stands at a deeper level than the former. As Köksal⁸⁹ states, in such an analysis, the question that guides the historian is no longer whether the literary text does match or not with the facts, but rather how the facts are imagined by the author or what discourse s/he creates.

What I attempt to do in this thesis is a kind of historiography that may be considered in this latter field of mental history. Such a historiography is particularly meaningful when the frontiers of the mental maps, which shape practice too, are discussed and redrawn. Absolutely, such a claim is only legitimate on the condition of being conscious of the fact that every literary text is a fiction: (apart from the influence of language, which is an essential fiction in itself) the fact that literary texts are usually produced by people whose being intellectual is somehow recognized, determines the limits and the possibilities of such an attempt.

The discussion followed until this point has an implicit assumption, that the literary text is a mirror of social reality (in the past or in the present). Indeed, there is another dimension too: the literary text creates social reality⁹⁰. In this respect, literary text tries to represent reality and creates causes for it. Thus, novel are important firstly because they build causalities. This influence of literature over reality is realized through the direct and conscious defense of a particular ideology or in most cases, through drawing maps of meanings and defining social or cultural codes, in a process where even the author her/himself is not conscious of it. In this context, an exploration of popular products seems much more important because they are considered within the realm of “non-political” issues and target a wider mass of reader.

In accordance with this, although this study is not an audience’s response analysis, it must also include some answers as to how much these novels were read as this discussion is based on a basic assumption on the popularity and huge influence of literature on the reader. Indeed, as was argued above, by reference to the theoretical claims of Hall on the term “popular”, the popular novels were not chosen according to their commercial success. Perhaps they were such best sellers; at least

pp. 88-89. See also "Modern Gadflies", pp. 209-218, for a discussion of the role of the intellectual.

⁸⁹ Duygu Köksal, "Sosyal Bilimlerin Kıyısında Edebiyat", in Değerler ve Toplum ve Bilim Study Group (ed.), *Sosyal Bilimleri Yeniden Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Metis Yay., 1998), pp. 221-226.

⁹⁰ Duben and Behar also explain their interest in literary texts with this mutual interaction between text and society; p. 105.

some of them should have been. But, still the opposite also seems to be true in the Turkish case; that is, many novels included in the canon were most likely sold in mass quantities.

Indeed, all that can be done is admit that the exact sale volumes of these popular and canonical novels can not be determined. It seems impossible to determine these quantities. But still, it is known that in the years following the proclamation of the Republic, there was an increase in the literacy rates in Turkey, although the ratio of these people was still small to the whole population. Moreover, female literacy rates, which is considered as representing potential reader candidates for popular literature rose more quickly than of male literacy, although total numbers remained behind the latter⁹¹. Still these figures may be falsifying in a negative way, because they does not show the active readership rate; in other words, the fact that a number of people are literate does not necessarily signify that they read novels or these novels and the real number of people reading them was probably much lower than the literacy rate. On the other hand, there is also the probability that these numbers are falsifying in a positive way, too, unless the widespread reading practices in this period is ascertained. For example, Kıray reports that in Ereğli in the middle of 1960's young girls exchanged their romances⁹². In this respect, although the data gives an idea, neither the number of sold copies nor the literacy rates demonstrate how many people actually had access to these texts. The real number of those who

⁹¹ Duben and Behar report that by the beginning of the twentieth century, especially after the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period, there started significant progresses in the education of women and female literacy rates. Many schools dedicated to the education of Muslim girls had been established by 1908. But the main taking-off was realized in the Republican era. They state that in the instruction year 1929-1930, about 75 percent of girls aged seven or eight were attending primary school in Istanbul. At the nationwide level, this rate reached 26 percent against 51 percent for boys, Frederic C. Shorter, "The Population of Turkey after the War of Independence", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17 (1985), pp. 417-441, cited in Duben and Behar, p. 235. On the other hand, between 1923-1980, the literacy rate multiplied six times, similar to the approximate number of schools and students on all levels of education between 1929-1980, "Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı ve Türkiye'de Toplumsal ve Ekonomik Gelişiminin 50. Yılı", 1981, cited in Tekeli, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Günümüze Eğitim Kurumları", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1983) pp. 666-667. In addition, the general literacy rate multiplied about four times between 1935-1985, while the female literacy rate was augmented seven times more for the same period. Again between 1935-1985, the rate of female students in public high schools multiplied about twenty times in comparison to seven times for male students and the general rate. But the number of girls attending higher education remained relatively limited against the general female population, but still it tripled about three times between 1927-1985. For these last figures, see Fatma Gök, "Türkiye'de Eğitim ve Kadınlar", in *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995), pp. 181-198. All of these numbers signify a great increase in female education and literacy, but they also demonstrates the continuity of a sexual distinction.

read (or perhaps listened in reading groups) these novels may actually be much higher than supposed.

On the other hand, it is known that many of these novels had made more than one printing during the period under discussion, in a way demonstrating once more that they were widely read. The fact that Peyami Safa wrote many novels under the pseudonym Server Bedi, which he used for his popular products, is more proof of the popularity of these novels. When it is considered that he also explicitly put his aim in writing such popular texts as earning money, this argument is strengthened because the high number of his popular works shows that they did make money for the author.

In summary, an attempt to determine the actual number of readers would require a separate study, which would employ different quite different techniques and inquiries, such as those of oral history on readership practices with readers (who read what texts and how did they read them) or interviews on book production and marketing procedures with the editors or publishers of the period. These essential studies, never touched on the historiography on Turkey, still wait their courageous researchers.

Nevertheless, the importance of novels in the process of identity construction should be pointed out, particularly in or around the period and in the issues commonly considered as private, both of which concerning this study⁹³. For example a female intellectual of the period, Müzehher Va-nû, mentions in her memories how the novels of Burhan Cahid were widely read and influential on her generation, to the extent of creating names that many new couples chose for their newly born children: "The youth of my generation learnt what is the meaning of being *alafranga*⁹⁴ from his novels and a complete generation was raised with the names that he chose for the heroes or the heroines of his novels : those *Aytens*, *Aysels*, *Yüksels*, *Aylas* etc."⁹⁵. On

⁹² Mübeccel Kıray, "Küçük Kasaba Kadınları", in *Seçme Yazılar* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yay., 1999) p. 162-163. Kıray also notices how these texts, the narratives on modern urban life style and luxury consumption are important in the imagination of these young girls.

⁹³ Sirman also mentions this function of the literature, "Conjugal", pp. 250-251.

⁹⁴ *Alafranga* is a term which literary means "in the frank style" and expresses "the western life style".

⁹⁵ Müzehher Va-nû, *Bir Dönemin Tanıklığı* (İstanbul: Cem Yay., 1987), p. 50. The translation belongs to me as well as the italics put on the final list of names. The original text is as follow : "Benim neslimin gençliği *alafrangalığın* ne olduğunu onun romanlarından öğrenmiş ve onun romanlarındaki kahramanlarına koyduğu adlarla bizde koca bir nesil yetişmişti: *Aytenler*, *Ayseller*, *yükseller*, *Aylalar* v.b." It is interesting to note that the names that she enumerates at the end of her words are still popular.

the other hand, Dumont and Geogean, who read the memoirs of a Turkish high bureaucrat, explain the quite western elements in his bourgeois family living in Istanbul at the beginning of the nineteenth century, by the fact that this man spoke French and had access to French novels and plays⁹⁶.

However, as these examples also show, these kinds of texts were generally consumed by the elite strata of the society, who were more literate and had greater access to them⁹⁷. But these strata in turn, had more chance of influencing the other classes of society⁹⁸; moreover, in general, the policy makers were originated in this elite group. In a way, "what is important here is not, in any case, the number of families living in this way or that way, but the emergence and occasional articulation of a new conception of the family", household, gender, love, marriage and sexuality.⁹⁹ Thus, to analyze the world of these texts is meaningful and important in order to understand past gender issues.

However, venturing the risk of repetition, it should once more be stated that this study does not include an analysis of the audience, on its character and its interpretation of the messages in the novels. It is not a thesis that seeks to determine how the codes in these novels were received, consumed or reproduced by the reader¹⁰⁰. Thus, its findings should not be read as claims on the gender imaginations and practices of readers and policy makers. In other words, the fact that a discourse on gender is constructed in a particular way does not necessarily imply that it is directly accepted and put into practice by the audience or the politicians. But still these texts provide us with important elements or reference points of the discursive-cultural raw material that readers or policy-makers use in determining particular policies, in constructing identities or in developing resistance strategies. This thesis' methodology is based on the main assumption that Hobsbawm proposes: it is possible to compare the images that represent gender roles and relationships, with the

⁹⁶ Paul Dumont and François Geogean, "Un bourgeois d'Istanbul au début du Xxe siècle", *Turcica*, 17 (1985), pp. 127-182, cited in Duben and Behar, p. 69.

⁹⁷ Duben and Behar state that these novels had been read firstly by the men, then the women of the elite strata at the end of the nineteenth century. First the originals of french novels were consumed by those who spoke French, but by the 1860s there appeared many translations of them. By the beginning of the twentieth century, in accordance with the emergence of a literate middle class, both the translations of french novels and the Turkish original works started to appear in serial form in the newspapers of the period and thus started to be read by a wider audience; Duben and Behar, p. 104.

⁹⁸ Duben and Behar defend the same argument. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 226. The translation is extracted from the English original of the book, p. 211.

¹⁰⁰ Sirman also mentions that relating the world of the text with the world of reality still remains an important task of scholars, "Conjugal", p. 264

social reality of a certain historical period¹⁰¹. It doesn't mean to argue that image directly reflects the reality as a mirror, but rather that image indicates only the limits of reality and the keys to reach it.

In sum, the codes determined in this study are comparable to legends in mental maps and this study does not show the whole map itself or the multi-layered reality mentioned above, but explores the encryption necessary to read it. Finally, this thesis is based on the argument that ideas and words are material indeed as long as they influence material actions or shape the experience of the people and they are not mere reflections of conditions. In other words: "Talking is doing something, it is not the reflection of some other things."¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Eric Hobsbawn, "Sosyalist İkonografi'de Kadın ve Erkek", *Defter*, no. 3 (January 1988), pp. 7-29.

¹⁰² *The Crisis in Historical Materialism: Class, Politics and Culture in Marxist Theory* (New York: Praeger, 1981), cited in Sholle, p. 244. The translation belongs to Hande Birkalan. The original text is as follows: "Konuşmak bir şey yapmaktır, başka bir şeylerin yansıması değil."

CHAPTER I

SIMILARITIES AMONG CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL NOVELS: THE REPRESENTATION OF ROMANTIC LOVE, SEXUALITY AND FAMILY, AND THE IMAGINATION OF NATIONALITY

The children, accompanied by the circumcision ceremony band, started the polka again. A rondo followed it. Most of them, except for a few clerks' children, had heard the name of polka and rondo, because of the school theater. Girls and boys were to touch each other for the first time. But, despite all the rehearsals, they could not touch each other. They confused their steps. When they had to hold each other, they were a meter apart from one and other. Even this would cause grand love among boys and girls, one of which resulted in throwing oneself into a river to get drowned.¹

Starting from that morning, I came to understand that my body was concrete, something touchable and visible. But that morning I was still shy. Even when my facial hair was removed, I trembled to perceive this head that had become a mass of ideas in my own eyes, this neck, these arms and legs, immediately. I put my hands on my waist and my hips. I looked at myself in the mirror when I was dressed. For a moment, I wanted to take off my clothes and see myself naked in front of the mirror. I overcame this wish of mine, by scolding my image in the mirror. I took shelter in my hair. I brushed it again and many times.

All that pedicure and manicure, wiping of my face with a good cream at night, putting moisturizer on my face slightly, sprinkling talc-powder in my armpits and here and there, looked like duties performed for health and comfort, but divorced from my being a woman. Have I ever been myself? Have we ever been ourselves? Has there been a place where I did not take my duties with me?²

¹ Ağaoğlu, *Ölmeye Yatmak*, pp. 16-17. The whole chapter describes a performance in a primary school of a little town in Anatolia in 1938. The original text is as follows: "*Çocuklar yine sünnet düğünlerinin bandosu eşliğinde polkaya başladılar. Onu rondo izledi. Birkaç memur çocuğundan gayri hemen hepsi polka ve rondonun adını bile bu müsamereden ötürü duymuşlardı. Kız ve erkek öğrenciler ilk kez birbirlerine değeceklerdi. Ama, onca provaya karşın değemiyorlardı. Adımları birbirine karışıyordu. Sarılmak gerektiğinde, birbirlerinden birer metre uzakta duruyorlardı: Bu bile, erkek ve kız çocuklar arasında, birinin de kendini dereye atıp boğulmasıyla sonuçlanan büyük aşklara yol açacaktı.*"

² Ibid, *Ölmeye Yatmak*, p. 191. These are the interior monologues of a university professor, after her sexual relationship with one of her revolutionary students and her first orgasm in her late ages, in the 1960s. The original text is as follows: "*O sabahtan başlayarak ilk kez gövdemin elle tutulur, bakılıp görülür somut bir şey olduğunu anladım. Ama o sabah henüz çekingendim. Kolları alınırken bile kendi gözümde hep bir fikir yığını haline gelmiş olan bu başı, bu boynu, bu kolları, bacakları hemen yeniden varsaymakta bocaladım. Ellerimi belime, kalçalarımaya koydum. Giyinikken öylece önden, arkadan seyrettim kendimi. Bir an soyunup aynanın karşısında çıılçıplak durmak istedim. Bu isteğimi aynadaki görüntümü azarlayarak yendim. Yine saçlarıma sığındım. Saçlarımı yeniden ve bir dolu fırçaladım.*"

This chapter explores the similarities between the canonical and non-canonical texts. The first part, concerning romantic love, starts with the evaluation of the different meanings of this emotion. Then, how these meanings are understood by the authors is explored. With particular reference to *Kiralık Konak*, the fact that love is perceived as a substitute for nationalist feeling and the expression of nationalist feeling as an equivalent of romantic love are determined and analyzed. In the second part, concerning sexuality, it is argued that like romantic love, beliefs about sexuality also are not exempt from a historical construction and how sensual feeling is coded as a source of familial and personal disaster in the novels is determined. The third part, concerning family and marriage, starts with a brief explanation of the formation of the modern nuclear family and continues with an overview of earlier remarks on the representation of family in the novels. The rest of the section is divided into two parts, the first part consisting of the representation of household structure, the division of labor within the household and the perception of woman working outside the household; and the second part exhibiting the criteria of marriage and divorce. Here free choice of spouse in contrast with arranged marriage is evaluated, as well as how reason rather than love is proposed by many authors as the best criterion for marriage decision is discussed. Finally, the important place of nationality in terms of choosing a spouse is examined and discussion is made on the meaning of this representation in terms of national identity formation. Thus, this first chapter as a whole looks at the elements that are similar in the canonical and non-canonical texts, which are shaped mainly around the imagination of nationality.

The Representation of Romantic Love

Romantic Love as a Constructed Modern Emotion

Although it has been neglected in sociological thought and although it is considered as a natural and ahistorical potential emotion of the human soul in the common sense, indeed, love, at least a certain way of experiencing love, is a socially

Bütün o pedikürler, manikürler, geceleri yüzümü iyi bir kremle silişim, sabahları yüzüme hafif bir nemlendirici sürüşüm, kollarımın altına, orama burama talk pudraları serpişim o sabaha değin sanki hep kadınlığımdan kopuk; sağlık, rahatlık için yapılmış birer görevdi. Acaba hiç kendim olmuş muydum ? Hiç kendimiz olduk mu ? Görevlerin birlikte götürülmediği bir yerim oldu mu hiç ?"

and culturally constructed phenomenon. It is created through the mediation of language and products of language that set up general codes and symbols or develop possible meanings around it. In addition, the concept of love is particularly central in the imagery of modern culture: "Far from being just a personal, private phenomenon, love is very much a part of our public culture. We are surrounded by representations of love what is deemed 'great' art and literature as well as in soap opera, popular music and fiction and advertising"³.

In this process of formation of meaning, narrations such as popular romances have a central role as mediators. Stories are part of everyday life and they can not be considered unimportant. People read or listen to them, think on and interpret them and tell them to others in their own way. They construct and give meaning to their own stories following the codes constructed by popular narratives and their own interpretations. Moreover they make decisions based on them; for example, they directly or indirectly support or go against the existing gender codes, on the discursive and practical levels.

Giddens provides a short history of romantic love and its connection with modernity process in a chapter entitled "Transformation of Intimacy". In nineteenth century Europe, for the first time in history, the formation of the marriage bond was based on criteria other than economic gain. Thus, romantic love and marriage were linked to each other, first in bourgeois groups, and later on in the other strata of society. Romances, which appeared as the first literary genre that reached the masses, contributed much this process. The expansion of the romantic love ideal and the emergence of the novel were simultaneous processes. In addition, during these processes, the marital bond was dispatched from extended kinship relationships and was individualized. This new perception's origins were based on the rise of capitalist relationships that led to the separation of work from the household, to the formation of a split between public and private spheres, and finally to the concept of the house as a domain of happiness against the anonymity of the workshop⁴.

³ Stevie Jackson, "Even Sociologists Fall in Love: an Exploration in the Sociology of Emotions", *Sociology*, 27, no. 2 (1993), p. 202.

⁴ Anthony Giddens, Chapter 3, "Romantik Aşk ve Diğer Bağlılıklar", in *Mahremiyetin Dönüşümü: Modern Toplumlarda Cinsellik, Aşk ve Erotizm*, trans. by İdris Şahin (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1994). pp. 39-49. The original of the book is in English: *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (Mass.: Basil Blackwell-Policy Press, 1992).

In the Ottoman context, on the other hand, the meaning of love passed through huge transformations during the historical process. Duben and Behar⁵ note that in the second half of the nineteenth century, when family was perceived as a model of society, love was the symbol of political passion, which stands in contradiction to both absolutism and patriarchy. Before the First World War, under the power of the Party of Union and Progress, this meaning of love was tamed through two main mechanisms: the ideology of the western type nuclear family and the substitution of individual romanticism with nationalist feeling. During this process, the necessity of love for marriage and the comparison of individual free choice and arranged marriages remained controversial issues. Moreover, literature, particularly novels, and more particularly, romances, contributed greatly this continuous struggle on meanings. In line with changing purposes, the love theme in literature, which was in the 1860s under the form of an idealized romanticism and a path to individual freedom, was replaced in the 1920s by a sign of social order⁶.

So, love may have different meanings in different historically determined discourses⁷. These different meanings can be summarized into two main categories: love with negative content, as a source of anarchy or social chaos, versus love with positive content, as a source of human liberation. These two contradicting discourses have their roots in their conception of “individual” and “personal revolt”. In the former meaning of love, individuality is conceived of as selfishness against the community’s interests. In this respect, personal revolt that is linked to love is regarded as a risk to the community. Whereas in the latter meaning, the individual, its liberation and revolt against community’s repression is perceived as a positive potential for progress and love has a revolutionary role in the construction of subject. Thus, in its romantic form, love may be conceived in the mental map as the source of

⁵ Duben and Behar, pp. 102-109.

⁶ According to Duben and Behar, in reality, none of these concepts was completely adopted. Indeed, by the influenced of westernist ideas, by the end of First World War, free choice was more frequent. On the other hand, arranged marriages were softened to some extent: that is, flirting did not become a widespread practice but future wives and husbands started to get acquainted with each other, under the supervision of the family. On the other hand, flirt-based marriages also continued to carry signs of arranged marriages: even though the couple decided to marry each other through flirting, the groom's family came to the bride's family to ask for their daughter's hand. In a way, in the consequence of modernization, there emerged mixed forms and creative solutions, which are still widespread and valid; Duben and Behar, pp. 110-114. But still they argue that novels have been more or less influential in the romantic love ideals of the masses of middle classes, p. 121.

⁷ Alain Touraine, *Critique of Modernity*, trans. by David Macey (Mass.: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 226-227, cited in Göle, p. 107.

or a threat against monogamic relationship, as a resistance to or as a result of the individualism of modern times, as a reaction against the alienation or a product of the degeneration of modernity.

The Absence of Romantic Love: A Deviation in Modernist Discourse?

By taking the first step of conceiving love as a social and cultural construction, in order to understand some general traits on the ideological map of a certain historical period, a detailed look needs to be taken at the different meanings created by different narratives. In this way, in the following paragraphs, an examination will be made of how romantic love is represented in the novels concerning under study, in the light of the following fundamental question: is love represented as a source of individual pleasure and happiness or does it lead to degeneration? If it causes personal revolt, is this revolt represented as a search for individual liberation or is it conceived as a sign of the degeneration of young people, leading them to rebel against the elder generations?

A glorification of individual romantic love could be expected in a rapidly modernizing country that tries to put monogamous marriage as an undeniable norm. It seems however, that this path of development is rather linked to an understanding of modernity and individualism that is hidden in one of its possible definitions. In this axis, what is generally seen in the canonical novels is the opposite. In complete compatibility with Duben and Behar's above-mentioned arguments, romantic love in its individual form is perceived by these authors as an irresistible and worldly passion rather than as an affectionate bond. Thus, it leads to the loss of control of the individual over her/himself and her/his destiny and leads to the degenerating sexual activities. Because of its worldliness, it is a less precious feeling than spiritual, moral, or traditional values.

Particularly in the canonical realm, in the novels of the early Republican period, love is represented as a source of social chaos rather than as the origin of individual happiness and pleasure. It is described as a degenerating process because of its consequences in the destruction of traditional relationships between the sexes and between the different generations. It leads to the revolt of young people toward their elders and this revolt is described with all its negative effects rather than as a story of individual liberation and resistance or reaction. Interestingly, what love threatens is

not modernity, as has been argued above in the context of possible different meanings of love. Actually, love is represented in these novels as an undesired product of modernity that accelerates individualism.

In the context of Tanzimat⁸ novels, Sirman provides a similar explanation of the love issue. In these novels, the theme of love is more legitimate than it is in the early Republican texts, but it does not appear under the form of a basis for individual liberation from the restrictions of a traditional society. In opposition to modernist readings of these novels, such as the one provided by Kandiyoti⁹ that conceives of the love theme in these novels as a metaphor for Young Turk reaction against Ottoman patriarchal absolutism, Sirman considers it a search for "divine" order, thought as existing in an imaginary past¹⁰. These novels do not consider the revolt against absolute power; they rather seek to dethrone the false ruler and to establish the "true" one. Thus, the fathers in these novels, who stand in opposition to the marriage of the heroes, stand for products of "modernization" rather than for "tradition", as Kandiyoti argues. Their defense of arranged marriage should not be read to mean their resistance against the modern form of "individualistic" romantic love. They rather seek to protect their material interests from the arranged marriages that they force. Thus, their behavior should be considered as a product of the rising materialism of modernity. Love, in this respect, appears as the inevitable exigency of a divine fate, rather than as a consequence of individual free choice. The father's behavior is criticized from this point of view, because he tries to prevent this divine fate, in contradiction to the old legitimate rulers who facilitated its realization. So, fathers in Tanzimat novels stand as "deligitimized" modern figures.

A certain continuity exists between the Tanzimat and early Republican novels in terms of their conception of individualistic romantic love or in terms of considering individual freedom as a threat to social order and a model of modernity as the origin of such a threat. Both search for a true ruler against the false one, rather than ways to free the individual from traditional restrictions. At this point, the line that Sirman has followed in her comparison of Halide Edip's novels, written in different phases of Turkish modernization, is particularly instructive. According to Sirman, the evolution of the theme of love and the female typologies in Halide Edip's

⁸ See footnote number 13 of the Preface for a review of this period.

⁹ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler*.

¹⁰ For these accounts, see Sirman, "Gender Construction"; and "Conjugal", p. 254.

novels reflect accurately how the passionate dimensions of love and of the female gender were domesticated in the Republican context. Between the two words in Turkish for love, that is between "*aşk* (passionate love) and *sevgi* (the deep attachment between intimate persons such as friends, parents and also between the individual and the nation, citizen and state and among citizens themselves that create the fraternity described by Anderson in his analysis of nationalism)"¹¹, the latter is preferred for the sake of nationalist priorities.

The relationship between the individual and the newly forming national community, thus the new identities that have to emerge within it, are built upon this formula in which duties toward the community are put prior to those of individual demands. In this process, the *femme fatale* and the innocent lover are separated from each other and a new typology of woman as active as the *femme fatale* is born, who appears as the main self-sacrificing agent of the formation of the new nation, rather than being a mere victim. "It was perhaps this unity of self-assertion and compassion which appeared as a paradox to Turkish academics who attempted to explain women's position in modern Turkish society through the phrase 'emancipated but not liberated'"¹². In the novels of Halide Edip written in the Republican period, that is in *Kalp Ağrısı* (Heart Pain)¹³ and in *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (Zeyno's Son)¹⁴, the ideal model based upon a unification of mind, body and soul that *Handan*¹⁵ was searching for is realized within the context of the nation, imagined as a "family".

The fact that only a domesticated version of love is legitimate from the Kemalist nationalist perspective seems to be valid for both the canonical and non-canonical novels examined in this study. It is meaningful that particularly in the third chapter of *Ankara*, where a Kemalist utopia is depicted, it is possible to see representative examples of this approach. In *Ankara* the ideal model is composed of all of the main elements that Sirman determines, the emphasis on finding a "true" ruler, who is Atatürk; the unification of body, mind and soul in the *sevgi* relationship between Neşet Sabit and Selma, which is possible only in a nationalist setting and which is based on a shared belief in new communal values rather than an individual

¹¹ Ibid., p. 263. The referred analysis of Benedict Anderson is *Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması*, trans. İskender Savaşır (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993).

¹² Ibid., The referred expression belongs to Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler*, pp. 65-83.

¹³ Halide Edip Adivar, *Kalp Ağrısı* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1970).

¹⁴ Halide Edip Adivar, *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1967).

¹⁵ Halide Edip Adivar, *Handan* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1978).

passionate attachment; the domestication of extreme masculinity in the characterization of Neşet Sabit that stands in sharp contrast to Hakkı Bey of the second chapter; and finally the active, self-sacrificing new woman, in Selma's personage.

Thus, love, which could also be considered a basis for the investigation of ideology and community, which may be conceived as a starting point for intimacy, which may serve as the initiator of the revolutionary process of the construction of self and a first step towards the creation of social subject, as described by Giddens, is portrayed in these novels in just the opposite way. So, the investigation of communal values and ideological assumptions, the rise of intimacy, the construction of self and creation of the social actor, all of these possibilities are codified as a threat to communal values.

In the first group of canonical novels, usually it is the women who seduce the men, mostly in natural settings. Female characters appear as more passionate, ambitious and courageous in love relationships, while men try to resist love's incantation. This observation confirms the generally negative representation of female characters as naturally inclined beings. In addition to this, love is considered an emotion experienced differently by the genders.

In *Yaprak Dökümü*, for example, Şevket's devotion to Ferhunde is a turning point in the story as the main initiator of the family's dissolution. In the same way, the Faik Bey-Seniha relationship in *Kıralık Konak* ends with the personal destruction of both partners. Faik expresses this fact with the following words: "As that girl with the red hair, standing next to a fire like a witch, saw me drifting from one place to another, from one hole to another, had a belly laugh. My dear, the wound of love is a matter of one's honor. Definitely, I will take revenge on her, definitely."¹⁶

In the second group of canonical novels, as in *Sinekli Bakkal*, on the other hand, romantic love is seen as suspicious again as it is codified as individualism. Rabia opposes demonstrations of love as well. In *Ankara*, among the canonical novels, a slightly different representation of love is present in the relationship between Selma and Neşet Sabit. But, as mentioned earlier, it is through its nationalist

¹⁶ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak*, p. 201. The original text is as follow: "O kızıl saçlı kız, bir ateşin önünde duran bir cadı gibi, beni yerden yere, çukurdan çukura sürüklenir gördükçe, otuziki dişini birden gösteren bir gülüşle gülüyor ve memnuniyet mesamelerinden fışkırıyordu. Azizim, aşk bir izzeti nefis meselesi, bir izzeti nefis yarasıdır. Ondan mutlaka intikamımı alacağım, mutlaka."

character that this relationship remains exempt from negative attributes. Otherwise, this novel doesn't propose an alternative code system, as its second part may be considered a replication of the central categories of the first group of canonical novels. Rather, in *Ankara*, merely the exposition of the proposed alternative is seen, which is the nationalist model which is not visible in the other novels in the first group. So, as is particularly stressed in the novel, the relationship between Selma and Neşet Sabit also remains against individualistic tendencies. Therefore, it appears legitimate. In this way, it shares with *Sinekli Bakkal* a common basis in terms of emphasizing the community's superiority over the individual, although the model community that they suggest is different: in *Ankara* it is the nation whereas in *Sinekli Bakkal* it is the *mahalle* that serves to form a micro-cosmos of eastern civilization's and Ottoman culture's values¹⁷.

However, among the non-canonical novels it is possible to see alternative representations of romantic love. A particular exception to the degenerating representation of love is in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*. In this text, passionate love is described by the author in approving terms. What directs Cemile in her decisions is her love for Selim, which reaches the level of craziness, and it is considered a strong basis for marriage. Also in *Bahar Çiçeği*, romantic love constitutes the main theme of the narrative but as will be discussed in the following section as the representation of marriage, love is not considered sufficient for the unification of lovers. Thus, love is not glorified in these texts at the level that one would expect from a popular narrative. Although love exists and is legitimate it immediately sets its limitations. The relationship of lovers is delayed because of an obstacle based on the nationalistic worries of the female protagonist and this opposition between nationalism and romanticism constitutes the principal contradiction that builds the narrative's main axis. In a way strengthening the arguments in the following section, in this novel too, nationalism arrests romantic love.

Nationalism Imagined as Romantic Love

¹⁷ *Mahalle* has such an important place in the narrative that it "is more than a context, it is, in fact, the main protagonist. What are being narrated are the complex relations competition as well as solidarity that exist within the close-knit of community of neighborhood." Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 259.

What is mostly interesting at this point is the fact that nationalistic feelings are conceived of as substitute of ill-natured individual romantic love, in a way substantiating Duben and Behar 's above-mentioned observations. This conclusion may be drawn from the contrast between the first and second chapters of *Ankara* but its most explicit statement may be found in Hakkı Celis's dramatic transformation in *Kıralık Konak*. After joining the army to go to the Çanakkale Front, Hakkı Celis replaces his passion for Seniha with the nationalist engagement.

On the other hand, this process is narrated as a perfect upside-down change. It is not evolution, but a real personal revolution, in the full sense of the world. It is a semi-magical process of catharsis. It covers even physical change, reminding us of the ideal of the powerful man mentioned earlier. After joining the army and the raising his nationalist consciousness, Hakkı Celis assumes a more man-like appearance, equated with a savage naturalness: "Nuriye and Neyirre Hanım could hardly recognize, in this young soldier who was standing right up in the khaki traveler's clothes and whose muscles could be felt, the skinny Hakkı Celis."¹⁸

Like Selma of *Ankara*, it is only through this transformation that Hakkı Celis is able to find a strong personality, the self-confidence, and the true meaning of life for which he has been searching in poetry and passions. Thus, nationalism is conceived by Yakup Kadri as an alternative way to attaining a meaningful life, as a tool that replaces accident with fate, that gives meaning to mortality: "What aim in life could possibly be higher than going to war?"¹⁹

Then, nationalism doesn't appear as a function of reason but is conceived of as an entity within the domain of spirituality and feelings, which are codified as higher than the materiality of a certain model of modernity characterized in Seniha, Cemil, Faik Bey and Servet Bey. Thus, it is not an accident that among other characters, only Hakkı Celis is able to find the "right" way. By being a very sensitive personality interested in poetics in earlier passages of the book, he has given the readers clues to his later transformation.

¹⁸ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak*, p. 191. The original text is as follows: "Nuriye ve Neyyire Hanımlar haki ve seferi elbisesinin içinde dimdik duran ve adalelerinin sertliği hissedilen bu genç askerden dünkü dal gibi cılız Hakkı Celis'i güçlükle tanıdılar."

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 166. The original text is as follows: "Hayatın hangi gayesi bir cenge doğru gidişten daha yüksekti?"

This existential function of nationalism is noted by Anderson too, pp. 25-26.

In a way, Hakkı Celis's transformation reminds us of Yakup Kadri's life story²⁰. Kadri gave up the personal concerns of *Fecr-i Ati*²¹ to participate in the national movement. Then, nationalism is represented also as a solution to alienation that the intellectual experiences. Only through political engagement, through the nationalist praxis, the intellectual is able to find an original meaning, a convincing sense of belonging and an exit from the inferior artificiality of theory and arts:

And for the first time, he had hatred towards the poet Hakkı Celis. He said to himself: "I will burn the writings I did until today and all the books I have."²²

It has been a long time since I wrote and read! All my occupations are bland to me, now. In fact, is not art about artifice? And poets are one of those artificial men.²³

I could find only one name for this insipid, dull, and tasteless literature: —excuse my language—the literature of womanizing. For the last thirty years, call it either "*Edebiyat-ı Cedide*" or "*Fecr-i Ati*" now this period continues under the movement called "*Hece vezni Cereyanı*"²⁴... these great poets of the people and of the nation are always sacred to me.²⁵

The national engagement is further represented as a feeling as personal, as passionate and as natural, thus as inescapable and ferocious, as love. Sirman argues that this imagination has its roots in Namık Kemal and says its origin is not the modern form of romantic love but the traditional romance. In other words, these

²⁰ See Appendix B for a biography of Yakup Kadri.

²¹ See the footnote number 16 of the Preface.

²² Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak*, p. 166. The original text is as follows: "*Ve ilk defa olarak şair Hakkı Celis'e karşı kalbinde bir nefret uyandı. 'Eve döner dönmez, şimdiye kadar yazdığım yazıları ve bütün kitapları yakacağım!' dedi.*"

²³ Ibid., p. 191. The original text is as follows: "*Çoktandır ne okuduğum var, ne yazdığım! Bütün eski meşguliyetlerim bana şimdi yavan geliyor. Esasen sanat sunilik demek değil mi? Şairler bir takım suni adamlardır.*"

²⁴ This noun phrase may be translated into English as "Movement of syllabic meter", but what Yakup Kadri means with this term is not clear. Indeed, on the eve of the First World War when Hakkı Celis speaks, there was no literary movement known by this name. Indeed, the only famous literary group that had a similar name emerged only in the early years after the proclamation of the Republic. Perhaps Yakup Kadri wanted to define the defenders of the usage of syllabic meter, who were much more influential after 1911, i.e. before the First World War when Hakkı Celis' transformation occurs. But these were indeed Turkish nationalist, such as Ziya Gökalp etc. and there was still no reason for Yakup Kadri to attack in this way those who shared with him the same ideology. Indeed, in the years following both 1911 and 1923, this tendency of defending the syllabic meter, that is, the rhythm used in popular Turkish poetry, was raised against the *aruz* rhythm of classical Ottoman poetry and was considered a sign of nationalism.

²⁵ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak*, pp. 192-193. The original text is as follows: "*Bu yavan, bu mayasız, bu tuzsus edebiyata -affedersiniz- bir tek isim bulabiliyorum: zampara edebiyatı. Otuz yıldan beri kah 'Edebiyat-ı Cedide', kah 'Fecr-i Ati', şimdi de 'hece vezni cereyanı' adı altında hep bu çığır devam ediyor duruyor...o büyük halk ve millet şairleri benim için daime mübarektirler.*"

novels are "turning love of the nation into something as unquestionable and epic absolute as the epic love of the traditional romance"²⁶ and the love of the nation has as sacred or divine roots as the love theme is represented in the Tanzimat novel, as discussed in the previous section.

This ferocious aspect or rather the imagination of the natural as ferocious, also overlaps with the understanding of sexuality in *Ankara*, as will be discussed later in this chapter. But still nationalist feelings have differences. Like the innocence of Selma's ferocious sensuality for Neşet Sabit²⁷, they are not as ill tempered as love. Thus, nature is divided into two opposite forms, characterized by two different "sense of belonging"s: a suspicious sense of belonging for the relationship with the beloved, which causes the individual's revolt and disaster and a positive sense of belonging (such as nationalist feelings) for the community, which causes the individual's liberation. The former is inferior to the latter, of course. In this respect, the nation appears as an ideally pure identity in which the products of a degenerated model of modernity would be abolished through the energy extracted of it. The following passage, in which Hakkı Celis compares these two feelings, is a representative example of this:

(Earlier) The flames of a cheap and meaningless infatuation surrounded his being. The young man said himself, "How much have I changed?" Telling the truth, the Hakkı Celis today was *a total stranger* to the Hakkı Celis of yesterday. Since then, he was *melting in this new fire of passion* like a butterfly made of bees-wax. What was this love about? What was it for? Was Hakkı Celis in love with something called nation, that dark and complicated being, instead of the carefully dressed and perfumed Seniha? No, no... What is called nation was not comprised of fossils like Naim Efendi and miserable people like Seniha and Faik Bey. These were the rotting and falling parts of the nation, and the eight hundred thousand swords were to amputate this organ that had gangrene.²⁸

²⁶ Sirman, "Gender Construction", p. 164.

²⁷ See p. 20.

²⁸ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, pp. 187-188. Italics belong to me. The original text is as follows: "Bütün varlığını manasız ve adi bir sevdanın alevi sarmıştı. Genç adam kendi kendine: "Ne kadar değişmişim?" dedi. Gerçi bugünkü Hakkı Celis,ünkü Hakkı Celis'e tamamen yabancıydı. O zamandan beri yeni bir sevdanın alevi içinde,ünkü küçük adam balmumundan bir kelebek gibi eriyivermişti. Bu seveda neydi? Kim içindi? ... Hakkı Celis, o kadar süslü ve muattar Seniha'nın yerine şimdi, millet denilen şeyi, o koyu ve karışık varlığı mı seviyordu? ... "Hayır! Hayır! millet denilen şey Naim Efendi gibi müstehaselerle, Seniha ve Faik Beyler gibi sefil iştahlı insanlardan

The Representation of Sexuality

The "Socially Constructed Nature" of Sexuality

Foucault worked on the history of sexuality. He explicitly claims that sexuality is a social construction. Conceptions, thus practices, of sexuality differ from society to society, from a certain historical period to another and also according to strata within society, to the gender, race, class to which an individual belongs. In other words, the biological potentials or limitations are re-interpreted by social factors, in a way determining what is legitimate and illegitimate, what would be encouraged and what would be discouraged, which action would be evaluated within the domain of acceptable or of strict taboos. This construction is built through discourses, many of which derive their legitimization and strength from their power of naturalizing some practice²⁹.

Giddens shares this opinion with Foucault, writing "Sexuality is not merely a cluster of biological intuitions that find or do not find the possibility of a direct flow; it is a social construction that works in the spheres of power"³⁰. According to him, today's gender relationships, including both sexuality and marriage, are related to certain historical developments realized during the "progressive" process of modernization. He claims that by the nineteenth century, through the expansion of sanitary care and contraception, for the first time in history, sexuality's strong bond with biological reproduction was broken down and lost its connection with death for the masses of women who before had been threatened by losing their lives during pregnancy or child birth. As a result of this process, which Giddens labels the rise of plastic sexuality, women gained more control and autonomy over their bodies and both male and female homosexuality were perceived as more legitimate and thus, were expanded. Hence modernization appeared as a process of socialization of the biological world.

mürekkep bir varlık değildi. Bunlar milletin çürüyen ve dökülen tarafıydı ve havaya kalkan sekiz yüz bin kılıç, işte bu kangren olmuş uzvu kesip atmak içindi. "

²⁹ For these ideas of Foucault, see *Cinselliğin Tarihi-I* (Istanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1986). The original of this volume: *Histoire de la Sensualité: La Valorité de Savoir* (Paris: Editions Gaillamard, 1984). For a translation into English: *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Random House, 1985). See also Giddens, pp. 22-26.

In the Ottoman context, in the nineteenth century, a semi-scientific discourse arose around the marriage issue. Traditional marriage practices such as polygyny or early marriage age were criticized as not being “healthy”. The formulation of criticisms around a problematic of health and hygiene signifies indeed the replacement of the authoritative realm and ideas on the human body, from the divine sphere of religion towards the mundane sphere of medicine, which is oriented again towards the glorification of life for the purpose of perpetuating production.

In this respect, some forms of gender and sexuality were normalized according to a new family ethic and Western codes. In addition, although it reserved particular attention for it, it was not aiming solely to regulate women’s behavior. It also sought to control men’s sexuality. At this point, the “other” defined by the new paradigm had a dual character: on the one side it was the West, which meant both liberty and chaos, and on the other, it was the local patriarchal tradition, which was seen as an element of degeneration. In the early years of the Kemalist Republic, however, a transformation occurred in the definition of “other”: now the west, which had been approached before more or less in a critical way too, was praised in a holistic way, and what had been rejected, that is what had been imposed as the “other”, started to transform entirely the local traditional strata of society and the peasant class (although because of nationalism, the glorification of an idealized locality is seen, too) and at this point again, the position of women was the most important signifier.³¹

Sexuality as a Source of Degeneration

In the following section, the representation of sexuality in the novels will be analyzed primarily from this perspective; that is, sexuality is conceived of as a historically constructed phenomenon, rather than as a mere reflection of a biological potential. Thus, it will be shown how this representation signifies the tense unification of the removal of *mahremiyet*³² (secrecy) and the preservation of the

³⁰ Giddens, p. 27. The translation belongs to myself. The text itself is as follows: “*Cinsellik sadece doğrudan boşalma imkânı bulan ya da bulamayan bir biyolojik dürtüler kümesi değil, iktidar alanları içerisinde işleyen bir toplumsal inşadır.*”

³¹ Kandiyoti, “Gendering”, pp. 115-117.

³² The word *mahremiyet* has a double meaning. It is composed both of the word *harem*, signifying what someone personally possesses, and of the word *haram*, signifying what is prohibited

namus principle, in a way overlapping with the difficult articulation of modernity and nationalism.

Ideas about women and sexuality produced in Islamic societies are based on categories of *mahremiyet* and hierarchy, in contrast with western societies, which emphasize more *serbestlik* (freedom) and equality³³. *Mahremiyet* dictates the separation of the male and female worlds in the public and private spheres and reserves the non-private sphere only for male activities. In the origin of this perspective, there is a perception that sees sexuality as a danger to be controlled, because desire stands in sharp contrast with reason, which is considered to be a bridge between the believer and God. What is crucial at this point is that woman appears as the entity responsible for the sensual seduction: "There are two threats against Islamic order: the unbeliever in the exterior, woman in the interior"³⁴.

Another very important Mediterranean principle, i.e. *namus*, which includes restrictions on women's behavior and male control over the female body, has a central importance in shaping Turkish society's view on gender relationships and sexuality. According to this perception, the woman's body symbolically carries the intimate group identity and sets limits between the inside and outside. In a way complementing the Islamic point of view, to pass this boundary (*namus*) signifies the loss of control over the community and a source of anarchy. Thus, woman appears as the indicator of social order. According to Islamic conceptualization, the female body also symbolizes the soil, whereas the male body symbolizes the seed that reflects divine creativity³⁵. In this respect, the purity of the soil is the guarantee of nature's identity. Thus, the female body is an icon that links the past to the future and defines personhood, patrilineity and religion.

It is useful to view Kemalist gender policies in the light of these concepts. The Kemalist regime's first aim was to provide a certain visibility for woman within the public sphere, in a way challenging the critical Islamic principle of *mahremiyet*. It should be kept in mind at this point that the Kemalists had to achieve their new

to someone. Thus, it defines both a privacy and a deprivation. Nurdan Gürbilek, *Vitrinde Yaşamak* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993) p. 57. In this respect, it is hard to find an equivalent of this term in English. Thus, the original is used.

³³ Göle, p. 65.

³⁴ Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society* (New York: John Wiley, 1975), p. 43; cited in Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler*, p. 135. The translation belongs to myself.

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model of modernity and the new ideal of modern woman in a society in which the Mediterranean principle of *namus*, in contradiction with modernity in the sense of the rise of individual liberties, was still dominant, at least at the level of social imagery. In this respect, it may be concluded that the Kemalists aimed to overthrow *mahremiyet*.

Thus, although the Kemalists aimed to radically change the existing situation in woman's low status, in a society in which social values have Mediterranean and Islamic origins, these radical transformations had to be legitimized. That is, the Kemalist regime had to prove that the liberation of women would not threaten the social order as was supposed by the Islamic belief system of the masses. Namely, to guarantee that the new order was not degenerated, the Kemalists felt the necessity to confirm that the new woman would not lose her *namus*. In other words, *namus* was the reference point that drew the final limits of the Kemalist reformist policies on the woman issue.

The care to preserve *namus* may be seen in Gökalp's arguments on sexual ethics. In the related passages in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of Turkism), Gökalp particularly emphasizes that the existence of equal relationships between the genders shouldn't be understood as the loss of woman's *namus*. In this respect, by equating sexual ethics with the issue of woman's *namus* and by implying that its loss was a sign of chaos and complete degeneration, Gökalp showed us the limits of his imaginary Turkish community's feminism, which was in fact constructed as a model for the new Kemalist regime: "Although Turkish women in old times were totally free, they were not involved in fanciful jobs."³⁶

³⁵ C. Delaney, *Seed and Soil: Symbols of Procreation-Creation of a World (An Example from Turkey)*, (University of Chicago: Ph. D. Dissertation), cited in Sirman, "A Short History", p. 11.

³⁶ Gökalp, p. 168. The original text is as follows: "*Eski Türk kadınları tamamıyla hür serbest oldukları halde havai işlerle uğraşmazlardı.*"

Thus, Gökalp based his modernization ideal on a past and on a re-construction of an already realized utopia. In this way, he tried to solve the tension between nationalism and modernism, between universalism and essentialism. But this formula still carried in itself both possibilities and disadvantages. It was advantageous in terms of appropriating modernity more easily, as it was considered already a part of the original national essence. But it also carried in itself an inconsistent, even schizophrenic, conceptual understanding. This fact is based indeed in this approach's conception of time: it tried to reach the future in reference to a past. And this conceptual paradox may have influenced the conceptualization of sexual gender relationships as well.

Is it the case in these novels? To some extent, yes because as this chapter shows, in a detailed analysis of the novels, this approach of Gökalp is reflected in literature mainly as a limiting strategy, rather than as an opening one, particularly in the context of sexuality and *namus*.

Actually *mahremiyet* and *namus* were complementary to each other, in the original Islamic point of view and in this sense, the two aims of the Kemalist regime were contradictory. This antagonism was reflected in a series of inconsistencies in the Kemalist period's state policies on gender.³⁷

How then, did the Kemalists try to solve this contradiction, at least at the level of ideological construction?³⁸ It seems that the primary formulation implemented to solve this tension between *namus* and removal of *mahremiyet*, or between the non-modern and modern, was the appropriation of the *namus* principle as an essential element of the new regime's nationalistic character. In other words, the already existing and inescapable *namus* codes were translated into a nationalist terminology³⁹. When this equation is read adversely, the following conclusion is reached: the fact that Kemalist modernizationist gender policies remained limited by *namus* was based on their nationalism and on its peculiar characteristics. In this way, it is rather an interactive process: as the gender regime reflects a particular nationalism, nationalism is shaped by a particular gender regime. Hence, nationalism influenced the content and the limits of Kemalist, modern "feminism". In other words, in the context of the gender, the nationalist essence of Kemalist ideology imprisoned its modernizationist project to some extent. Hence, gender issues appeared at the intersection of contradictions between modern and non-modern, between different understandings of modernity, and most importantly, between the nationalism and modernism of the new regime. This is how both modernity and nationalism were definitely gendered.

Indeed, the principle of *namus* corresponded well with certain fundamental codes of nationalism in general and also with the type of nationalism that the Kemalists constructed and appropriated. In this context, in all of the cultural texts of the period, including the novels discussed in this study, *namus* is emphasized and described in such a way that it comprises an essential component of the national identity. That is what differentiates 'us' from 'others', what provides its peculiarity to 'our' way of modernity or rather what guarantees the preservation of 'our' identity

³⁷ In the passage concerning women's studies in Turkey, above, how Kemalist gender policies continue to be the most central debate among different scholars in women's studies or actors in feminist policies in Turkey was discussed. I think that in the origin of this debate these inconsistencies are apparent at the practical and ideological levels.

³⁸ To ask such a question does not of course necessarily mean to argue that it is completely solved.

while what we try to articulate with ‘their’ modernity is the preservation of ‘our’ women’s *namus*. Moreover, this codification overlaps with the continuous protection of order against anarchy, which any state or nation builder, including the Kemalists, would hope to achieve.

Then, according to the nationalistic paradigm including the Kemalist one, the woman's body carries the national identity⁴⁰. As long as it preserves *namus* and gives birth to future generations, it ensures the purity of the national identity, both as a biological race and as a sense of belonging. That is why woman is so central to and problematic in the novels of this period of the construction of the nationalist paradigm. This is why discussions or fictive texts exhibit such a paranoid and patriarchal tone on the woman issue and on the dangerous effects of modernity. The inner tension of the Kemalist regime between creating the image of a new modern woman, more equal in gender relationships, and not liberating her too much, can be seen clearly in these novels, which show us the frontiers of such a project.

As expected from the above arguments, in the canonical novels, sexuality appears as the fundamental and most blemishing sin for the women. The representation of romantic love in a negative way is linked to some extent to this representation of sexuality. Romantic love is not proper because it may lead to improper sexual activities.

In this respect, woman in particular becomes the sex who must prove herself, by her refusals. The following words of Naim Efendi exemplify this understanding: “(While he thinks of a sexual relationship before marriage, he says to himself) Would not the memory of that first minute of *weakness and defeat* make them shy, constantly? Would not one and the other start hating each other when a woman thinks that the man cannot refrain from his desires, a man thinks that a woman is weak and she has no honor?”⁴¹

³⁹ This care in the nationalist perspective is also mentioned by Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler*, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Of course, such an argument should not be understood as an holistic conclusion. What woman's body symbolically carries is not limited to national identity. The reverse is also true: how national identity is represented is not limited to woman's body as a symbol. But still, woman's body continues to be a very important element of the national imagination. Moreover, how this symbolic element is reflected in Turkish nationalism has not been adequately studied yet.

⁴¹ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, p. 54. The original text is as follows: “*O ilk zaaf ve mağlubiyet dakikasının hatırası ikide bir onları utandırmaz mı? Kadın, erkeğin ne kadar nefesine mağlup, erkek kadının ne kadar mukavemetsiz, ne kadar haysiyetsiz olduğunu düşündükçe, bu ondan o bundan akıbet nefrete başlamaz mı?*” Italics belong to me.

In this context, the fundamental criterion of sexual purity is the protection of the virginity of the woman before a proper, socially recognized marriage. Pre-marital sexual relationships are seen as a form of prostitution. What makes Seniha in *Kiralık Konak* and Leyla in *Yaprak Dökümü* semi-prostitutes is the fact that they lost their virginity before marriage. What makes Neriman in *Fatih-Harbiye* a rescued woman is the fact that the danger, that is the risk of an improper sexual relationship, is removed by the efforts of the male characters. The realization of prostitution is explained by the instincts and the individual weakness of the woman, in line with the representation of the female nature as evil and pleasure-oriented, rather than from the influence of disadvantageous social conditions. The understanding of sexual ethic as a function of virginity is taken so much for granted that it is never explicitly expressed, never explained. It is considered an unquestionable issue, thus it is completely within the domain of common sense. The codification of sexuality as an improper action is so powerful that it has no place even in the narrative. The author never explicitly describes the sexual relationship, it is only implied.

In addition to these point, sexuality is only legitimate within a proper marriage, but still as an obligation rather than as a source of pleasure. During her marriage with Osman (the former Peregrini), Rabia, as the symbol of woman preserving traditional and Eastern values, like her refusal of the manifestations of romanticism, she always warns her husband not to show his sexual desires in the public sphere: "When Osman finishes playing the piano and is to show an exuberant love, there appears a crooked smile on her lips"... "He caresses Rabia's shoulders and he wants to caress her chin, too. But she refuses his hand roughly. Her cheeks are like poppies: "Have told you, no public display of affection?"⁴²

In order to protect those values, Rabia has to revolt against her husband, who criticizes such behavior and perceives it as a sign of conservatism. He responds to her refusals with the following thoughts: "Again this narrow-minded religious girl of (this old *mahalle*) *Sinekli Bakkal*."⁴³ But her attitude seems to be positively affirmed by the author. Therefore, it also carries some inner contradictions or rather a new understanding for the Eastern woman: she preserves traditional values but those

⁴² Adivar, p. 221 and p. 251. The original texts are respectively as follows: "*Piyano bitip de Osman azıcık taşkın bir sevgi gösterse hemen dudaklarında o çarpık gülümseyiş belirliyor,*" and "*Rabia'nın omuzunu okşadı, çenesini okşamak istedi. Fakat o hayli sertçe Osman'ın elini itti. Yanakları gelincik gibi: Ben sana halk içinde okşamak olmaz demedim mi?*"

values don't include submitting to her husband's desires as is usually assumed. She is not at all a repressed character. On the contrary, as it will be discussed in the next chapter, she is a very strong and active person. Moreover in her early youth, she entered into a relationship with Bilal that had hidden sexual implications, too. But this relationship is described as a reflection of Rabia's sexual maturation and awakening, codified as a natural process that should be repressed with time and through self-control.

Only in *Ankara* of all the canonical novels, except *Kiralık Konak*, is there an explicit description of a sexual scene:

Selma Hanım wanted to handle that smooth skin roughly by scratching and scratching it. She held a sweet yet a strange grudge against him. Neşet Sabit put his mouth close to Selma Hanım's ear:

—“Why are you looking at me so strangely?”

At that moment, the woman grasping the young man by the mouth, kissed and kissed him, until she made his mouth bleed.⁴⁴

Interestingly, this passage is narrated from the perspective of the female character. Moreover, it is the woman who initiates the sexual relationship. In addition, this moment is described as a ferocious attempt, in a way underlining its completely natural essence. Although this ferocity approaches even the appearance of a rape, it is not codified in a negative way. Indeed, it contradicts the image of a desexualized woman, which is idealized in *Yıldız*. It may rather be considered as a description of a healthy sexual relationship between Selma Hanım and Neşet Sabit. The emotion is defined in contrast to the relationship with her second husband, which is classified as degenerated and ill. The sexual scene in *Kiralık Konak*⁴⁵ differs from that in *Ankara*, although in both of them, there is the same emphasize on its passionate and natural character and both are initiated by the female characters. It serves rather to show how Seniha and her will for a modern life carry a risk of degeneration. In this way, what makes this unusually semi-obscene scene in *Ankara*

⁴³ Ibid., p. 251. The original text is: “İşte yine eski dar kafalı, Sinekli Bakkallı hafız kız!”

⁴⁴ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 210. The original text is as follows: “Selma Hanım, bu pürüzsüz deriyi tırmalayarak, sömürerek örselemek, örselemek istedi. Yüreğinde ona karşı, acayip, fakat tatlı bir hınç vardı. Neşet Sabit ağzını Selma Hanımın kulağına götürdü: “Bana niçin öyle düşman düşman bakıyorsun?” dedi. O vakit, kadın, genç adamın dudaklarından kavrayıp onu, kanatıncaya kadar öptü, öptü...”

⁴⁵ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, pp. 73-75.

legitimate and even appreciative, is again the fact that the author has loaded a national character to it.

This sexual scene, which is described as a ferocious desire, is seen and reflected as legitimate by the author because it is between a nationalist husband and his nationalist wife. The relationship between the legitimization of such a scene as "natural" and "healthy" and the national identity must be explained. It seems that this connection is related to a fundamental constituent of the concept of nationality: nation as a complete naturalness where primitive references of identity are situated. Indeed this reference to the primitive, even savage nature, is one of the strongest bases of the legitimization of "national identity", including an emphasis on purity that stands in opposition to civilization. In *Ankara*, this concept is mixed with an admiration for modern technology, which is the product of civilization. These contradictory categories are solved in the book along a dichotomy of the spiritual-material, where the former remains the "primitive" whereas the latter is bounded with the "civilized" and with "technology".

Cumba'dan Rumba'ya presents an interesting exception among both the canonical and non-canonical novels, both in regard to the degenerated representation of sexuality and more importantly and particularly to the essentialist representations of *namus*. In this novel, the male and female protagonists enter into a sexual relationship before marriage. Although the reader is prepared in such a way to expect marriage in the end, this event is not narrated at all as a sign of degeneration. Rather, it is represented as an indication of passionate romantic love: "I love you, I have given my body to you. And I still love you,"⁴⁶ says Cemile to Selim. Thus, this act appears as one of the several conscious decisions of the novel's strong female protagonist, rather than as her weakness.

Sexuality is described in an explicit style. In a way praising the wild nature of the female character, her act is legitimized through the representation of sexuality as a part of healthy nature. While entering into a sexual relationship does not necessarily signify a lack of *namus*, Cemile's understanding of *namus* still covers sexual loyalty and monogamy. When she talks with Selim's father, she is far removed from a repressed character or a personality who feels guilty because of her

⁴⁶ Bedi, p. 204. The original text is as follows: "*Ben seni seviyordum. Sana kendimi verdim. Hâlâ da seviyorum.*"

decision; on the contrary, she is still powerful, proud, courageous, devoted and honest: "I am your daughter in this world and in the other. You cannot get rid of me. Whatever Selim is, I am that, too. Do you understand? I would never cheat on him. Look into my eyes once. If I had a problem with Tahsin, would I ever think of your son, at all? I would stroll in Beyoğlu and have fun. I would not follow you to the prison."⁴⁷

Hence, in this book *namus* is not necessarily defined within the marriage act and it exceeds the limits of the sexual domain through including primarily honesty. Although she violates the widespread sexual norms, the author continues to describe Cemile as a personage primarily differentiated by her *namus* or honesty; thus she is positively approved of among all the other personages in the novel. She screams at Tahsin Bey at the old, rich, but non-elite man of a provincial origin, who wants from her to live with him: "I am not your mistress; I am not Lili⁴⁸; I am *namuslu*⁴⁹ girl".⁵⁰

Thus, sexuality is conceived in the canonical novels as a danger or a risk, rather than as a source of pleasure. It is the domain in which the strength of one's personality is tested. In other words, personality is equated with one's capacity to resist sexual seduction. Almost all of the non-canonical examples, except *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, share with the canonical ones representations of sexuality and *namus*. However, there are variations between the canonical and the non-canonical novels, in terms of signs demonstrating the presence of *namus*. For example, in the first group of non-canonical novels, in contrast with the canonical texts, no critical descriptions of western-type heterosocial milieus, where men and women are together in the same space is seen. Rather the emphasis is on the fact that female characters can still preserve their *namus* although they participate in such modern gatherings. In this

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 170. The original text is as follows: "Ben senin dünya ahret kızınım. Atsan da atılmam satsan da satılmam. Selim neyse ben de oyum anladın mı? Onu aldatmam ben ! Gözümün içine bak bir kere hele... Tahsin'le bir zorun olsaydı senin oğlun umrumda mıydı? Beyoğullarında yan gelir oturur, fink atardım. Böyle hapishane köşelerinde senin peşine düşmezdim."

⁴⁸ Lili is a very minor character. Reflecting the nationalist assumptions of the author, she is of non-Muslim and non-Turkish origin and symbolizes in the book the typology of the loose woman. On the other hand, it is important to note here that although Tahsin proposed to Cemile to be his mistress at the beginning of the story and although Cemile and her mother and sister live in the modern apartment flat in Taksim rented by Tahsin, in the end, he is unable to reach his intention, denounces this idea. He is portrayed as a positive character and married to Cemile's widow sister.

⁴⁹ In Turkish, the suffix "-li", "-lu" signifies that someone or something possess the quality mentioned by the noun to which it is attached. Thus, it turns these nouns into adjectives. In this respect, the noun *namuslu*, refers here to the fact that someone (Cemile) possesses *namus*.

⁵⁰ Bedi, p. 251. The original text is as follows: "Ben senin metresin değilim, ben Lili değilim, *namuslu* kızım ben..."

respect, such heterosocial environments are even narrated in an encouraging style as they are defined as parts and signs of the appraised modern life style.

The Desexualized Woman Image

In order to reach the goal of the legitimization of the introduction of woman into public life, it is generally agreed that the new female typology of the Kemalist regime was shaped as a desexualized woman in the public sphere, without much attribute of femininity. "Both in urban space and in public sphere (at education, work, politics), the cost of woman's liberty is the repression of her "femininity". Even her individuality conceived as a threat to social order."⁵¹ The aimed for participation of women in public life was possible only through the construction of a non-gendered, even to some extent male identity, for women, because the prestige of both men and women was strictly related to the honest behavior of women, which was defined according to her sexuality⁵².

Thus, a feminine appearance and adornment are criticized and in all of the canonical novels both from the first and second groups such female characters are portrayed with an ironical or despising language. Moreover, having a feminine physical appearance is represented as a sign of the wrong model of modernity.

An example of praise for desexualized woman may be read in the following passage from *Sinekli Bakkal*, which describes the idealized model woman, Rabia: "She was different from these women who would make their sexuality shown and who would abuse it, all of which he was accustomed to seeing in the mansion," (thinks Peregrini for her)... "Everything Rabia does puts sex-appeal where it is, to the secrecy of a house. People who see Rabia outside would not think of her sexuality". Moreover, this imagination guarantees woman's access to public sphere without compromising her *namus*: "With this dress, she can walk into an army."⁵³

⁵¹ Göle, p. 73. The translation belongs to me. The original text is as follows: "*Kentsel mekânda olsun, kamusal (eğitim, çalışma, siyaset) alanda olsun kadının özgürlüğünün bedeli, toplumsal düzeni tehdit olarak algılanan "dişiliğinin", hatta bireyselliğinin bastırılmasıdır.*"

⁵² Kandiyoti, "Patterns", p. 315; and Ayşe Kadioğlu, "Cinselliğin İnkârı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadını", in Hacımirzaoglu (ed.), pp. 89-100.

⁵³ Adivar, p. 91, p. 222 and p. 172. In order of appearance in the paragraph, the original texts are as follows: "*Konakta görmeğe alıştığı, durmadan cinsiyetini belli eden, cinsiyetini sömürmeğe uğraşan kadınlardan o, ne kadar başkaydı.*"; "*Rabia'nın her davranışı cinsi gösterişi olduğu yere, dört duvar arasının mahremiyetine hasrediyor. Dışarıda onu gören cinsiyetini hiç düşünmezdi*"; and "*Bu kıyafetle o, orduların içine girebilir.*"

Finally, in the following passage, Rabia expresses to Peregrini her mocking point of view towards Muslim women in westernized costume. Indeed the reason of her contempt is the ridiculous result of non-originality and imitation: "How they try to resemble European women. Rakım would resemble them more if he mimicked a monkey." ⁵⁴

On the other hand, in the third chapter of *Ankara* also, the glorification of such a female image is seen, particularly in the description of Yıldız's body, symbolizing the ideal, complete new woman created by the new regime: "She did not have a different look from that of a boy from a distance. No breasts, no hip. She had the body of a girl, so flat, so skinny that it was an example of the old Greek *Hermafrodita* frescoes"⁵⁵. To choose a female character to show the achievements of the ideal national regime and to expand this project to the extent of the definition of the ideal body explain alone the importance of woman in the nationalist project.

In strict contradiction to the canonical texts, this desexualized woman image receives no stress in the non-canonical examples. This fact alone shows how these novels do not represent woman as a naturally dangerous sex, as is the case in the first group of canonical novels. Although it is not as emphasized as in the canonical examples and although there is a discursive realm that can comprise the positive description of womanly physical appearance, the first group of non-canonical texts still limits femininity. The message that the authors try to give to the reader is this. As a modern Turkish woman, you should look beautiful and well maintained, but it should not exceed the limits, to the extent of appearing like a "loose" woman. This message is legitimized by the idea that what makes a woman valuable is her reason, rather than her beauty. In this respect, it is interesting that Aysel of *Aşk Politikası* is not described as a very beautiful woman as might be expected from a popular romance. In addition to it, in *Bahar Çiçeği*, it is explicitly stated that Feyhan's beauty does not comprise a too feminine appearance.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 223. The original text is as follows: "*Ne kadar Frenk karılarına benzemeye yeltenmişler. Rakım maymun taklidi yapsa daha çok benzerdi.*"

The Representation of Family, Marriage and Divorce

In different contexts so far how family appears as a central theme, particularly in the canonical novels, proving the fact that modernity is primarily problematized by these authors mainly in terms of its effect on family life has been discussed.

As explained in the passages above about the similarities among female characters, most of the families in the canonical novels are from the bureaucratic stratum. Thus, familial income is the fixed wage in many cases. In a way reflecting the economic regression of fixed income groups, including the bureaucracy, during the modernization process in Turkey, families are impoverished by time in *Kiralık Konak*, *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Fatih-Harbiye*⁵⁶. This process is aggravated, of course, by the luxury consumption of the modernizing female family members. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Selim Paşa's family also experienced a process of impoverishment after his resignation. Modernization's degenerating effect shows itself in a change in familial income resources. Servet Bey in *Kiralık Konak* resigns from his official job and enters into speculative jobs. Only in *Ankara* in the second chapter, does the family get richer again through speculative profits, although this process is represented as degeneration. The modest life (which is neither rich nor poor) is applauded as it is considered much more ethical in the third chapter.

Unlike the bureaucratic origins in the canonical works, the families in the non-canonical novels may be from bourgeois, bureaucratic or lower class origin and family incomes may vary.

As will be repeated in the next chapter too, in both the canonical and the non-canonical examples, like sexuality and love, familial and marital relationships also are represented as a domain of constant struggle, instead of a domain of calmness and happiness. In this struggle woman always appears as the stronger part, although this strength may go to either degeneration or regeneration in different cases. As it will be discussed more detailly in the next chapter, in terms of authority patterns within the family, a patriarchal structure is praised in the canonical texts, because patriarchy is represented as a lost paradise under the threat of modernity -or of

⁵⁵ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 215. The original text is as follows: "Yoksa, bunun uzaktan bir oğlan çocuğundan hiç farkı yoktu. Ne göğüs, ne kalça... Öyle dümdüz, öyle fidan gibi bir kız vücudu ki, eski yunan fresklerinin Hermafrodita bedenlerinin tam örneğidir." Italics belong to me.

⁵⁶ Indeed, this decrease in fixed wage is reported by Duben and Behar too, p. 216.

female family members in the first group of novels- and this fact is codified as a degeneration process, rather than one of liberation. In other words, the canonical novels are first of all narratives of family deconstruction and reconstruction.

In the following section, first the structural aspects of families appearing in the both the canonical and the non-canonical novels will be described. Through this enumeration, discussion will be made on the fact that these novels are urban and bureaucratic family based. In passages concerning the division of labor inside and outside the household, investigation will be made into the boundaries of the patriarchal assumptions of the authors and the Kemalist project's primary aim to provide female access to the public sphere. Thereafter the criteria used in spouse choice and divorce decisions will be explored. This analysis will show once more how these themes are primarily understood in the context of nationalism, similar to the representation of romantic love and sexuality.

The Formation of the Modern Family

Giddens argues that historically family and marriage had two main meanings, a domain of duties that doesn't necessarily require a love relationship between spouses and a domain where love appears as a necessary condition. In the marriage arrangements have made according to the former model, what are sought are the material gains that the new bond between the spouses would provide to the extended families involved in the process. In the second model, the extended families' involvement is not seen as legitimate as before and is regressed to some extent, at least in appearance. Moreover, according to this meaning, marriage is assumed to be a domain of companionate friendship and of complex emotional interactions between spouses, which should be negotiated and continuously worked on. Giddens claims that this latter meaning is a product of the modernization process. He explains that the modern marriage pattern and modern family are based mainly on three historical developments: The creation of home as the consequence of the separation of house and work; the change in parent-child relationships, and finally the emergence of the motherhood ideal. The origin of this transformation is the Victorian Age, famous of its patriarchal and "repressive" character. Giddens states that the Victorian Age occurred simultaneously with the decrease of the direct control of the father, due to

the differentiation of house and work. Also as a result of the expansion of methods of contraception, family size declined. Thus, the meaning of children' changed and they started being conceived in bourgeois families as weak creatures who needed long-term sentimental support and education. Woman became the member responsible for this hard and central work in the family, thus she became a full time "mother" in the modern sense of the world. In conclusion, the center of the house moved from paternal authority towards maternal affection.

This bourgeoisization process led to a new image of woman. Woman was identified with motherhood and wifehood, with emotions and affection, with the private sphere. Man and woman were conceived of as completely different creatures; thus the opposite sexes became secret lands unknown to each other. Such a concept has indeed a very long history, but what is distinctive in the modernization process is the fact that for first time in history, motherhood was associated with woman as an essential and characteristic trait different from man. This trait still shapes the general codes on female sexuality. Through the emergence of such an image of woman according to which affection is much more important than biological reproductive capacity, for the first time in history, romantic love was linked with marriage and appeared as a domain in which primarily woman specialized. In sum, the modern family is distinguished by the fact that it is built as the consequence of love, at least in its ideal form, although it is not true for every real case⁵⁷.

In the Ottoman and Republican contexts⁵⁸, a discourse on a crisis of the Turkish family appeared by the end of the nineteenth century. The effect of modernization on the family emerged as one of the most popular subjects of debate. In accordance with it, people started to discuss whether an original model of Turkish family existed or not and if was superior or inferior to the western family. The different positions in these debates may be summarized as those who approached modernization's effect on family as a positive and negative process (that may also be observed in the opposition between respectively the non-canonical and canonical works studied for this thesis). On the other hand, whatever this effect is, another debate was shaped around the question of whether it was an unavoidable, almost natural process or could it be changed through (state) intervention.

⁵⁷ Giddens, pp. 41-45.

⁵⁸ For the following historical accounts, see Duben and Behar, pp. 209-254.

In these discussions, what shaped Kemalist understanding of family was the ideas of Gökalp, who first achieved a creative and convincing unification of the Western or the modern and of the Turkish or the national. In the family issue, by reference to past accounts of the *Jön Turks*, he proposed a national model. He claimed that this type of national family was indeed a variation of the European family model where ethics peculiar to the Turkish character were much more dominant. Moreover, according to him, the state had to actively work to promote this family. By reference to his thoughts, the early Republican regime followed this method and actively intervened in family life, with tools such as the 1926 Civil Code⁵⁹. The regime, however, also carried the inner contradictions of Gökalp's formula.

Indeed, none of these camps were reflecting the factual situation of the family. It was true that during modernization, huge changes were undergone in Turkish family life, but these changes did not result in any one of the stereotypes that were dominant in the mentalities of the people. Indeed, at least in Istanbul, in contrast to the arguments of the modernizationist Turkish intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was not a high fertility rate. Women practiced birth control and abortion; polygyny was rare; there was little difference between the ages of spouses; women were entering their first marriages at an old age; the family began to have fewer child; and the meaning of child-rearing changed or the child-centered family emerged. In general, household size was small. Moreover, attitudes, relationships, symbols and even the items used had been changed into the western type. But although the ideas of the young couple were taken into account, marriages were still being arranged by the elder generations. A very high proportion of the population was married. There were very few unmarried men and women. Although the nuclear family was the dominant model, there were very close relationships between different households of relatives. Still one of the main purposes of marriage remained to have children, rather than individual satisfaction. The traditional division of labor continued in the household, but the husband-wife relationships had reached more equal and companionate levels⁶⁰. In a way, within the influence of concrete material conditions and huge transformations in the culture and in the mentalities of

⁵⁹ For the different policies of state, see the last column of Chronology.

⁶⁰ It seems to me that these mixed forms still dominate the family structure in Turkey.

the people, the western model, based on a child-centered, nuclear, bourgeois family, was adopted, but under the particular forms translated into the Turkish context, the consequence was a rather dual structure, composed of both modern and non-modern patterns, within the same family and between different families of the same society ⁶¹.

Family Structure

In their influential book, Duben and Behar prove how myths and realities contradict each other in almost every issues concerning the family, including the age of first marriage and polygyny. Although limited to the Istanbul context, they demonstrate that marriage age, especially female first marriage age, was much older and that polygyny was much rarer than are usually supposed ⁶². Of course, this is not a study that aims to compare myths with realities, but Duben and Behar's devices teach us to take what these novels tell us about familial structure with a grain of salt. In all of the novels, canonical and non-canonical, the nuclear neo-local bourgeois family formed through a proper marriage is represented as the ideal model. In other words, the dynamic that leads to the formation of a nuclear family is neither the death of the old head of the household nor migration, but marriage. Thus, it may be concluded that although the traditional family is defended at the level of its conservative values, the traditional family composition, that is the extended family, is not supported. Although *Kıralık Konak* and *Yaprak Dökümü* seem to deplore the dissolution of the extended family, the main conflict is formed around the axis of the lack of formation of proper nuclear families.

Early first marriages in these novels and in the female characters are not the subject of discussion, but in *Sinekli Bakkal* it is mentioned that Rabia's marriage in her late teens is regarded by people as a very late age. At this point, it should be kept in mind that the fact Rabia lives in one of the most traditional corners of society which is particularly emphasized by Halide Edip. This should not be understood by the reader as a statement suggesting that in the traditional segments of society people

⁶¹ Duben and Behar, pp. 255-264. Kandiyoti also points to the co-existence of several gender regimes in Turkey. Kandiyoti, "Patterns", p. 312.

⁶² They statistically prove that many women living in Istanbul between 1905-1940 married first in their twenties. Duben and Behar, p. 140. See particularly, figure 5.2.

married at earlier ages. It is simply being argued that in the traditional strata people supposed that an earlier age of first marriage for girls was the ideal case. In *Ankara*, an unusual fact is encountered: Selma is older than her third husband, Neşet Sabit. This pattern, which doesn't fit at all with myths or ideals, is narrated as a totally non-problematic situation, as this marriage is the happiest one among all the marriages mentioned in *Ankara* and in the other canonical and the non-canonical novels.

The non-canonical examples also show a similar idealization. In the non-canonical cases similar to these of the novels in the canon, marriage age is not a theme that receives much stress, but still, it is implied that of first marriage of the central female characters is not early (if it is supposed that late teens are considered early for a first marriage), but they marry in the first years of their twenties.

Household Structure

In both groups of novels, the authors show a great sensibility toward space. This sensitivity may be noticed in even the titles of the novels: four of them possess the name of a place, *Fatih-Harbiye*, *Kiralık Konak*, *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Ankara*. Furthermore, *Yaprak Dökümü* implies a connection with the household. This “leaf-fall” signifies the dissolution of a nuclear family and the overthrow of a united household.

All of the novels take place in an urban setting, as in *Fatih-Harbiye* where the novel is based on a contradiction between two districts in Istanbul, symbolizing respectively the traditional and modern life styles. The inner-city travel of the female heroine on a trolley bus serves as a symbol of passage from one civilization to the other. *Kiralık Konak* is similar in the sense of narrating modernity with metaphors related to the city. The chaotic and cosmopolitan streets of Istanbul in the years just before the First World War form the perfect setting to show the negative effects of modernity as well as the depressions of the degenerated or alienated people within it. In this respect, the city carries with itself specific codes related to modernity. In other words, the city is conceived of by the authors as a particularly suitable platform to exhibit the diverse patterns of modernity.

Thus, in a way, the nationalist novel in the first years of the Republic seems to be an urban-based narrative. Although there may be exceptions to this pattern, like

*Çalığışu*⁶³ by Güntekin or *Yaban* by Yakup Kadri⁶⁴, still the governing tendency seems to be to use an urban setting, in both the canonical and non-canonical literature. Indeed, in the exceptions, the dominant theme is the meeting of the urban based intellectual with the rural people, where the story of the latter remains behind the achieved or non-achieved aspirations of the former to enlighten the village. So, it is at least evident that although few rural settings are seen in the literature of the early Republican years, the central character continues to be the urban intellectual and the narrative is primarily built from his/her point of view which is an outsider's superior view in the last analysis. In a way, these exceptions can not be considered sufficient to build an autonomous genre of rural novel. This does not happen until 1950, with Mahmut Makal⁶⁵, when the rural novel becomes part of the mainstream. Yet here again the voice of the modernizer is still dominant, although it is based now on a lived experience, on a positive approach to the peasantry and on a developmentalist discourse, rather than an absolute contempt of the underdevelopment of the village.

In the same way, in *Ankara* diverse conceptions of modernization and the various life styles related to it are narrated through different periods of a city, in Anatolia this time, and a city which is the heart of the rising nationalism. The city and the modernity embodied in this novel show successively both positive and negative dimensions. *Sinekli Bakkal*, on the other hand, presents different imagination of city, the traditional *mahalle*, shown to exhibit the virtues of a non-modern communitarian life.

In addition to this urban- oriented understanding, among other space types, home is particularly emphasized. In line with their stress on the family, most of these canonical novels are home- centered narratives⁶⁶. Particularly in *Kiralık Konak* and

⁶³ Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Çalığışu* (Istanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka, 1986).

⁶⁴ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 1992).

⁶⁵ Mahmut Makal, *A Village in Anatolia* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1954). This book was firstly published in Turkish under the name *Bizim Köy* (Istanbul: Varlık Yay., 1950).

⁶⁶ Sirman points to the same fact. She also argues that before the establishment of the Republic, the novels were even more concerned with household than with the family. According to her, this interest reflects also the dominant social structure of Ottoman society where power relationships were built on the basis of the individual's position within the household and the household's distance to other households. In the center of this network of households, there is the palace. Sirman, "Gender Construction", pp. 170-171; and Sirman, "Nous Vivons pour notre Honneur", *Hommes et Migrations*, 1212 (March-April 1998), pp. 53-61. Moreover, she shows how this concept is particularly dominant in *Sinekli Bakkal*. The narrative is built upon a *mahalle* basis, composed mainly of households defined

Yaprak Dökümü, a great part of the story proceeds in household settings. In the remaining novels as well, namely in *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Ankara*, although exterior settings are given, the household scenes constitute the great majority within the narrative and are situated at the center of the plot. This sensibility of the authors toward interior spaces is mostly visible in the detailed descriptions where household decoration carries huge symbolic value in terms of exhibiting a family's degree of articulation with modernity.

For example, in *Kiralık Konak*, Servet Bey's uncritical and fanatical affiliation with the modern life-style is described through his admiration of modern apartment flats in the new districts of Istanbul: "The new styled apartments in Şişli with electricity and baths were drawing Şevket Bey day by day. Going out to see them in his free time became a special joy for him. He was able to find what he had been looking for since the day he had been born, in this neighborhood of Istanbul and in these new apartments"⁶⁷. The fundamental contradiction between modern and pre-modern life-styles that constitutes the novel's main axis is expressed by spatial metaphors signifying the different types of household, *konak* versus apartment flat.

In most cases, in a way stressing the power of change, the studied family doesn't preserve its initial family and household structure. In *Fatih-Harbiye*, the initial structure is a single parent family, in which an old head of household lives with his young daughter and servant, in a small private house, in a traditional district of Istanbul. The reader does not know which type of household would be built as a result of his daughter's marriage in the end. At the beginning of *Kiralık Konak*, on the other hand, the reader is introduced to a typical extended family household where the old head of family lives, again in a *konak*, with his married daughter, her husband and their children and many servants, in a traditional district of Istanbul. By the end of the novel, the household composition dramatically changes because the nuclear family within the extended one, that is the family head's married daughter and her husband, moves the children to a more modern district of Istanbul. As a result, the initial family structure is completely destroyed and the novel ends with sad

in terms of their distance to a central household, that is the household of Selim Paşa, which in return owns its prestige to its closeness to the royal palace. Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 259-260.

⁶⁷ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak*, p. 154. The original text is as follows: "Şişli'nin yeni usul, elektrikli banyolu, apartmanları Servet Beyi, gittikçe çekiyordu. Ara sıra boş vakitlerinde bunlardan birkaçını görmeye gitmek onun için en müstesna zevklerden biri yerine geçti. doğduğu günden beri aradığı havayı nihayet İstanbul'un bu mahallesinde ve bu yeni evlerde bulabilmisti."

descriptions of a no family household, where the old head of the extended family starts living alone with one of his servants. *Yaprak Dökümü* starts with a nuclear family. With the marriage of the elder son, it turns into an extended family but with time, by the leaf-fall, that is, with the leaving of the children due to different reasons, the family is destroyed again. At the end of the novel, the former family head starts living with his wife and youngest daughter in his middle daughter's household, built through a non-marital relationship. It is interesting that because of the absence of a socially recognized proper marriage, this group of people is not considered by the author to be a family. Thus, this formation also indicates the end of any type of family.

In the second group of canonical novels, *Ankara* depicts the serial monogamy of its central female character. In each marriage she builds a typical nuclear family household. In *Sinekli Bakkal* as well, the household undergoes many transformations. Rabia starts her life in her grandfather's old house, where she lives with him and her mother. Then, on her own initiative, she starts living with her father and his friends. At the same time she has strong relationships with the extended family of Selim Paşa. At the end of the novel, she builds her own nuclear family through marriage and this family moves to the initial house of Rabia's dead grandfather and continues to live with her father returned from exile, and his friends.

Hence, it can be argued that family is the unit of narration and analysis of the canonical novels. In these narratives, there is no place for individuals independent of a family group. In the non-canonical romance, independent female figures, like non-married young girls living alone, such as Feyhan of *Bahar Çiçeği* do exist. In *Aşk Politikası*, Aysel lives alone in Paris for a certain period of time. But in this novel, nuclear families too are dominant. In *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the family of Cemile consists of her widow mother, sister and her small child. This family does not reflect the structure of a typical patriarchal family: there is no father or any other dominant male figure; and most of the times, it is Cemile who makes the important decisions concerning the family. But still, at the end of the novel, both Cemile and her sister marry, thus forming nuclear families, whose authority structure remains unknown to the reader. By reference to the previous portrayal of Cemile, it can be said that most likely she would be head of her future nuclear family or at least that she would not be repressed. Thus, in the non-canonical examples, although the nuclear family structure

seems to be a final aspiration the patriarchal authority pattern is not present or idealized, contrary to many of the canonical novels.

The Representation of the Division of Labor within the Household and of the Woman Working outside the Home

The traditional gender biased division of labor within the household is not questioned at all in the canonical novels, reflecting their patriarchal character. Only in *Ankara* and *Kiralık Konak* are female characters shown working outside the home. Generally this fact is supported by these authors. In *Ankara*, it is particularly clear that women's rights and liberation obtain their true meaning only when a woman works outside home. In other words, only working legitimizes women's role in modern life and all remaining modern activities, such as heterosocial entertainment, signify the degeneration of society. Selma Hanım expresses in the following words, where she revolts against her second husband: "Not to earn my living, but to be of some good. Did you unveil us just for adorning us and making us dance?"⁶⁸ In addition to considering woman liberation as a gift given by men, this quotation confirms that one of the primary aims of Kemalist "feminist" policies was to increase female access to the public sphere in order to expand the limited work force.

With the establishment of the new regime, in addition to their responsibilities in the public sphere, women had to take responsibility in the private sphere, too. While educated elite women played their roles primarily in the public domain, they still continued their traditional responsibilities at home. The rest of the women remained as housewives and mothers, but they were expected now to behave in a disciplined, rational way in their familial duties⁶⁹. Thus, at this point again the argument that the Kemalist movement of modernization possessed its own limitations must be repeated: The hierarchical gender difference continued in the private sphere⁷⁰. In this respect it is useful to note that neither Yakup Kadri nor

⁶⁸ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 158. The original text is as follows: "Hayatımı kazanmak için değil, fakat bir şeye yaramak için. Bizi, yalnız süsleyip dansettirmek için mi açtınız?"

⁶⁹ Yael Navaro, *Using the Mind at Home: The Rationalization of Housewifery in Early Republican Turkey (1928-1940)*, (Brandeis University, Sociology Department: Graduation Thesis, 1991), cited in Yeşim Arat, 1997, p. 99. See also Yael Navaro-Yaşın, "Evde Taylorizm: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk Yıllarında Evişinin Rasyonelleşmesi (1928-1940)", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 84 (Spring, 2000), pp. 51-74.

⁷⁰ Duben and Behar also confirm this fact, but they argue that it is accompanied by the emergence and spread of companionate marriage patterns, pp. 238-242. This fact is explained by them

Halide Edip give any mention of the necessity of an equal division of labor within the house. On the contrary, in *Sinekli Bakkal*, it is clear that woman has to continue to do the housework even though she works outside. The double exploitation in the result of this pattern is not problematized at all.

In the non-canonical novels a similar situation exists. Even Cemile, the most rebellious non-canonical female character, volunteers to take on all household duties; this trait is even reflected as an indication of her strong character. On the other hand, in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, Feyhan or Aysel do no housework at all thanks to household help. There is no emphasis on an alternative model to the established gendered division of labor within the household. In addition, in *Bahar Çiçeği*, women, that is Feyhan and her closest friend Mina, work outside of the home, in professional jobs. This situation is particularly stressed and positively codified in the novel. The fact that Feyhan and Mina work is narrated in such a way that the reader is called to identify with them, but Feyhan is not employed in a salaried job as she works for a charity. Although she works hard and she advances in her job, she could never reach the administrative position occupied by the central male character. So, in a way, it can be said that in the non-canonical novels also the ideal of woman working outside the home is preserved, but still this female labor continues to reflect the unequal gender relationship both inside and outside the home. In other words, reflecting in a way Kemalist gender policies, female access to the public sphere is desired, but also limited so that it does not disturb the patriarchal division of labor, the authority structure, or male supremacy.

Criteria for Marriage and Divorce

Rational Calculation

Unexpectedly and in contrast to the reconciled codes of modern popular romances where romantic love is the adequate base for marriage, in both the canonical and non-canonical novels, passionate love and the companionship of

through the cultural transformation and through the decrease in the age difference between spouses due to demographic changes.

spouses is never considered a strong and adequate basis for marriage. Marriage is depicted rather as a choice based on rational calculations. The only exception to this representation may be found in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* where romantic love is explicitly advanced as the strongest foundation for marriage.

Many observers argue that one of the main indications of modernization is the replacement of the arrangement of marriage by the older generations by free individual choice of the future spouses. Free choice is a particularly crucial indicator of modernization when it is open to young girls too and is based on the criteria of personal affection, love and friendship. In these novels, however, stories are told of how free choice in marriage ends with disaster. These narratives support the traditional marriage procedure where the older generations choose who would marry with whom.

For example, in *Fatih-Harbiye*, Neriman's decision to marry Şinasi is not based at all on her passionate love, but on her realization that her desires for a more modern life will drag her into a lost fate.

In the following passage, the degenerated female character of *Kıralık Konak*, Seniha, revolts against her grandfather's attempt to arrange a marriage for her, in order to save her *namus*. As these words are spoken by the antagonist character and as this decision contributes to her return to the life of a loose woman at the end of the novel, this passage shows how the new marriage patterns based on free choice are codified in a negative way by the author. Indeed, Seniha perceives marriage in a perfectly modern framework, as a completely individual problem. In this respect, her priority is to exclude other family members from this decision.

Neither Faik Bey needs his father's orders, nor do I need your wish in order to marry each other. I am turning twenty. He is approaching his thirties. We know each other better than you know each of us, and we are in love". Naim Efendi trembled. "Yes, yes we are in love. I would marry him today, if I wanted to. He would marry me, if I wanted to. No one can pull us apart, if the whole world came together. Unfortunately, we do not want it, because our idea of marriage does not resemble yours. For us marriage is not a matter of love. Neither is it a physical need. He and I, we see this business as a matter of calculation and a matter of mind. Something regarding money.⁷¹

⁷¹ Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak*, p. 121. The original text is as follows: "Ne Faik Bey beni almak için babasının emrine, ne ben Faik Bey'e varmak için sizin arzunıza tabiyiz. Ben yirmi yaşına giriyorum. O otuzuna yaklaşıyor; birbirimizi sizin bizi tanıyışınızdan daha iyi

This passage also shows how marriage is considered by the younger generation as a matter of rational calculation, rather than as a love affair. For Naim Efendi also, marriage is not related to love issue. However, unlike Seniha, for him, family is a domain where duties and responsibilities are more important than rights and pleasures, and rational calculation is a guarantee of the strength and the continuity of this fundamental institution. Rational choice for Seniha means to find a rich husband who will be able to satisfy her unlimited material desires. Of course for Naim Efendi, this is a totally immoral way of thinking.

The following thoughts of Naim Efendi summarize very well the canonical authors' suspicious approach towards modernity and modern forms of private life and their approval of traditional marriage procedures:

Ah, what a miserable condition the new generation was in. The children of future would be free of concerns such as respect, commitment and customs, but at the same time, they would be deprived of the joys that were maintained by these concepts. They would become more and more superficial, more and more tough; and while running around like untamed animals, they would fall into a hole or drown in water, one day⁷².

One of the popular novels, Morkaya's *Aşk Politikası*, presents an interesting case in terms of unifying the arranged marriage with free choice⁷³. In this respect, the marriage of Aysel and Şinasi gets the most ideal form as it is both asked for by the parents and freely chosen by young partners. Moreover, it is based on an explicit process of negotiation and contract between the male and female parts and thus, on a perfect rational calculation. It is important to note here that in the last analysis, it is the woman who overcomes the man and it is she who puts the conditions of the

tanıyor ve sevişiyoruz" Naim Efendi titredi. "Evet, evet sevişiyoruz. Bugün istesem ben ona varırım; bugün istesem o beni alır; dünya bir araya gelse, kimseler bizi ayıramaz. Fakat ne çare ki istemiyoruz. Zira, evlenme hakkındaki fikirlerimiz sizinkilere hiç benzemiyor. Bizim için evlenme bir kalp meselesi değildir. Ne de uzvi bir zarurettir. Ben ve o, bu işi bir hesap kitap ve akıl meselesi telakki ediyoruz; paraya müteallik bir iş."

⁷² Ibid., p. 55. The original text is as follows: "Ah, yeni yetişen nesil ne acınacak bir haldeydi. Yarınki çocuklar saygı, itaat ve görenek gibi kayıtlardan kurtulacak, fakat aynı zamanda bu kayıtların temin ettiği zevklerden ve saadetlerden de mahrum kalacaktı. Gittikçe sathileşecekler, gittikçe kabalaşacaklar ve akıbet başıboş hayvanlar gibi, oradan buraya, buradan oraya atılıp dururken, günün birinde ya bir çukura düşecekler ya da bir suda boğulacaklardı."

⁷³ Duben and Behar report how the combination of these two forms was experienced in many lived cases of family formation, p.113.

contract. It is also she who makes the final rational account. This contract has three interesting articles: Woman would run the internal and external policies of the (nuclear) family that would be built; she would join her husband in every entertainment and fun activities; and finally, she would keep the right to punish him at any moment that he conceals something from her⁷⁴. All of these articles are based on the supremacy of the female part in the marriage life and on the domestication of the male part. This last remark indicates indeed the basic opposition that the novel builds. According to Morkaya, modern life has two main contradictory aspects: the freedom embodied in the male character's passions and the order embodied in the female character's rationality. Unusually, the man is the weak part of the relationship, which stands in sharp contrast with the woman's willpower and self-control. The family life and marriage are indeed situated in this last sphere of order.

Although Necati, the male character, resists the efforts of Aysel and his family to make him obey the rules of the order-based modern life, at the end of the book, he voluntarily accepts these limitations. There are two reasons behind his final "defeat": First, the jealousy (that is, a feeling again of the savage, non-civilized and irrational nature) that he feels for Aysel. Second, his experience in Europe, during which he realizes that modern life, in its origin, is based on the work ethic, rather than on free individualism. Thus, again, order or communal values overcome individual freedom. A modernity that emphasizes the former is preferred to a model based on the latter. In other words, nationalism and its community-based pre-requisites determine the form of the suggested modernity and the novels contribute to this fabric through labeling the other, more freedom-oriented model of modernity selfish individualism. In these complex equations, marriage and family symbolizes order, rather than love, in which sometimes the female, sometimes the male characters of the novels appear as the main protector, according to the gender representations of the authors.

National Identity

Divorce may only be found in the second group of canonical novels. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, Emine divorces Kız Tevfik when she realizes that she will never be able to

⁷⁴ Morkaya, pp. 194-5.

control him as she planned. In *Ankara*, Selma Hanım divorces both her first and second husbands, until she finds happiness with Neşet Sabit and a nationalist family. Thus, unlike *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Ankara* covers the theme of re-marriage. In both of her divorces, it is Selma Hanım who decides to leave her husbands. In her first marriage, the motive of her decision is the fact that she is impressed by a powerful nationalist military officer, Hakkı Bey. She also realizes that Nazif does not participate in the nationalist struggle in a way showing his weakness, thus the insufficiency of his manly potentials and his masculinity. The motive of divorce in her second marriage, on the other hand, is the fact that she notices Hakkı Bey's transformation in a negative way, towards degeneration. Thus, through this decision, she also refuses the modernization model symbolized by him. In addition, she realizes that Hakkı Bey is unfaithful to her. What makes this disloyalty graver for Selma Hanım is the fact that happens with a foreign woman: "I wish that Hakkı Bey had a relationship with a Turkish woman. The young woman would put up with her honor being taken apart and being beaten off like this. But her husband's interest in a foreign woman was a double-cheat. He was wounding both her gender and her nationality."⁷⁵

This passage summarizes very well the main constituents of identity for Yakup Kadri and the other authors: gender, particularly womanhood, and nationality. In this respect, the common motive in Selma Hanım's divorces is her nationalism and her search for the idealized powerful man that nationalistic gender concepts denote. Hence, her motives are forgivable and legitimate, as they go towards a nationalistic aim. At this point, the fact that she also joined Hakkı Bey through deceiving her first husband is not problematized at all.

The only case of divorce in the first group of novels, the divorce of Ferhunde and Şevket in *Yaprak Dökümü*, differs from that in *Ankara*. In this narrative, divorce is treated as another element showing the degenerated and wicked character of the modernized bride, Ferhunde, an outsider to the initial nuclear family and influencing it in a negative way.

Indeed, national identity is considered in a significant number of novels of both the canonical and non-canonical type, that is in *Ankara*, *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Bahar Çiçeği*

⁷⁵ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 161. The original text is as follows: "Bari Hakkı Beyin bu münasebeti bir Türk Hanımıyla olsaydı. Genç kadın, gurur ve haysiyetinin bu kadar kırılışına, bu kadar ayaklar altına alınıp çiğnenişine, belki, boyun eğecekti. Fakat kocasının bir ecnebi kadınla bu alakası, ona karşı iki katlı bir ihanetti. Onu hem cinsiyetinden hem milliyetinden yaralıyordu."

and *Aşk Politikası* as strong and sufficient criteria for both the choice of spouse and the decision to divorce⁷⁶. In this respect, the marriage issue and marriage with a non-Turkish spouse appear as important and frequent themes in this period's romances, serving as an indicator of how nationalism and modernity juxtapose each other and how in many cases, the former determines the latter's form.

Another criteria for spouse choice is nationality. Here, it is important to note that spousal candidates from other nations include only Europeans, in a way showing that the Turkish Revolution's main care was to settle its accounts with Europeanization. In addition, it is interesting to note that in the novels there is no crisis of a Turkish man who has to make the decision to marry a European woman. Only in *Aşk Politikası* does Necati want to marry Şura, a Russian artist. His uncle reminds him that a woman raised within western culture⁷⁷ is too free and thus, unsuitable to the Turkish family structure. Indeed, Necati forgets Şura easily, showing again that he does not have a serious personality.

It is mostly Turkish girls who encounter such a difficult situation. This fact alone is enough to show how woman is considered as distinctive in terms of carrying and signifying national identity. Among the canonical novels, only Rabia marries a non-Turkish man. As explained above, this problematic situation shows the differences of eastern and western civilizations and the vices or superiority of the former over the latter. Thus, the problem is solved in this novel through the conversion of Peregrini, signifying his introduction into Turkish culture. The fact that he is not accepted into the marriage with his own identity shows how nationality appears as a completely dominant code for the legitimacy of both the marriage and the narrative telling it.

Among the non-canonical novels there are few divorcing couples, except the French mother and the Turkish father of Feyhan. This event is explained by the cultural differences between spouses, based on their national distinctions. It is also

⁷⁶ In his study on marriage advertisements in the Second Constitutional years' newspapers, Toprak points out how "patriotism" appears as a fundamental criteria. This proves how this concept has historical roots. But still, the first thing that people looked at the was financial conditions of the future spouse. Interestingly, many young girls also announced their will to marry. Moreover, there was an explicit demand for a modern way of life in many of these announcements, although it was immediately followed by the stress on Turkish ethical values. On the other hand, even the existence of these announcements is an evidence of the popularity among the youth of the ideal of free and individual choice of spouse, against the marriages arranged by families. Zafer Toprak, "Osmanlı'da Alafranga Evlenme İlanları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 9, no. 51 (March 1988), pp. 44-46.

⁷⁷ Hamdi Bey considers Russia in the cultural hinterland of Europe.

based on the presumption that Turks are superior to other nations. Feyhan's mother is shown as accepting this assumption without question, which is seen as an unquestionable fact. Why she accepts this inferior position so easily remains unanswered, in a way showing how nationality is constructed as a code of common sense by the authors. Interestingly, she explains Feyhan's Turkish origin partly by her daughter's education and partly by the *blood* that she inherited from her father. This demonstrates how according to a certain interpretation present in the Turkish intelligentsia of the period, nationality was conceived of as a natural sense of belonging, transferred through the patrilineal heritage and shows how it can be based on biological links. The following words from the letter⁷⁸ that Feyhan receives from her mother in which this French woman explains why she left her to the Turkish father, shows very well the above-mentioned arguments:

Why did I leave you and run away? It is too hard to explain ...

I loved your father; but our connections to the manners, ways of being brought up, and our feelings, him as a Turk, me as a Frenchwoman, could not make us as one, after the first years of love. As the years pass by, sadly I realize that you love me just because I am your mother, and you are growing up like a true Turkish child; and I observe that your ways are getting closer to those of your father's, day by day.

Now, I am happy for that, my daughter. If you had come with me, you would have become miserable like me. Since I am aware of *your father's heart of high moral quality*, I know that his warm affection will guard you better.

Since you have always lived with your father, *under his Turkish manners and education, in the land of the Turks, and in the Turkish air*; even though you were born of a French mother, choose the man you love from the same place and from *the same blood*; and do not marry anyone but a Turk.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Indeed, the whole narrative is in the form of letters that mostly Feyhan writes to her closest girl friend Mina. As cited in Sirman, "this literary device has the effect of turning the female voice into the product of the narrative". Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 255. Moreover, it serves to exhibit inner and somehow illegitimate sentiments, such as love, which cannot be manifested on public occasions. When they are felt by a female protagonist, they can legitimately be expressed only to another female friend. Even in this form, sometimes Feyhan conceals her feelings both from herself and from Mina.

⁷⁹ Berkand, pp. 49-50. Italics belong to me. The original text is as follows: "*Seni niçin bıraktım da kaçtım ? Bunu sana anlatmak çok güç...Babanı sevdim; fakat onun tam bir türk, benim tam bir Fransız olan görgü, terbiye, his ve bağlantılarımız bizi ilk aşk yıllarından sonra birbirimize kaynaşıramadı...Yıllar geçtikçe senin yalnız anan olduğum için beni sevdiğini ve tam bir Türk çocuğu gibi büyümekte olduğunu, tabiatının seni babana daha çok yaklaştırdığını üzülerek görüyordum. Şimdi bunun için mutluyum kızım. Benimle gelseydin sen de benim gibi zavallı ve sefil olacaktın. Babanın yüksek seciyesinin en müşfik kalbini bildiğim için onun sıcak şefkatinin seni daha iyi koruduğunu biliyorum. Madem ki sen, Fransız bir ananın kızı olduğun*"

Indeed, this narrative's main opposition constructing the fundamental axis of the whole plot is built upon a controversy between the communal national identity and the individual love, emotion. Like her mother, on his deathbed Feyhan's father asks that his daughter not marry a non-Turkish man ⁸⁰. According to Feyhan's father's perspective, strengthened by the author through basing it on real personal experience, nationality appears as an almost natural carrier of culture, thus of inner personal traits and differences. When an equation is built and a legitimization is constructed in this way, it appears so strong that no reader, or at least no daughter, can deny it. The following passage describes this dramatic scene of testimony:

— Daughter, give me your hand and say, "Dad, I will remain as *a young Turkish girl, after you die*. I will not seek shelter in my mother's family, who have never shown an interest in me until now. *And I will remain as a Turkish girl, even though I love someone to death. And I will not marry anyone but a Turk.*

I repeated these words to my father with all of my heart.

He murmured again, as I was exiting the door.

— I can die happily, now. Feyhan *will not be theirs, she will remain mine* and she will never tremble like a fallen leaf in the wind. ⁸¹

Thus, Feyhan follows the will of her dead father to the end, but a crisis rises when she meets and falls in love in Paris with a disguised man whose nationality she does not know. In a way, the secrecy promotes the rise of love emotions in the female character. At this point, it is important to note that the disguise trick in the narrative is provided primarily through the motive of concealed nationality. Thus,

halde daima babanla, onun Türk terbiyesi altında, Türk topraklarında ve Türk havasında yaşadın, seveceğin adamı da aynı muhitten, aynı kandan seç ve bir Türkten başkasıyla evlenme."

⁸⁰ Interestingly, the narrative is built on Feyhan's response primarily to the demand of her father, although the same demand is made by her mother too. In other words, Feyhan's mother's request remains only as a motive that strengthens the legitimacy of her father's demand. It is a strong legitimizer as it comes from a non-Turkish person (even "them", they accept "our" superiority). But in a way emphasizing one more time the patrilinear origins of national identity, Feyhan primarily takes her father's words seriously and is preoccupied with them.

⁸¹ Berkand, p. 52. Italics belong to me. The original text is as follows: "- Kızım elini ver ve bana de ki: "Baba, sen öldükten sonra ben genç bir türk kızı olarak kalacağım. Annemin beni şimdiye dek arayıp sormayan ailesine sığınmayacağım ve ölümlere kadar sevsem bile bir Türk kızı olarak kalacağım. Ve bir türkten başkasıyla evlenmeyeceğim. İhtiyar babacığma bu sözleri can ve yürekten tekrarladım. O kapıdan çıkarken mırıldandı. - Artık ölsem de gam yemem. Feyhan onların olmayacak, benim kalacak ve yabancı kimselerin arasına düşüp rüzgarda kalmış bir yaprak gibi titremeyecek."

nationality is put again as the main and most crucial element of true personality or identity. The climax is solved only after Feyhan discovers that the man she loves is a Turk and they marry each other.

Aysel of *Aşk Politikası* experiences a similar controversial situation. An English gentleman, Danielson, proposes marriage to her because he is impressed by the fact that she is *namuslu* while she is still a modern girl. Her job is much easier than Feyhan's, however, as she does not love Danielson. In addition, as a Western, much more experienced girl, her closest Swedish girlfriend Greta helps her to make the right decision to decline his offer. She reminds her that national differences should be considered as the primary factor in such an important decision.

Bahar Çiçeği is more important in terms of elucidating the topic at hand here. Feyhan's inner contradiction reflects clearly how nation was imagined in this period as a basic criteria, serving as a reference point in every personal decision, including even the choice of a spouse. In a way, the nationality of the future spouse appears as even more important than the above-mentioned emphasis on reason. Feyhan's difficult dilemma indeed puts on the agenda once more how nationalism is imagined as a substitute for romantic love, as discussed above, in the context of Hakkı Celis' transformation from a loving object into a nationalist subject or hero.

For Feyhan, it is indeed a decision to be made between her father and future husband, thus a decision based on the old Freudian Electra complex. Feyhan's obstinate attachment to her father's will, the fact that she abandons the present, the promises and pleasures of her emotions for a dead father, and finally the fact that she left her mother so easily, are never discussed and problematized in the novel. In a way proving the arguments in the next chapter, on the idealization of the strong male figure, the power of the father (or the strongest of men) is assumed to be completely legitimate and remains unquestioned. Indeed, this father-daughter relationship may also be described as symptoms of a morbid fidelity. But, on the contrary, all of these sub-texts are interpreted as indicators of Feyhan's self-sacrifice, self-discipline and her personality's strength. In addition, Feyhan's beloved modernity is not situated into opposition to her dependence on her dead father. Thus, her modernity does not cause her to make independent and individual decisions. Indeed, it is the communal or national identity which dominates the modern self. It is due to the nationalistic assumptions of her own and of the historical period in which she writes that the

author was able to construct the story in this way. In the following passage where Feyhan talks with her beloved, these arguments are clearly expressed:

- What does the husband of your friend do?
- He's an Engineer.
- What nationality?
- What do you mean, what nationality? He is Turkish of course.
- You are answering me like a little girl, Feyhan Hanım. Is it so natural that he is Turkish?
- I looked at his face.
- Certainly, the husband of a Turkish girl is also a Turk.
- She answered me with the same calmness:
- No... The Turkish girls, like the other girls in the world, can marry someone who is of a different nationality from their own.
- Yes, but she would never be happy.
- Why is that?
- Their upbringing, manners, mores, and habits would not match.
- You are right. What if they love each other?
- They should not love each other.
- This is such a definite and calculated answer. How can you say they should not love each other. Would love follow a rule?
- Certainly... You do not love someone whom you do not want to love.⁸²

Feyhan can also be perceived as the Republican equivalent of the fatherless heroes in Tanzimat novels. Although she is a woman, similar to her male pioneers, her love "does not have the individualizing function it has in the Western romantic novel...(the Turkish novels) depict the chaos and ultimate destruction that come in wake of the absence of the father, guarantor of the absolute order"⁸³. This time, the problematic situation is raised and solved in a nationalist context, which stands as the true and legitimate basis of order. What is interesting is that like the heroes in the Tanzimat novel, she also does not revolt, but follows her fate, drawn by a dead father. Thus, her loneliness does not

⁸² Ibid., pp. 112-113. The original text is as follows: "- Bu arkadaşınızın kocası ne iş yapıyor ? - Mühendis. - Ne millettir ? - Nasıl ne millettir ? Tabii Türk. - Küçük bir kız gibi cevap veriyorsunuz Feyhan Hanım. Türk olması bu kadar tabii mi ? Yüzüne baktım: - Bir türk kızının kocası elbette ki bir Türk genci olur. Aynı sükunetle cevap verdi: - Hayır... Bir Türk kızı da dünyanın her tarafındaki kızlar gibi kendi milletinden başkasıyla evlenebilir. - Evet, fakat mutlu olamaz. - Niçin ? - Terbiyeleri, görgüleri, ahlak ve alışkanlıkları birbirine uymaz. - Hakkınız var, fakat ya birbirlerini severlerse... - Sevmemelidirler. - Pek kati ve hesabi bir cevap bu ! Sevmemelidirler olur mu ? Aşk kanun dinler mi ? - Tabii... İnsan sevmek istemediği adamı sevmez..."

⁸³ Sirman, "Gender Construction", p. 168.

imply an emphasis on independence, but strengthens dependence as it appears even in the physical absence of authority.

Moreover, the elements building Feyhan's contradiction indicate which oppositions carry us to a nationalist construction. As argued above Feyhan tries to solve an antagonism between her father and her beloved, between devotion and emotion, between self- sacrifice and pleasure but in addition to and in parallel to them, this controversy represents a clash between the past and the present / future. These dimensions of time and nation expressed in narrative remind us of how historical context and understanding of history are crucial in building selves and narratives. In a way, at the point where the climax is solved, the difficult dilemma of Feyhan, which leaves her undecided between the past (her father) and the future (her husband), is resolved for the sake of the present (the nation). It seems the best solution for a new nation trying to imagine and construct a modern identity for itself. Feyhan's story ends up with her following the words in the last letter that she writes to Mina: "The happy nations do not have a *history*, happy people have no history, either? Right? With warmest regards, my sister."⁸⁴

Conclusion: *Namus* and Nationalism Unifying Canon and Non-Canon

In the canonical examples, romantic love appears as a source and indicator of degeneration. In the non-canonical novels, such a representation is not necessarily present, but still it is not emphasized as might be expected in a romance. In other words, they appear as cautious texts. In conclusion, although in different degrees, such caution toward love is present in both the canonical and non-canonical texts. Behind this fact there is a perception of romantic love as an alternative to nationalist feeling. This statement has two implications: first, nationalist feeling and participation are imagined in these novels as an equivalent of romantic love, as an attachment as strong, passionate and individual as it is; second, the individual should

⁸⁴ Berkand, p. 223. The original text is as follows: "*Mutlu milletlerin tarihi olmazmış, mutlu insanların da tarihi olmaz değil mi? Gözlerinden öperim kardeşim.*"

waste her/his limited spiritual and material energy on nationalism, rather than on love.

Sexuality appears as a source of degeneration in both the canonical and non-canonical examples. This representation is based on the tension between the two fundamental aims of the Kemalist project: to provide female access to the public sphere, in order to prove and achieve modernization, but also to guarantee the preservation of the female *namus*, in order to set the limits between the Turkish and the modernized Western countries' identities, that is, to achieve a nationalist construction. Moreover, the preservation of *namus* is considered primarily as the responsibility of women. In a way, it may be concluded that the canonical novels' main problematic, what lead the authors to write these texts, is to find a solution to this difficult question. In the non-canonical examples, on the other hand, although there may be creative answers to it and although it is not the unique problematic influencing all the remaining themes, this tension continues to be fundamental. In this respect, although the signs demonstrating female *namus*, thus the borders of defining its presence, may differ in the canonical and non-canonical novels, they are identical in terms of setting *namus* as a fundamental rule. They also share the assumption that what is considered is women's *namus*, not men's.

In terms of family structure, in both the canonical and non-canonical examples, an urban based narrative is observed, a defense of the patriarchal division of labor within the household and of the patriarchal assumptions of the priority of the male as the bread winner of the household are preserved, although they appear in different degrees and combinations in each narrative. In addition to these structural devices, most importantly in terms of the concerns of this study, the choices of spouse and decisions of divorce are made in both the canonical and non-canonical texts according to nationalist priorities.⁸⁵

In other words, the similarities mentioned in the title of the chapter, but that the reader perhaps does not feel were emphasized in the main text, lie in this omnipresent priority of nationalism, which unites the canonical and non-canonical texts. In other words, in products from both the canonical and non-canonical realms,

⁸⁵ Of course, we should keep in mind that there is still a crucial difference between the canonical and non-canonical works in terms of the representation of family: the former are rather deconstruction stories whereas the latter recount the reconstruction of new family, due to modernization.

the so called "private" issues that constitute different phases before and after the marriage act, are politicized and situated in the public sphere, on a nationalist axis. In the final analysis, this fact results in the rise of a cautious discourse on the private sphere, both within and without the canon.

CHAPTER II

DIFFERENCES AMONG THE CANONICAL AND NON-CANONICAL NOVELS: THE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER AND THE CONCEPT OF MODERNITY

There, my first being a "European girl..." Sitting together and having a beer with Aydın, that is. And being more "European," and letting him hold my hand, while sitting on a bench with snow and feeling my butt getting ice cold. Liking neither the wetness I am sitting on, nor the guy sitting with me, but just enjoying being civilized.¹

Male and Female as Opposing Categories and Perceptions of Modernity

In the following paragraphs, if and how modern and traditional are constructed as gendered categories, in both the canonical and non-canonical novels, will be explored.

In all of the canonical and non-canonical novels discussed in this thesis an antagonistic representation of male and female gender categories is common. Moreover, every relationship between the two genders, such as love and marriage, is conceived within a discourse of struggle rather than harmony. Gender is handled as a naturally given attribute rather than as a socially constructed category and is perceived in terms of sharp differences and indisputable oppositions. That is, male and female characters are in perfect contradiction and the reason for this is not problematized at all as it is conceived as a pre-given fact. Thus, the differences between the sexes receive more emphasis than their similarities do.

What is of interest in the context of this thesis is that this antagonistic representation also overlaps with the categories of modern and non-modern. In other words, modern and non-modern, which are codified in terms of strict opposites, are represented through the genders and their antagonism is expressed through a naturalized conflict between men and women. Thus, such a conception also implies

¹ Adalet Ağaoğlu, *Ölmeye Yatmak* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 3rd Edition, 1980), p. 267. The original text is as follows: "*Orada ilk "Avrupalı kız" oluşumu. Aydın'la oturup bir bardak bira içişimi yani. Daha da "Avrupaileşip" az sonra karlı bir bank üstünde kırım üşüye üşüye elimi tutmasına izin verişimi. Ne üstünde oturduğum ıslaklığı, ne yanımdaki genci; fakat uygar olmayı sevişimi.*"

the imagining of modernity and tradition as mutually exclusive categories, in the same way as with the categories of men and women².

The Canonical Novels

The aim of this section is to prove that despite the mainstream discourse and of all this apparent emphasis of Kemalist reform on the importance of modernizing woman, in the canonical novels a certain distance towards modernity and a defensive position against it are seen much more frequently than in the non-canonical examples. In the first group of novels, there is a central female character who exhibits the degenerating effects of modernity whereas in the second group, the female symbolizes the suggested distance with this wrong model.

In *Kiralık Konak* modernity is represented in a negative way through Seniha's personality, situated in contrast to the traditional Naim Efendi and the idealist Hakkı Celis. Hence, modernity, or Seniha, are also equated with materialism and individualism in the sense of selfishness, as opposed to the spiritual and social. Although there are also modern male characters, such as Faik Bey, Cemil or Servet Bey, and although they are as degenerated as Seniha, modernity shows its darker face much more clearly in Seniha's fate, where she ends up a loose woman.

The values represented by Naim Efendi are neither totally accepted nor criticized by the author. In a way, Naim Efendi represents the end of a period, i.e. the period of the Tanzimat or Abdülmecid against the period of Abdülhamid and the Second Constitution³, the "*konak*" life against that of the "*pavilion*"⁴. In the novel, the earlier period, symbolized by Naim Efendi, is represented as an age of traditional, original, established values such as politeness. The Abdülhamid period gives later birth to the Union and Progress period and to residue such as Seniha, who are represented as symbols of complete degeneration as a result of the hybridity and

² Duben and Behar state the well-known fact that a human being is inclined to organize his/her thoughts and to perceive the reality in the axis of dualities. But what is interesting for us is that the reality is much more complicated than these oppositions suggest. There are mixed forms and practices, rather than mere contradictions, pp. 262-3.

³ See footnote number 26 of the Preface, for a review of this period.

affected character of modern cultural life and of imperialist exploitation, as is implied in the last chapter where Seniha, like Turkish girls, entertains occupying German soldiers⁵. In spite of all its positive attributes, the period symbolized by Naim Efendi is accused of not being strong enough, of possessing too much of a “feminine” character. Yakup Kadri describes it as a period desperately condemned to end, although it is a pity. It is only remembered through a cautious nostalgia. Indeed, what is mostly praised by the author is the new, young and idealist nationalist model of which Hakkı Celis’ transformation gives the first signs. Thus, in a way shadowing his message in *Ankara*, the author suggests the nationalist model, defined against the Ottoman modernization that leads to degeneration. It is not surprising that Naim Efendi and the period symbolized by him are described in a more positive way than the degenerated period symbolized by Seniha, as a nationalist would still prefer elements “peculiar to us” to an imitated life style, even if it does not possess the health, strength and energy attributed to the new nationalism.

In *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Fatih-Harbiye*, a sharper differentiation is made between the modern and non-modern, man and woman. In these books, unlike the modern and negative male characters of *Kıralık Konak*, all of the men represent the virtue of the traditional, whereas the female characters express the opposite dangers of modernity.

⁴ Indeed, this representation has a factual truth too. Duben and Behar report the same transformation, p. 216.

⁵ In the 1930s, the Tanzimat Period is portrayed by intellectuals as a semi-successful rehearsal of Kemalist modernization, but by the 1960s, many historians began to conceive it as having been the beginning of the loss of economic independence. Indeed, both views were based on a modernist and nationalist perspective, but the content of their nationalisms differs: in the former, the elitist position that defends modernization from above is dominant, whereas in the latter, there is a more Marxist point of view. Thus, Yakup Kadri’s admiration of the Tanzimat is not surprising and shows again his elitism and his view of progress based on centralism, which fit well with the mainstream Kemalist program and ideology.

On the other hand, many historians evaluate the period of Abdülhamid just before the second proclamation of the Second Constitution, as a period where westernization attempts were relatively slowed down. But Yakup Kadri conceives the Hamidian period as a time interval in which a degenerated model of modernity was appropriated. Moreover, it is interesting that in spite of the emphasis on its modernizationist essence, Yakup Kadri sees the Tanzimat as having been relatively less modernized than the Hamidian period. In this axis, his understanding of modernization from above is strengthened.

For Yakup Kadri’s account on these historical periods, which reveals his understanding of modernity, see, pp. 20, 21, 22. For an account on how the Tanzimat is conceptualized in Turkish historiography, see İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı* (İstanbul: Hil Yayınları, 1995), p. 24. See also, Keyder, pp. 75-76, for the interpretation of the Hamidian age as a more conservatist period.

In *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, on the other hand, this equation is reversed. This time, women symbolize a distance with a certain negative model of modernity, an alternative nationalist model in *Ankara* and a synthesis of traditional and modern in *Sinekli Bakkal* where the former is much more dominant. Thus, these novels appear as deviancies within the canon.

It is especially interesting that the typology of Hakkı Bey, the husband of Selma Hanım in the second chapter of *Ankara*, fulfils the same function of exhibiting the degenerative effects of modernity as seen in the female characters of *Yaprak Dökümü* and *Fatih-Harbiye*. Neşet Sabit, in the last chapter, however, appears as a male character who builds the same distance with Selma Hanım to a certain, negatively represented model of modernity.

A comparison of the second and third sections of *Ankara* yields productive results in terms of elucidating the two competing concepts of modernity that are the focus of this thesis. The second chapter proposes a model where the individual is more dominant. However, this emphasis on the individual could also be perceived as a process of liberation, but it is represented rather as a case of selfishness and degeneration. The third chapter, on the other hand, is in a sharp contrast to the second. Here, there is another proposition of the model of modernity based on a rational, central planning of society⁶. Although this model may be written according

⁶ In *Ankara*, the suggested model of modernity is represented through the following codes: Order, centrally planned development; intellectual or elite, working for the people, in a way controlling and guiding them; communalism and particularly nationalism; formation of national identity (years of enthusiastic engagement and participation to this process); originality, truth; spirit, ideals, enthusiastic engagement, voluntary self-sacrifice and hard work; thus, an end to alienation and finding a new meaning for life (primarily for the intellectual); Westernization as a communal, national ideal; a developmentalist way in economics, a nationalist way in culture; power; high moral values; social benefits; production and working; the harmonious, non-problematic and non-contradictory unification of technology and ideals; i.e. unification of material and spiritual; dynamism, speed, freshness; sport, health; statistics, scientism; perfection; emergence of a perfect, complete, conscious new generation without personal crisis; social responsibility; state and statism; centralism and control; closed economics, industrialization; a classless society; radical and rapid change; practice against theory (in terms of intellectual identity); art for Society, for social benefit (rather than art for itself or individual satisfaction); new city, new village, even a new, controlled nature.

The opposite of these codes concerning degenerated model in the second chapter of the novel, may be enumerated as follows: westernization only at the individual level and mainly in daily life manners, in external, superficial appearance and at the level of image; degeneration (free polygamous, non-marital sexual relationships, heterosocial Western type entertainment); alienation, identity crisis (losing its own, spontaneous, original, thus national character for the search to adopt a foreign, other culture); artificiality, falseness, imitation, snobbery; leaving high spiritual, moral values and ideals for material, worldly pleasures; individualism (in the sense of selfishness), self-seeking particularly in economics and adoption of a consumption culture; laziness and speculative profits.

to these codes as a model of authoritarianism or even as an example of fascism, it is completely idealized by Yakup Kadri.⁷

The most striking expression of these contradictions may be found in *Sinekli Bakkal* where the original representative of two civilizations, that is Rabia symbolizing Eastern culture and Peregrini symbolizing Western typology respectively, come face to face within a marriage relationship⁸. In this respect, this marriage goes on with infinite struggle and disputes. In the end Rabia's virtues and strength win over Peregrini. This struggle symbolizes indeed the antagonism between Eastern and Western civilizations and the victory of Rabia proves the supremacy of the former over the latter.

At this point, it should be noted that as an original example of western civilization, i.e. as someone who does not try to simply imitate it, Peregrini does not signify the ultimate degenerated or amoral. Indeed, he appears as a flat character, a device to show us the qualities of a civilization. The real villain of the novel, the person who stands in strict opposition to Rabia's vices, is Dürnev, the bride of Selim Paşa. It should be noted that even in *Sinekli Bakkal*, a book written by a female author, although there is place for the positive representation of women, the degenerative effects of modernization and the ultimate criticisms of it are observed

⁷ Earlier it was discussed how the ideas developed around the *Kadro* movement in which Yakup Kadri actively participated, and which always remained open to discussion: were they defending a totalitarian or even fascist, a collectivist or a revolutionist ideology? See footnote number 39 of the Preface.

⁸ Tradition, symbolized by Rabia, thus by woman or wife, is characterized by the following positively represented codes: Eastern (represented as a civilization defined mainly at the level of culture, including religion, namely Islam and traditions, Ottoman Istanbul traditions); heart and spirit; calm attitude in love; ability to accept human beings and their tendencies as they are; capacity to be contented with what he/she possesses; satisfaction; a calm temperament related to those characteristics; devotion to living things and human beings instead of to passions and objects; harmony; plainness, simplicity, tastefulness, cleanliness (especially in decoration and clothing) life style; sincerity; authenticity, originality, nativity, truth, locality; "high" values of spirituality; solidarity (among the people living in the same city quarter; that is, on a "*mahalle*" basis).

In strict opposition to these codes, the modern, characterized by Peregrini, thus by man or husband, is identified with the following negative attributes: Western (represented as a completely non-consistent civilization defined mainly at the level of culture and cultural values); the contradictory combination of pure reason and worldly passions; passionate attitude in love; will and even ambition to change; curiosity, frustration; irritated, aggressive and distressful temperament related to these characteristics; devotion to ideas; a huge interest in even unnecessary philosophical questions; speed, youth, passion for novelty; science; contradiction, contrast, chaos; ostentatious and imitation (particularly in the affected modernity of Turkish characters); polyphony; formality; degeneration; material, worldly; individualism (to the extent of selfishness in some cases).

But as was noted in the text, these codes do not necessarily mean that Peregrini is a negative character, a villain.

again primarily in stereotypical female characters like Dürnev. But still the presence of Rabia confirms that *Sinekli Bakkal* has a more pluralist conception of woman.

Although Dürnev does not come from this civilization she wants to imitate the western life style and she wants to adopt only the elements of it considered by the author as superficial, like fashion. So, what Halide Edip aims to criticize is the imitation (of Western civilization). Moreover, she accuses a certain type of imitation, that is the imitation of forms, rather than an effort to understand the content of a "strange" civilization. In this respect, although she still preserves a certain critical distance to western culture and its modernity, in *Sinekli Bakkal*, the contradiction between modern and non-modern is not as sharp as it is in other canonical novels. While dichotomies such as "rational versus irrational" are preserved, a "universal" sphere to unite them, composed of human values and tastes, is preserved.

In conclusion, it can be argued that in all of the canonical novels in the sample, a certain model of modernity carries negative attributes; this model stands in sharp contrast to another life style, with positive attributes⁹. Moreover, in contrast with the second group, in the first ensemble of the canonical novels these negative qualities are represented primarily by female characters¹⁰.

Non-Canonical Novels

In the non-canonical novels in this study as well man and woman symbolize opposite categories and their relationships are represented as a domain of constant tension and struggle. But this time, this opposition does not necessarily follow a contradiction between modern and non-modern; both man and woman are in the

Moreover, they can be observed in other novels by Halide Edip too, for example in *Kalp Ağrısı* too, the female protagonist's guidance leads the male hero to "accept life as it is", one of the positive qualities that are stressed in *Sinekli Bakkal*. Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 262.

⁹ These codes are as follows: "West (particularly European)" versus "Traditional and Eastern, "experience, speed, daily life and dangerous, passionate pleasures of it, including heterosocial Western style entertainment and romantic love" versus "tranquillity, family life, high moral values"; "material, worldly, economics, luxury consumption" versus "spiritual (but not necessarily religion or Islam) and cultural, moral values"; "present, future, new" versus "past and established"; "ostentatious, ornamented" versus "plain, simple, tasteful"; "artificial, false, affected, imitation, imported" versus "real, true, original"; "non-polite" versus "polite"; "ambitions, passions, dissatisfaction that leads to immorality" versus "satisfaction, appreciative, contented"; "degenerated" versus "moral and ethical"; "appearance, image" versus "inner depths".

¹⁰ Kandiyoti also makes this observation and explains it as a search for a new female status that would not threaten the community's original identity. She claims that nationalists and Islamists join on this fundamental problematic. Kandiyoti; *Cariyeler*, p. 134.

camp of moderns. In the first group of non-canonical novels, and in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the modernity of the female characters is represented in a way that differs from that in the canonical texts. In these narratives, the fact that woman is modern leads to an idealized happy-ever after ending, to the formation of a modern nuclear family rather than to its dissolution or split, as is the case in the canonical novels. Hence, modernity does not appear as a risk that shows its darker face in woman's status and that necessitates a defensive position in return.

The representation of male and female central characters as contradictory persons may particularly be observed in Morkaya's *Aşk Politikası*. In this narrative, from the very beginning, in the preface, the author explicitly states that his aim is to teach the youth modern gender relationships. In the text, the male and female protagonists are portrayed at opposite extremes, in a way displaying also the complex popular social code system. In terms of class origin, the female character, Aysel, is from a high level bureaucratic family, whereas the male character, Necati, is the son of a rich merchant. Aysel lives in a *konak* on the Anatolian coast of Istanbul, signifying a more established and traditional settlement pattern. Necati lives in a modern apartment flat on the European side of the city. Aysel is interested in the fine arts. She is a well-educated, clever young girl. Although she is not very beautiful (that is, although she has a quality unfamiliar for a popular romance), she has a very strong and balanced personality. In contrast to her, Necati is interested in sports based on physical strength. Unlike the male character clichés of popular romance, he is neither a clever nor balanced, educated person. Rather, he is a spoiled, frivolous womanizer. In this way, their marriage at the end of the book symbolizes the union of incompatible classes and the values and social codes bound with them. That is, the idealized alliance of the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie, of the relatively traditional and the modern strata of the elite.

Moreover, similar to schematism in *Ankara*, this novel is also significant in terms of displaying strictly differentiated models of modernity and how they are reflected in the personalities of central characters of the two sexes. Indeed, Aysel and Necati symbolize different ways of articulation with modernity. In this respect, their unification is possible only after the ordered model, represented by Aysel and both her and Necati's parents, has tamed the liberal pattern expressed in Necati's and his uncle's Hamdi Bey's personalities. That is, unification is possible only after the

family dominates the individual. Thus, in a way, a model of modernity inclined more toward order and discipline seems to be preferred by the author.

Still, it does not reflect a picture similar to the canonical works. First, as argued above too, it is not the female protagonist who stands for the criticized model, but the male antagonist. Moreover, its emphasis on "discipline" is not an apology for the existing order, but it is a preference between the different elements, present in the dual character of modernity in the West. Thus, its emphasis on "order" is not situated on a dichotomy of "us" or Turks, and "them" or westerners; it does not have the nationalist worry to suggest a model peculiar to Turks or to reject the European model. In line with this claim, it does not define for woman a sphere of "cover", peculiar to us. Rather it conceives the liberation of woman to be quite legitimate. Most importantly, it is indeed not a completely coherent text. Although it ends up with the victory of "order", the very long and thus improper in the literary sense monologues of Hamdi Bey (one of them lasts 14 pages¹¹) continue to exhibit a strong defense of a liberal and individualistic model. Thus, indeed, this novel is not as fanatic as canonical novels in putting a distance between itself and a certain model of modernity. It rather exhibits the inconsistent character of the modern experience and has an undecided perspective, rather than making a consistent apology for a certain model of modernity. At this point, *Aşk Politikası*'s inner inconsistencies are based on a strange composition and reflect very well the ideological problematic of the historical context in which it was produced: it is a popular novel that starts with the assertion of being a conscious contribution to process of "modernization" and that tries to understand, express and teach "modernity" through a strictly "modernist" discourse¹².

On the other hand, the relationship between Cemile and Selim, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, is distinguished by constant quarrels and signifies the uneasy union of the intellectual and the illiterate. The unfamiliarity and incompetence with the practical aspects of every day life of the intellectual Selim stand in sharp contrast with Cemile and are narrated in a light, mocking style. But still Selim is not portrayed as an alienated intellectual. What is most interesting is that in spite of her non-intellectual, lower class origins, Cemile is described in a positive fashion. She is described even

¹¹ Morkaya, pp. 108-122.

¹² For a detailed analysis of *Aşk Politikası*, see Tülin Kurtarıcı (author's mother's name), "Modern, Milli ve Popüler bir Aşk Politikası", *Virgöl*, no. 28 (March 2000), pp. 52-54.

more positively than the characters with elite origin, including Selim. The fact that different sides of the relationship carry positive qualities demonstrates that this couple is narrated by Peyami Safa in an approving manner. In spite of the neurotic crises of Cemile and the constant tension related to them, the problematic side of the union of two different worlds is not mentioned at all. Despite the realistic style of the book in general, this unification is realized in such a completely perfect way that it may be considered as idealized by the author.

It is clear that in the non-canonical novels, there is no a dictation of a distance with modernity, but a search for a better model of modernity is still preserved, as can be seen in the loose woman portrayal of Feyhan's mother, who is of French origin, a certain model of modernity, i.e. an exaggerated modernity in which a woman freely experiences sexuality is still disapproved. This theme, however, is not as central and does not receive as much stress as in canonical examples. Moreover, later in the novel, this duality between Feyhan and her father on the one side and her mother on the other, is mentioned to be related to a nationalist message, rather than to suggest a certain model of modernity¹³.

In contrast with the canonical texts, modernity is defined as a domain of possibilities, rather than as a threat and there is a place opened for the female to reach these possibilities through modernization, without falling into degeneration. The strongest evidence of this argument may be found in Berkand's *Bahar Çiçeği* where Feyhan, like Aysel of *Aşk Politikası*, enters heterosocial modern milieus during her studentship in Paris. Unlike the female characters of the first group of canonical novels, in these milieus, even though they drink alcohol and have love affairs, Aysel and Feyhan are still able to preserve their *namus*, thus their identity as Turkish women. Their presence in such heterosocial milieus may even serve a positive aim, that is to display the new modern Turkish identity to a European audience formed of other students in Paris, thus the destruction of European prejudices towards Turkey. It is interesting to note that female modernity here serves first of all a nationalistic outcome, that is, not primarily her own individual liberation. The female character appears as the best carrier of nationalist identity. In a way, in the occasion provided

¹³ How *namus* is represented in these non-canonical novels is discussed in Chapter Three concerned with sexuality. On the other hand, how the portrayal of Feyhan's mother is related to a nationalist model, constituting the main axis and opposition of the novel, is discussed in the passages of the same chapter concerned with criteria of a new marriage.

by this international setting, she displays the particular and original characteristics of Turkish national identity that differentiate it from other national identities. In this context, the fundamental aspect of these characteristics is her capacity to preserve her *namus*.

These female characters in the first group of non-canonical novels in a way resemble the stereotypical female idol of the mainstream nationalist imagination, i.e. the self-sacrificing mother of the nation who brings modernity and civilization to the forgotten little towns and villages of Anatolia¹⁴. Unlike these self-sacrificing teachers and nurses, the popular figures in the non-canonical novels operate in Europe and in contrast with the former female typology who primarily tries to prove and inject modernity, they try to prove a limitation to modernity, i.e. *namus*, that guarantees the originality of their identity¹⁵.

Such a statement, however, should not be regarded as an inner inconsistency in this thesis where it is argued that modernity is conceived in the non-canonical novel as a domain of challenges and possibilities, in contrast to the defensive position of the canonical literature. Indeed, although in the non-canonical examples woman appears as the main carrier and symbol of national identity, and although the essential element of this identity is defined as her *namus*, in other words, although modern woman is still distinguishable with a limitation placed on her body, the importance of the presence of a non-degenerated modern woman typology should not be despised. In this context, it should be remembered that the presentation of such a representation might provide a basis for alternative readings and individual challenges.

¹⁴ In another novel by Halide Edip, *Vurun Kahpeye* (Shoot the prostitute) we see exactly this typology. The central female character, Aliye, is a well-educated young woman who voluntarily works as teacher in a little Anatolian town during the years of nationalist war. As she is not veiled and teaches modern, nationalist and secular ideas to her students, the conservative and religious people of the town, reacting against the national forces, say she is a loose woman. At the end of the novel she is murdered by them, although she has sacrificed herself for the liberation of the motherland. This story has been filmed many times and on almost every national holiday, the official TV channel shows one of its versions. Halide Edip Adivar, *Vurun Kahpeye* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1988).

On the other hand, Sirman points out how after the establishment of the Republic the peasant woman is turned into the "constructive outside of modern Turkish female subjectivity", Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 267. She also draws our attention to the fact that the Village Institute Project may also be thought of as a reaction against the false modernity of the big city, based on an enlightened modernizationist fantasy that became popular in the early years of the Republic. Ibid., p. 269, footnote number 21.

¹⁵ Of course in the first typology *namus* is still important, although the emphasis is much more on their roles as the carriers of modernity in the non-modern places of the motherland.

The most striking example of the contrast between the canonical and the non-canonical products in terms of the conception of modernity and woman, can be found in a comparison of *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* and *Fatih-Harbiye*. As Mizrahi also notices¹⁶, these novels, written by the same author with different names (that is the canonical *Fatih-Harbiye*, written with the real name Peyami Safa and the popular *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* written with the pseudonym Server Bedi), reflect very well how modernity and women's position within it are represented in two opposing ways in canonical and non-canonical products. Mizrahi determines that these two approaches to modernity may be observed even in the titles of two novels: *Fatih-Harbiye* signals a dichotomy whereas *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* describes a movement, or an evolution. Indeed, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the female character's movement toward modernity has totally different motives: Cemile, in contrast with Neriman in *Fatih-Harbiye*, has just practical reasons. She wants a better life and the accomplishment of this goal in the final of the novel does not result in her degeneration as is implied in *Fatih-Harbiye*.

From another point of view, however, in a more detailed analysis, the contrast between *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* is not so sharp as Mizrahi claims¹⁷. The ideas of Ferit, a close friend of Şinasi in *Fatih-Harbiye*, are crucial for such a deeper comparison and for the understanding of Peyami Safa's approach to modernity because they signify the claims of the author, as Ferit seems to serve as the author's voice in the novel.

In the final chapter of the book, the dichotomy between modern and non-modern is resolved for the sake of defenders of tradition, or in better words of the male characters who have a defensive position towards modernity. Yet in the

¹⁶ Mizrahi, pp. 83-96.

¹⁷ Mizrahi points out how literary analysis in Turkey is limited by the ideological positions of the critics and thus, how it is exaggeratedly concerned with the ideological attitude of the authors. He evaluates this situation as a weakness and proposes as a solution an analysis more concerned with stylistic components. But although I agree with his last idea on the importance of stylistic elements, I do not think that literary analysis should be handled in a separate way from ideological positions. It rather depends on how you understand ideology. I think that as long as ideology is conceived in the way suggested in the Preface of this study, there is still place within literary analysis for both stylistic research and an ideological or historical account. See footnote number 59 of the Preface.

As he denies in this way the place of ideology within analysis, although his claims based on a stylistic examination are impressive, his arguments remain weak or rather hesitant in terms of linking his findings with a general understanding of historical and social conditions or in terms of relating the text to the context.

omnipotent words of Ferit, a holistic rejection of the “modern” is not seen. He rather criticizes modernity understood (particularly by women) in a superficial way, with its material aspects, as a mere daily life-style and culture of consumption. Moreover, at this point, he makes a differentiation between women of societies that produce modernity and women of those that consume it. The following conversation of Ferit with Şinasi accurately summarizes very well this approach:

— Yes, she said. We do not understand the idea of civilization as a cultural matter. Besides, the women see this within the limits of a fantasy. But, this is better, I think. (says Ferit to Şinasi)

— Why?

— Women are bound to understand civilization through their own eyes. They are happier than the peoples of true civilization: They are satisfied with the forms, and the change of colors amuses them. But think of the frustration of an English girl with culture, who believes in true progress! She has everything, but she finds nothing. There are people who commit suicide. This is worse, because, for them, civilization is composed of an attractive world of colors. They have ideals, and ours have dreams. Their deception is far more horrifying.¹⁸

Thus, Ferit bases his ideas on a differentiation of form and content and states that because of their natural drives, women prefer form to content. So, he explicitly claims that the negative influences of modernity may be observed especially in women's, particularly young women's lives and preferences and the novel situates woman in a position more weak towards the dangers of a modern life-style. In spite of all these over generalizations on the gender issue and of all the emphasis on a critical account of modernity, there is still place for an alternative model.

I think that partially linked to his above-mentioned hesitations, his analysis remains weak in catching and building the difficult linkage between the last chapters of *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*.

¹⁸ Safa, p. 94. The original text is as follows: “- Evet, dedi, bizde medeniyet fikri, bir kültür meselesi olarak anlaşılmaz. Hele kadınlar bunu bir fantazinin hududu içinde görüyorlar. Fakat bence bu daha iyi. - Neden ? Kadınlar medeniyeti gözleriyle anlamaya mahkumdur. Bunlar hakiki medeniyetçilerden daha bahtiyardırlar: Şekillerle iktifa ederler ve renklerin değişmesi onları eğlendirir. Fakat hakiki terakkiye inanan, kültür sahibi bir İngiliz kızının sükutu hayalini düşün ! Her şeye vasil olmuş, fakat hiçbir şey bulamamıştır. İçlerinde intihar edenler var. Bu daha fena. Zira onlar için medeniyet, cazip bir renkler aleminden ibaret değildir... Onlar ideal sahibidirler, bizimkiler fantezi düşküni; onların aldanişı daha korkunçtur.”

Indeed, in his path to draw this alternative Ferit rejects a sharp differentiation between Eastern and Western civilizations and he criticizes the efforts of building a relationship of superiority or inferiority between them. Thus, he suggests an understanding of culture that transcends these limits. Moreover, with direct reference to Ziya Gökalp¹⁹, he claims that modernity is an inescapable wave and that Turks still have the chance to conceive it in content rather than form and adapt it to the content of their own life style and culture. Clearly he explicitly perceives this wave as threatening to women. Ferit proposes a synthesis and thus a model "peculiar to Turkish nation" where women's life style serves as the main indicator of cultural originality. Moreover, although all of the above-mentioned discussion turns around Neriman's personality, in these passages, there is no place for her voice: men talk in her name.

Nevertheless, as long as Ferit's ideas on the relationship of woman and modernity are taken into account, although it is difficult to evaluate it as a praising argument, Peyami Safa's critical position towards modernity does not appear as radical as it seems in the rest of the book. Thus, while *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* and *Fatih-Harbiye* differ sharply from each other, in terms of genders or rather woman's representation and in terms of their approach to material gains of modernity, there is no such contradiction in terms of rejecting or accepting modernity.

Indeed, in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, too, a proposal of synthesis similar to Ferit's suggestions can be discerned. In the following passages of the novel, that modernity or its material gains are not accepted by Cemile in a non-problematic way, can be seen, as argued by Mizrahi:

Cemile was in such a condition that she could no longer understand why she lived and where she had been carried away. There were two elements she had to compare, and she was successful at it. Karagömrük and Taksim. But she was not able to understand why she hated Karagömrük so much and what she had found in Taksim. Life was running faster than her mind. The things that would satisfy her spiritual needs were so little. Although she felt that she had the things she wanted, from time to time, she experienced a distress that would cause an explosion, since she did not have a certain and lively hope.²⁰

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

²⁰ Bedi, p. 143. The original text is as follows: "O halde ki, artık, Cemile ne istediğini, niçin yaşadığını, nereye doğru sürüklenip gittiğini hiç anlayamaz olmuştu. Mukayesesini her an yapmaya mecbur ve muvaffak olduğu iki unsur vardı: Karagömrük ve Taksim. Fakat şimdi neden Karagömrük'ten o kadar nefret ettiğini ve Taksim'de ne bulmuş olduğunu henüz anlamış değildi.

Thus, in terms of rejecting her former neighborhood or the non-modern, she is even less radical and perhaps more realistic than Neriman. In a way, her behavior is based on her own experience rather than on abstract categories. Especially towards the end of the book, that is after she has achieved a modern life style, when compared with Neriman, it is much more difficult to identify her with the will to modernize. As her words show us, she is even able to understand the disgusting aspects of the modern life style: "My heart is clean, she said. I am not a snobbish girl. I do not want... I would go to hell, not to mention Karagümrük, so that I would not live here".²¹

This contradiction between canonical and popular products in terms of imagining modernity, first mentioned by Mizrahi, which remains crucial in terms of the concerns of this thesis, may be best expressed in his own words:

The two novels present two approaches to cultural change. On the one hand, in *Fatih-Harbiye* change is problematic and suspicious. The slightest variation from the routine is a sign of worse things to come. *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, on the other hand, shows how it is possible to accommodate the "modern". In popular novels change brings gain, not loss...(In *Fatih-Harbiye*) the modern ways, mostly associated with material gains, threaten to disrupt the spiritual balance of individuals, families and societies. In contrast, Server Bedi novels accommodate change more readily...*Modernity is not necessarily threatening but a challenge to be met.*²²

Men and Women: "Natural" or "Rational"

In this section, the question of whether the characters' actions are explained by the authors as a consequence of a reasonable account or as an outcome of natural drives will be explored. In this respect, a comparison of the portrayal of male and female characters in the canonical and non-canonical products will be made, without forgetting to build some connections with the findings on the representation of

Hayat onun aklından çok daha hızlı koşuyordu. İnsiyaklarını tatmin eden şeyse pek az, canının istediği pek çok şeye muktedir olduğunu hissettiği halde muayyen ve canlı bir ümidi olmadığı için, arada bir, içini patlatacak kadar büyük sıkıntı nöbetlerine uğruyordu."

²¹ Ibid., p. 150. The original text is as follows: "Benim gönlüm temiz diyordu, ben züppe kız değilim, istemiyorum, burada yaşamamak için Karagümrüğe değil, cehenneme bile giderim."

²² Mizrahi, p. 88 and p. 96. The parentheses belong to me, in order to assure understandability. The italics also belong to me, to underline the main thesis.

modernity and of gender that were just made in the previous part. In other words, the well known modern representation based on the image of woman as a primarily natural being, in contrast to the rationality and civilization symbolized in man and with higher status, is present in these novels too²³ will be ascertained. In this respect, whenever the author takes a category for granted and does not sense the necessity of giving a rational or social explanation for its existence in the novel, this element is considered as something categorized by the narrator into the domain of the “natural”, in contrast with the “social”.

The Canonical Novels

It is clear that in all of the canonical novels, women, especially the young ones, are generally identified with ‘the natural’. But a job remains to be done, as this claim does not mean very much unless the following crucial question is answered: How is nature or woman then conceived?

In *Fatih-Harbiye*, *Kiralık Konak*, and *Yaprak Dökümü*, that is, in the first group of canonical novels, a suspicious representation of the natural, thus of woman, is observed in general. This fact is mostly manifested in the female characters’

²³ Scholars argue that modernity has a male gender in many of its echoes. In better words, in many modern practices and discourses, we observe that constructed codes of manhood overlap with a certain conception of modernity. This fact implies two conclusions. First, modern and man are defined in the domain of reason and civilization, defined in a superior position to nature. Second, woman is situated in the opposite camp, in the domain of uncontrollable nature, irrationality, madness etc. Thus, she is excluded from the privileges provided by being the modern subject. For the male gendered aspect of modernity, see G. Lloyd, *Erkek Akıl* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 1996).

Huyssen on the other hand points out how this process of attributing a male gender to modernity works in the discursive realm and mentions thus how culture also is gendered. In his analysis on *Madame Bovary* which is a masterpiece for the construction of modern literature and imagination, he proves how Emma Bovary is defined as the other of modern bourgeois order and family, in the domain of hysteria. According to him, in the modernist perspective, woman calls the masses; her attractiveness is seen as equal to the masses’ strength, but a dangerous fascinating power and thus, she is identified with the popular culture that the masses consume, in contrast with the high culture that civilized man produces. It is important to note that Mme. Bovary also was reading romances. See Andreas Huyssen, “Kadın Olarak Kitle Kültürü”, in Tania Modleski (ed.), *Eğlence İncelemeleri*, trans. by Nurdan Gürbilek (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1998).

But of course, alternative readings of the novel are still possible and still it may be argued that Flaubert did not necessarily criticize but praised the values symbolized in Emma Bovary. Indeed, there is no clear evidence that Flaubert did not sympathise with his character, her “revolt” and passionate personality.

So, at this point we should remember that although they may be dominant and the ones accepted by the modern state apparatus to use in practical polity formation, these definitions of modernity and popular culture are not the only ones. As was discussed above in the passage on modernity and popular culture, there were alternative definitions that do not exclude the non-modern or the popular or that load different meanings to them.

“natural” tendency towards sinful pleasures and an assumption is present which dictates that women are unable to repress their drives. But at this point, what is crucial is that this womanly inclination is represented as a product of the modernization process or rather as a potential awakened and accelerated by it.

The pleasure-oriented and extremely ambitious nature of woman is illustrated in many parts of this first group of canonical novels, but its most representative example is in the following passage that describes Seniha, the female heroine of *Kıralık Konak*: “Already, she was very capricious; whenever the things she wanted with obstinacy and persistence were realized, she would become bored, and her desire would turn into unwillingness.”²⁴ This fact, which the author Yakup Kadri strongly criticizes, is confirmed by the character herself: “He knows that my desires are immeasurable; yes, my ambitions are incalculable.”²⁵ Interestingly, the only traditional female figure in *Kıralık Konak*, the sister of Naim Efendi, is not portrayed at all as an obedient woman. On the contrary, she is even more active than her brother Naim Efendi. Thus, it can be concluded that traditional woman is not equal to obedience for Yakup Kadri. But then, why is the reader always oriented towards an expectation of obedience for Seniha?

At this point, it must be remembered that Naim Efendi's sister does waste all her initiative and energy in creating a more restricted and passive Seniha. So, she appears as a character that contributes and guarantees the continuation of the traditional order in which a young woman does behave according to the pre-determined, restricted codes that Seniha abuses. In this respect, it might be thought that traditional woman can also be active, but only the old ones, only in one sphere, which is the private one and only for the purpose of guaranteeing the preservation of the status quo. In other words, in *Kıralık Konak*, the only legitimate way of being a social actor for women is limited by these restrictions.

The whole story and characterization of *Yaprak Dökümü* are almost a perfect sample of the dangerous female nature. In this novel, the author shows how modernity giving rise to the dangerous potentials of women characters leads also to a

²⁴ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kıralık Konak* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1998), p. 41. The original text is as follows: “Zaten pek maymun iştahlıydı; birçok gürültü, birçok inat ve ısrar ile istediği şeyler olur olmaz, kalbine derhal bir bıkkınlık gelir ve biraz evvelki arzusu hemen bir isteksizliğe dönüverirdi.”

²⁵ Ibid., p. 122. The original text is as follows: “O bilir ki benim arzularım -hırslarım dese daha iyi olur-, hadsiz hesapsızdır; evet hırslarım hadsiz hesapsızdır!...”

split within the family structure. The title of the book itself, "Leaf-Fall", signifies the dissolution within a united household. As the story unfolds, as the family gradually articulates with modernity, its members leave the household in their turn. The most dramatic, didactic and representative event, in terms of describing modernization as a process of increasing immorality, particularly for women and as a process of the loss of familial integrity and solidarity, may be found in the twenty-seventh to twenty-ninth chapters of the novel: an Arab man, Abdülvehhab Bey, who claims to be a rich sheik, wants to marry Leyla. Shortly after, he leaves her on the pretext that she behaves in a non-proper way, that is too liberally, and he proposes this time to marry her sister Necla. In spite of Leyla's tears, Necla accepts this immoral proposal, because of her ambitions for a richer life. But when she arrives in Syria, she discovers that her husband has deceived her, that he is not rich at all and indeed lives in a small house with his two other wives, father, sister and several children.

Necla, the sister that Abdülvehhab Bey preferred, is actually not very different from Leyla in terms of being more or less modern and free. Both women are ambitious for a more modern life style and for the material wealth that is necessary to live it. In addition to this strong affiliation with modernity, in terms of beautiful physical appearance, young age and low educational background, they are alike as twins. In this way, in the struggle to inject a modern way of life into the family, they are always in close co-operation with each other and with their brother's immoral wife Ferhunde. Thus, the stress on their resemblance, on their close friendship due to them and on the continuous support between them, intensifies the moral of the story: modernity is so degenerative that it can detach sisters and brothers, even twins and cause the dissolution of an integrated family because it awakens "dangerous" ambitions, particularly in female members.

In *Fatih-Harbiye*, on the other hand, the central female character, Neriman, is drawn in a general mood of irritability with occasional hysterical neurotic crises (similar crises are observed in Seniha of *Kiralık Konak*), in contrast to Şinasi, the male protagonist, who exhibits a calm and balanced character with the permanent ability to control his reactions:

Neriman wanted to pull him to herself.... Through causing him pain, she was in need of believing that she hadn't used her right of possession over him...Şinasi was one of these people who usually refused to get into any dispute, unless the last unavoidable moment

came, and who settled accounts only with himself, through reacting to the attacks of his adversary within his own soul. He understood that Neriman would go too far and started building fortification around his personality against the effects that would destroy his spiritual order. However, he was not sly or hypocritical; although he liked to keep himself secret, he hated to give the impression of being a personality other than what he was.²⁶

So, in *Fatih-Harbiye*, in addition to perceiving the female character within the code of the “natural”, she is also situated in the opposite position of the “rational” man. This same duality may be read in the following way too: civilization or culture, which is the product of *male* reason and creativity, and which is controllable and changeable, against nature with *female* characteristic, which is out of the man’s control and unchangeable. That is, nurture (male) versus nature (female).

In this context, in the first group of canonical novels, the degenerative influence of modernity appears as an unavoidable process the strength of which is equal to the irresistible power of nature. This naturalizing effect is further strengthened by the ultimate collapse, represented as being inevitable: “faults” (that is, ambitions for the modern life of female characters) give birth to new “faults”, rather than starting a process of improvement or regaining self-control and consciousness. Female characters cannot learn the necessary lessons from this degeneration process, simply because they behave according to what their evil natures dictate to them²⁷.

Only Neriman in *Fatih-Harbiye* is able to escape from her fate, due to the efforts of the male characters to save her and also due to the story that she has heard from her modernized nieces about a Russian artist who has lost her unique love and happiness because of her will to live a more modern and richer life. Unlike her

²⁶ Safa, p. 62. The original text is as follows: “Neriman onu tutup kendine çekmek istiyordu...canını yakarak onun üzerindeki temellük hakkını kaybetmediğine inanmak ihtiyacındaydı...Şinasi, ekseri zamanlar en son mecburiyet anı gelmedikçe hiçbir münakaşayı kabul etmeyen ve muazırın hücumlarına içinden cevap vererek yalnız kendi kendine hesap veren insanlardandı. Neriman’ın daha ileriye gideceğini anladı ve ruhi nizamını bozacak tesirlere karşı benliğinin etrafına istihkamlar yapmaya başladı. Bununla beraber sinsî ve mürâî değildi, gizlenmesini sevdiği halde başka türlü görünmekten nefret ederdi.”

²⁷ We should notice that it is indeed a replication of the story and typology in *Madame Bovary*, one of the constructive texts of modernism, mentioned above in footnote number 23 of this chapter. In this context, the crucial question that Huyssen asks can be illuminating for us: how is it that the story on “modern” remained so monolithic despite of all the explicit emphasis of the modernist project on heterogeneity? (As claimed by Huyssen, it is indeed a question about the relationship between modernism and the roots of modernization.) My answer is that the answer of this question lies in the inner contradictions of modernism, nationalism and their problematic unification.

nieces, who narrate this story as a sad romance, Neriman interprets it as story of a girl who loses the real values for temporary and artificial ambitions. Interestingly, this story within a story serves as a savior for Neriman, implying that Peyami Safa wrote this book to give a lesson to her female readers, showing how stories are influential in constructing women's lives.²⁸

On the other hand, in the second group of canonical novels, in *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara*, while a certain distance with individualistic model of modernity is preserved, a different representation of female nature is seen. In these texts, the female characters' natural potentials ensure that they can find the "right way".

In *Ankara*, due to her natural drives, Selma resists the degenerated modern life of her second husband and succeeds in building the necessary balance for a healthier modernity with Neşet Sabit. Thus, the "right way" is the suggested model of modernity in *Ankara*. Here, it is interesting to note that what makes this model is the fact that it is nationalist:

For a Western Turkish nationalist, the foremost characteristic of Westernism is to stamp it with a Turkish style and a Turkish name. We had to control the hat, not the other way around. Becoming Western is a determined principle of life. This principle can only achieve its role, as a creator and founder, through being the servant and guard of the national will, national culture and finally national mores.²⁹

²⁸ Mizrahi interprets this narrative element as an evidence showing the absence of the report of personal experience in the canonical writing: Mizrahi, p. 91.

²⁹ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 142. The original text is as follows: "Milliyetçi Türk garpçısı için garpçılığın en karakteristik vasfı garplılığa Türk üslubunu, Türk damgasını vurmaktır. Şapka bize hakim değil, biz şapkaya hakim olmalıydık. Garplılaşma, muayyen bir hayat prensibidir. Bu prensip ancak, milli isteğin, milli kültürün ve nihayet milli ahlakın hizmetçisi, emirberi olmak şartıyladır ki, yaratıcı ve kurucu rolünü ifa edebilirdi."

Thus, in *Ankara*, the model alternative to an individual-centered modernity is distinguished mainly by its rationalism, centralism and its refusal of individual concerns. Moreover, it covers the praise for individual, self-sacrificing for the community, namely the nation. In a way, reflecting Gökâlp's ideas, the individual is perceived as inferior to the nation. To think the opposite is represented as a serious sin, codified as treachery against the motherland and remains outside of the issues that are legitimate to discuss³⁰.

Selma Hanım's nature is based on the strength of her personality. It leads her to the search for a powerful man and for a more meaningful life, which she ultimately finds in the national engagement. Reflecting the superiority of the community and nature over the individual, interestingly, Selma Hanım is represented as someone who finds real pleasure and individual happiness in self-sacrifice and in crowds. In the first two chapters concerning this search process, she appears more successful than the male characters in terms of repressing her pleasure-oriented individualistic nature and channeling it into more useful, collectivism-oriented ways.

But towards the ends of the novel, this time, her nature appears almost as a threat to the non-alienated, meaningful, integral life that she has finally found. When she feels jealousy towards the young actress Yıldız, acting in Neşet Sabit's play Yıldız who symbolizes the new healthier woman of the new regime, it is depicted as an awakening of individualism, old and ill feelings: "For the first time in ten years, she felt so lonely and so disinterested in a crowd like this. This horrible feeling was like a cramp which was signaled by an old illness that was about to come back."³¹ It is interesting that not Neşet Sabit, but Selma experiences such a crisis. It shows us again how the authors have a patriarchal assumption about the weakness of women, about the ever-present possibility for degeneration inherent in their nature. Moreover, woman appears as a character who has to prove herself repeatedly. She has to determine that what she is feeling or doing is sinful, should feel guilty and overcome this feeling or behavior. Selma succeeds in doing that.

³⁰ Indeed, throughout the book, there are several passages where this idea is mentioned. See for example, p. 31, where a dichotomy between individual and society is built and where the individual's creativity is seen as inferior to society's culture.

³¹ Ibid., p. 217. The original text is as follows: "*On seneden beri, ilk defa olarak böyle bir kalabalık içinde kendini bu kadar yalnız ve alakasız hissediyordu. Ve bu fena his, onda bir eski hastalığın yeniden tepişini haber veren bir sancı gibiydi.*"

In *Sinekli Bakkal*, on the other hand, female nature is not a villain; it is defined as a productive and protective force which is unified in motherhood. In the passages on Rabia's interpretation of the *mevlut*³² or on her difficult pregnancy, the most fundamental, universal, distinguishing and privileged essence of female nature is motherhood. In addition to this, woman is portrayed as the natural carrier of culture and as the insurer of the continuity that culture implies. Moreover, it is woman who mediates between man and culture. This fact is embodied mostly in her miraculous capacity to give birth to a new human being, symbolizing her bond with the cycle of eternity. Interestingly, although its relationship with a particular culture is underlined, motherhood is also represented as the uncontrollable and universal domain of natural instincts and extraterrestrial, magical and irrational powers: " But this craziness (of pregnancy) is common among all females. Rakim had to accept this as the most primitive, yet the most fundamental, law of life. The maternal instinct that prevails from the wild tribes to the most civilized societies..."³³

Then, it may be concluded that culture (or civilization, which is its equal) in *Sinekli Bakkal* is not defined as something to be obtained with time, but as something to be possessed by birth. In this way, culture is conceived as something that transcends the limits of education and the individual. It is something omnipresent and eternal. Moreover, it is not balanced either with man or with the rational, as in the case of the first group of canonical novels. It is perceived in its integrity, as the domain of the simultaneous presence of the rational and the irrational, where the latter's spiritual element is more emphasized. But this unification is not conceived at all as a source of chaos; it is rather understood as a harmonious synthesis, read in Rabia's personality as opposed to Peregrini's chaotic character.

³² *Mevlut* is a famous poem about the birth of the Prophet Mohamed, written by Süleyman Çelebi in the fifteenth century. It is publicly recited by professional readers according to a musical rhythm, on several traditional occasions such as a death or at Ramadan. These recitation rituals are also occasions of social gathering.

In one of these occasions, in a way disobeying the traditional approach and style, Rabia interprets the poem as a lyrics for birth, which she depicts as a miracle. She underlines the feelings of Prophet Mohammed's mother, rather than celebrating the birth of a holy figure. Thus, she remarkably influences every women present at the gathering. Adivar, p. 161-2, p. 169 and p. 177.

³³ Adivar, p. 279. The original text is as follows: "*Fakat bu delilik bütün dişi yaratıkların ortak olduğu bir delilik. Rakim bu kaçıklığı, hayatın en ilkel, fakat en esas kanunu diye kabul etmek zorundaydı. Vahşi kavimlerden en medeni topluma kadar hakim olan analık içgüdüsü...*"

In accordance with it, Rabia's nature confirms, in the final analysis, the protection of Eastern culture and tradition against her husband's modernity³⁴. In this respect, in a way similar to the representation in the first group of novels, tradition does not have a "repressive" content. The emphasis again is on the suspicious patterns of modernity, rather than on a criticism of "tradition".

Thus, the alternative model suggested in *Sinekli Bakkal* differs from that in *Ankara*, although in both it is carried and realized by the central female characters. *Sinekli Bakkal* retains nationalist tones in terms of defining something peculiar to the Turkish people. The content of its nationalism, however, is different from that described in *Ankara*. In this latter narrative, nationalism is imagined as a modern collectivism that forms the essence of the Turkish nation. But in *Sinekli Bakkal*, it is primarily culture whose Turkishness may be found in a peculiar way of incorporation with a civilization, i.e. with eastern civilization. Moreover, this civilization's main elements are a non-orthodox interpretation of Muslim religion and tradition. In other words, the absolute universality of the west and the unilineality of history (which is understood according to the western path), all of these assumptions on which the mainstream official nationalism is built is not so certain for Halide Edip. At the same time, the Muslim religion that the official mainstream nationalism tends to exclude from the nationalist identity is an essential part of it for Halide Edip.

In addition to this, civilization is described as feminine, because it has the same basic quality that woman essentially possesses through her capacity to give birth: creativity. In this respect, the nationalism in *Sinekli Bakkal* has more universal and feminist tones: there is a possibility of synthesis between different civilizations seen as equals. It approaches the west in terms of its values, but not merely the technical, practical gains that it promises. In this respect, the marriage between Rabia and Peregrini also symbolizes a possibility of unification, as much as the presentation of contradictions between different civilizations, as discussed above. In a way, under

³⁴ But at this point, it should once again be kept in mind that Peregrini and the modernity embodied in his personality do not signify the ultimate negative of Rabia's vices because he is still the original example of a civilization. For the discussion of this issue, see footnote number 8 of this chapter and the related passage on p. 52.

the umbrella of the universal values of humanity and a universal taste for beauty, east and west may unify³⁵.

Of course such a unification is only possible as the east symbolized in Rabia is strong enough to exhibit its vices and to prevent any attempt of to west to marginalize her. That is, as long as the east and west are equal at the local levels it may also include elements of Ottomanness and religion, as it talks from a point of view where civilization is dominant. In a way, *Sinekli Bakkal* provides a definition of national identity alternative to that defined by the mainstream official discourse. According to this identity suggested in *Sinekli Bakkal*, there is still space for the "others" of mainstream nationalism: i.e. for the west that it simultaneously denies and accepts and for the Ottomanness which it rejects. Thus, *Sinekli Bakkal* is able to transcend to some extent the crucial tension inherent in the official discourse, the tension between nationalism and modernism³⁶.

In this way, the representation of the female nature in *Sinekli Bakkal* differs from that in *Ankara*, in accord with the models that they suggest as alternatives to a certain model of modernity. Although Yakup Kadri and Halide Edip converge, as their heroines are portrayed as the natural protectors of these respective alternatives, the fact that Rabia does not show any weakness, in contrast to Selma Hanım, is meaningful.

In a way, the only holistic exception to such a representation of woman among the canonical novels seems to be Rabia of *Sinekli Bakkal*, the only canonical example written by a female author. But as mentioned above, still in this novel, women, including Rabia, are primarily associated with their nature, although this time the central female character's nature is codified under positive terms. Moreover, the stereotypical portrayal of a degenerated woman trying to live a modern life, Dürnev, is still present among the remaining female characters. So, even in *Sinekli Bakkal*, modernity appears as a process that degenerates female nature.

³⁵ In this respect, music serves as a metaphor in the novel. The passage where Rabia, who is a "singer" of Eastern music, finds the melody lacking in the opera that Peregrini composes is particularly representative. Adivar, pp. 291-2.

³⁶ These ideas on the particularities of nationalist imagination in Halide Edip were inspired from Duygu Köksal, "Nationalist Theory in the Writings of Halide Edip", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, no. 17 (1993), pp. 80-90. See also Sirman, for a similar contrast built between Halide Edip's feminine nationalism and a more humanist tone and "the masculine nationalism of the Young Turks intent only on domination, a point she later develops in her critique of Mustafa Kemal". Sirman, "Conjugal", p. 259.

In conclusion, except for *Sinekli Bakkal*, the canonical novels prove in a way the validity of feminist criticisms against the Kemalist approach to the woman issue. Even in *Ankara*, although on the surface it appears that the egalitarian gender regime is much more dominant, the patriarchal voice may still be heard in the depths of the texts and determines the author's assumptions and priorities. That is to say, the equality principle has its own limitations. Although each of the canonical authors follows different strategies and different positions toward the modernization of women, the care to bring some limitation to it appears to be the main axis that unites them. This care may mostly be read in the representation of the female nature as an essential and as the source of a weakness against the seductions of a degenerated modern life style.

The Non-Canonical Novels

In the non-canonical novel examined in this study either a conception of female nature in a more positive way or an unusual representation of gender in which female characters are distinguished by their reason is given. Especially in the first group of non-canonical examples, that is in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, in a way contradicting the clichés of popular romance, the central female characters' most distinguishing personal trait is not their affectionate or their passionate personality or their beauty, but reason. Indeed, implicitly linked with the positive representation of modernity is their being modern. Moreover, in *Aşk Politikası* this reason-oriented personality of Aysel stands in a sharp contrast to Necati's passion-oriented, thus weak, temper. In this respect, both of them decide to marry the central male characters or to reject others through rational account. In other words, due to their productive capacity of reason, which unites with their being modern women, a new family emerges.

Cumba'dan Rumba'ya is an exception in the non-canonical camp, in terms of representing woman as completely natural. The sharp contrast between *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* and *Fatih-Harbiye* is perhaps most explicitly seen in the representation of female nature. Like Neriman of *Fatih-Harbiye*, the most distinguishable trait of Cemile's personality is her irritability, manifested again in her violent, neurotic crises. But this time, in definite opposition to Neriman's portrayal, both this trait and these crises are drawn by the author as evidence of her honesty and frankness.

Moreover, due to these traits, she actively constructs her own life, in a modern style. This is indeed a quite positive representation of female nature that is not seen in any one of the other novels, except *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara*.

In conclusion, except for in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, female characters are identified in every novel primarily with nature rather than with reason. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, *Ankara*, and *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the female nature is represented in a positive way and contributes to the realization of the social model that the authors perceive as ideal: in the first two, it is creating a distance to modernity; in the last example, it is achieving a modern way of life. In the novels of the canon, it is the female nature that causes the degeneration in the modernization process and the deconstruction of the family.

Elements of Strength and Weakness in Male and Female Characters

In the following part, whether female characters, particularly the central ones, are perceived as strong or weak personalities in the canonical and the non-canonical novels will be examined. Of course, such an analysis is meaningful only in comparison to the male characters. Moreover, to understand the meaning of "strength" is crucial in order to situate the authors' perception of gender: does female strength lead to active self-creation or to active destruction of the self and of the existing order?

Giddens³⁷ perceives modernization as a process in which voluntary individual participation is as important as the influences of non-individual, social and economic material conditions. In addition to being a product of social structure, modernity should also be conceived of as a product of social actors. Modernization also may be perceived as a process of individual liberation. In this respect, women appear as active participants in the process of the gradual democratization of private life, unlike men, who contributed more to the democratization of the public sphere. By the term democratized private life, Giddens means a private life where liberated and equal relationships between individuals are secured and continuously open to negotiation.

³⁷ Anthony Giddens' whole book may be considered as based on these ideas, but the following passages explicitly state them. Introduction, pp. 7-9 and the passage where he criticizes Foucault's idea on sexuality and his "pessimist" perspective that denies the role of actor in the formation of a (modern) discourse, pp. 27-32.

Autonomy is an obligatory condition of this process. At this point, women -not only some marginal women, but also very ordinary wives and lovers- actively try to fight to gain this autonomy.

However, of course the famous declaration by Marx should be remembered at this point: "People create their lives, but within the framework that material conditions let them". This is where one of the main inner contradictions of the novels consideration lie; the inner contradictions of the social conditions and the historical period, that is of the first years of the Kemalist state within a context of late modernization.

As explained above in the preface, a newly built modernizing nation-state demands that women actively participate in this process. This demand, however, is restricted from another direction, by the same institution, that is the state, through gender policies oriented towards limitations as well as liberation. In other words, only a certain typology of women is thought to be active. Otherwise, active woman or women as real social actors continue to be conceived as a dangerous potential, as observed in the first group of canonical novels. For example, the closure of the Turkish Women's Association because its autonomy was considered a danger shows alone the limits of this Kemalist project on gender³⁸. Thus, the well-known Kemalist claim about the liberating results of the early Republican gender policies is only partly true. It doesn't explain by itself how, to which extent, and for which women these policies were liberating. Only the achievements are discussed; the contradictory repressive side is denied.

In the light of these arguments, an exploration of how personal strength and initiative are reflected in the novels considered in this study, particularly on the basis of a comparison of male and female characters, would be interesting. In this section an attempt is made to demonstrate how the pre-requisite of both the modernization and the nationalization processes, that is, the emergence of active, interventionist women, were perceived by the authors of both the canonical and non-canonical novels. In this respect, it is argued that in the first group of canonical novels, the active women emerging in the process of modernization are considered a sign of social degeneration, as a threat to social order and to men's power. This

³⁸ This historical event is explained by Zafer Toprak, "Halk Fırkası'ndan Önce Kurulan Parti: Kadınlar Halk Fırkası", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 9, no. 51 (March 1988), pp. 30-31; and Zafer Toprak, "1935 İstanbul Uluslararası 'Feminizm Kongresi' ve Barış", *Düşün*, no. 24 (March 1986), pp. 24-29.

representation implies again, in the axis of the representation of women's strength, how the negative results of modernization, particularly in gender relationships, rather than its emancipating effects are primarily given emphasis in these novels. Thus, the understanding of modernization and the perception of the increase in female autonomy in the first group of canonical novels stand in contrast with Giddens' perception, which considers them liberating processes. In the same way, parallel to contemporary feminist criticisms and to historical findings, they prove how modernization, in the newly established Turkish nation-state, was considered in terms of limitations rather than possibilities to the individual's, particularly women's, autonomy and how only a certain model limiting this autonomy was suggested as the best one.

This latter claim is also true for the second group of canonical novels. Although in these novels female strength, and even dominance, over men is considered in a positive way, the suggested model remains the one based on communal values rather than on individual autonomy. Women's strength or autonomy appears legitimate only when it serves the aim of establishing the expected model. Thus, in these novels, in spite of the absence of the essentialization of the female nature as evil (which implies that to give autonomy to her would result in degeneration), a glorification of modernization as a potential to extend individual liberty, as portrayed by Giddens, is not seen.

Only in the non-canonical novels, it is seen that the female characters' strength and autonomy may lead to positive outcomes in terms of creating a better and a more modern personal life. This representation may go so far as to glorify the female character's dominance and control over men, although it may be found only in a unique example. However, in the remaining non-canonical novels, the idealization of powerful men is encountered. This ideal may be realized or non-realized in the novels' male characters, but it remains present always in an implied form in the background of the narrative. In addition to it, the appreciation of male authority is much more stressed in the first group of canonical novels because without this valuation, the representation of the powerful woman as a threat to it would not have been possible.

The Ideal of the Powerful Man in the Canonical and Non-Canonical Novels

Although it is not actually present in every male character, in every novel, there is the idealization of a strong male personality. This is with no doubt a sign of patriarchal perspective. In the following paragraphs, it will be demonstrated that such concept is present in all of the novels discussed in this study. This analysis will show that at least a certain dimension of the patriarchal discourse may be observed in every novel. However, simply to prove the presence of such an ideal is not sufficient; how this ideal is legitimized will also be explored. Such an exploration may contribute to determine the degree of patriarchy and the meaning given to it.

The canonical novel *Fatih-Harbiye* finishes with a happily-ever-after ending, which means that marriage and the re-construction of male control over the central female character are secured. *Kiralık Konak* and *Yaprak Dökümü*, on the other hand, end with complete degeneration equal to the loss of the *namus* of their central female characters. The reason for this difference may be found in the representation of the male characters. If men are strong enough, they emancipate women from degeneration. If they are only weak spectators of the degeneration going on around them, women drag them into the disaster. This fact is related to the above-mentioned argument on the necessity of control over the strong woman character; this is why in the first group of canonical novels, the man needs strength and reason: To emancipate the woman.

A similar idealization and search for a strong man may be observed in the second group of canonical novels, too. The serial marriages and divorces of Selma in *Ankara* may be regarded as an expression of her search for the ideal man, which is the strongest one. In the first chapter, she is impressed by Hakkı Bey due to his strong character, crystallized in his military profession, his radical nationalism and his courage, in contrast with her present husband's insensible personality:

Selma Hanım understood today how much she was apart from her husband, and how much she found her husband indistinct, personality-less, and sluggish. She was disgusted by his pressed trousers that had no speck of dust, his white shirt, his neatly combed hair, and his soft pink skin. For her, the image of man apart from the military uniform was impossible to imagine, and it was a *sexless* being. And for the

same reason, every time she saw Lieutenant Hakkı Bey, she was felt an excitement at being in a throng of male warriors.³⁹

In the same way, she decides to divorce Hakkı Bey also in the second chapter, when she realizes that he has changed in a negative way. He has lost his idealism and manly attitude because he has misunderstood modernity. This decadence results finally in weakness and the softening of the physically powerful man:

These hands had turned into the bouquets of fabric flowers, since they were not involved in doing anything...Having seen the manners and behavior of European men, now she was better able to understand what a contradictive courtesy it was to kiss women's hands by bowing down very low, for men to keep their hats in their hands as long as they talked, and to bow to women on every occasion.⁴⁰

Moreover, she starts feeling sexual emotions towards Neşet Sabit, after he added physical strength to his idealism and intellectual power:

But when Neşet Sabit, after six months (after completing a sociological and nationalist novel), came back with a darker face and with a more solid muscular body, not only Selma Hanım's soul, but also her body became happy; and when she threw herself into his arms, she felt the young men's hands grasping her body on the sides like a leopard's paws.⁴¹

In *Ankara*, the ultimate ideal male model is Atatürk⁴². He transcends everyone. He is deified by qualities that may be summarized by the adjectives "powerful" and

³⁹ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 95. Italics belong to me. The original text is as follows: "*Selma Hanım, kocasından ne kadar uzak olduğunu, onu ne kadar sönük, şahsiyetsiz ve mıymıntı bulduğunu asıl bugün anlıyordu. Onun ütülü ve tozsuz pantolonundan, beyaz gömleğinden, saçlarının o intizamlı taranışından ve yumuşak, pembe cildinden tiksiniyordu. Asker kıyafeti haricinde bir erkek timsali, onun için, artık tasavvuru kabil olmayan, cinsiyetsiz bir şeydi ve gene bunun içindir ki, Binbaşı Hakkı Beyi her görüşünde, tekrar o dövüşken erkek mahşerinin içine dönmüş gibi heyecan duyuyordu.*"

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 107 and p. 123. The original texts are respectively as follows: "*Bu eller hiçbir şeye karışmaya karışmaya adeta yapma çiçek demetleri halini almıştı*" and "*Bu yerlere kadar eğilip kadın eli öpmelerin, o konuşulan müddetçe şapkayı elde tutmaların ve her vesile ile reverans yapmaların ne kadar aykırı bir nezaket olduğunu asıl Avrupalı erkeklerin hal ve tavırlarını gördükten sonradır ki daha iyi anlıyordu.*"

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 187-188. The original text is as follow: "*Fakat, Neşet Sabit altı ay sonra (toplumsal ve milliyetçi bir romanı tamamladıktan sonra) çehresi daha çok esmerleşmiş, adalesi daha çok katılaşmış olarak döndüğü vakit, Selma Hanımın yalnız içi değil, bütün eti de sevindi ve kendini onun kucağına atınca, genç adamın sert ellerinin birer pars pençesi gibi vücudunu her yanından kavradığını hissetti.*"

⁴² In her enlightening speech on the constructions of biography in the works of women writers published after the 1970s, that is, in authors such as Ağaoğlu or Soysal, she points out how this representation is turned into its opposites in dream (or rather nightmare) narratives. In a way, Atatürk

“charismatic”. This is communicated most explicitly in the following passage written with the discourse of holy books:

This was the “*second creation of the world.*” The *God* whose face she saw and whose voice she heard four years ago, said let there be light, and there was light. He said let there be water, and there was water; and He said *let there be layers in the water (levh)*, and there were layers in the water. He said *let there be fruit-giving vegetables that can be reproduced from their seeds, and there were the trees from those seeds.*⁴³

Thus, as exemplified in this passages, what legitimizes a male’s control and dominance is his physical, emotional and intellectual strength and charisma. In this context, Mustafa Kemal stands as the ultimate prototypical example of this difficult synthesis and Neşet Sabit as a successful imitation of it. In terms of its function, the emphasis is not on the control of woman, as is the case in the examples from the first group. Although it may still serve to control women to some extent, the underlined function is rather to show the power of nationalism.

In all of the non-canonical texts, the same idealization of the figure of the powerful man is seen. In spite of the portrayal of woman as a reasonable and strong character and in spite of her clearly modern identity, even Feyhan of *Bahar Çiçeği* is primarily missing a both physically and psychologically powerful man, superior to herself, with whom she would be joined at the end of the book. In a conversation with her closest friend Mina, she explicitly announces this:

— You would probably laugh at my *feelings that do not match the modern ones*, but I would like the man I will love to be *more educated, more savvy, and stronger than me, both materially and spiritually. He should be superior, not me*; and in order for me to love

or the strong man returns as the symbol of patriarchy repressing female sexuality and identity. Parla reads these biography narratives as stories of self-construction and determines how they compose the central theme and remain non-completed. In a way, these female writers who are constantly aware of historical context, perceive the past as an obstacle in front of them, rather than as a domain of new possibilities. In this way, they separate from their mothers who repress their sexuality and develop a much more critical account of Kemalist feminism. *Türkiye’de Kadının Yüzyılı* (A century of women in Turkey), 12-14 April 2000, Boğaziçi University.

⁴³ Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, p. 178. Here, “God” refers to Atatürk. The italics on this word belong to me whereas the other parts in italics are present in the original text. It is as follow: “*Bu, bir “dünyanın ikinci yaratılışı” idi. Bundan dört yıl evvel yüzünü gördüğü ve sesini işittiği Tanrı, aydınlığa, ol !, demişti aydınlık oluyordu. Suyu ol ! demişti, su oluyordu ve “Suların arasında levh olsun” demişti. Levh, meydana gelmişti ve “Tohum verir nebatı ve yeryüzünde tohumu kendisinden olarak cinsine göre yemiş veren ağaçlar husule gelsin” demiş ve “tohumun cinsinden türlü ağaçlar bitmişti.*”

him completely, and live with him in bliss, I must put him in a position stronger than mine.

— A zorba man, is he not? So that he can control you, oppress you, and beat you.

— No, you are getting it wrong, Mina! *To say that he will have control over me does not mean that he will oppress me.* To the contrary, he shall love and respect me; and I should feel that he is stronger than I am. He shall not control me, but I should feel, every moment, his inner power enveloping me.⁴⁴

On the other hand, Morkaya asserts that real strength is a combination of physical, emotional and intellectual power. The climax of his *Aşk Politikası* is solved through marriage only when the physically powerful male protagonist adds strength to his personality.

In the non-canonical novel *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, on the other hand, like all of the male characters in the novel, Selim stands in a relatively impotent position against Cemile. This fact is partially explained by his being an intellectual concerned primarily with theory, thus far removed from practice. In this respect, in terms of the absence of the idealization of the powerful man, this novel stands as a real exception among all the canonical and non-canonical novels examined in this study. This novel is also exceptional in its unusual glorification of its central female character's omnipotent dominance over all male personalities.

However, still, the dominant parole is towards the idealization of powerful man, both in the canonical and the non-canonical works. Even the presence of a character like Cemile, who stands against the common sense idealization of the powerful man, seems adequate to argue that there may be alternative discourses in the realm out of the canon, in terms of the positive representation of female autonomy.

⁴⁴ Berkand, p. 18. Italics belong to me. The original text is as follow: "- Sen belki benim bu modern hislere uymayan duygularıma güleceksin ama, ben, seveceğim erkeğin benden daha çok okumuş, daha çok bilmiş, madden ve manen benden kuvvetli olmasını isterim. Ben ona değil o bana hakim olmalıdır ve tamamıyla sevebilmek, onunla saadetle yaşamak için onu biraz kendimden kuvvetli görmeliyim. - Zorba bir erkek değil mi ? Sana tahakküm etsin, seni ezsin, hırpalasın ! - Hayır yanlış anlıyorsun Mina ! Bana hakim olsun demek tahakküm etsin demek değildir. Aksine beni çok sevsin, çok saysın; fakat ben onun benden kuvvetli olduğunu hissedeyim. O bana tahakküm etmesin fakat ben onun manevi kuvvetinin beni doladığını her an için duyayım."

The Representation of Female Personal Strength and Autonomy

In this section an analysis will be made of how female strength and autonomy are understood in the canonical and non-canonical novels: Are they dangerous to the order or constructive and creative and to a suggested model of modernity? Such an analysis will enable an evaluation the approach of the authors to both modernity as a liberating potential and to the extent of female freedom in it.

Non-Canonical Novels

In the non-canonical examples, strong women are portrayed. How this strength is perceived, however, by the authors differs.

In contrast with this representation, in all of remaining novels the fact that the female characters are strong leads to positive outcomes. In *Aşk Politikası* the theme of male domestication is even presented. In this process, woman uses her reason rather than her natural power. Aysel does not convince Necati because she is beautiful or has a natural ability for education. The domestication process or their marriage life is not shown in the book. It ends with their decision to marry after lengthy hours of bargaining and setting a contract. But in this final point, what Aysel employs are detailed calculations based on rational accounts, rather than her natural instincts. In this text, what Aysel seeks is not to build a distance with modernity. This process ends up in accomplishing another model of modernity, based on order, work and the nuclear bourgeois family. That is, the right or idealized modernization overlaps with a process of the domestication of the wild natured, non-civilized male character; with his growing up and becoming a responsible member of society.

Among the non-canonical works, the most explicit and challenging typology of the powerful woman may be found in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, which forms at this point a true exception among all of the novels. Cemile's personality is so powerful that it overcomes every difficulty. She submits to no one. She creates every moment of her life, by her own choice. This power is so irresistible that it controls all the male characters. In other words, Cemile appears superior to every man around her. For example, she uses both psychological and physical power over Selim, who is afraid of her:

She has never cried, because, in any condition, she has thought of herself as much stronger than Selim... This time, Cemile slapped Selim on his mouth. But it was much too strong, even though she did not mean it so. And his face immediately flushed... She said (to Selim): "Do not laugh. When you talk to me, you are not going to laugh if I do not. If we are to laugh, we will laugh together. Do you understand? I would get out of the car and go, do you understand?"⁴⁵

This capacity is based partly on her beauty, but primarily on her natural drives, manifested in the extreme as neurotic crises. Indeed, what primarily leads Cemile are her passions and not her reason at all. This state of semi-savagery may even go to the extent of thinking to burn her own home in Karag  mr  k in order to get the insurance money and thus be able live in a more modern quarter of Istanbul. So, she may plan intrigues. But what is more interesting is that in spite of all these attributes, Cemile and the power embodied in her personality are portrayed by the author as something productive, energetic and confident. Indeed, when compared with Cemile, the little passions of Neriman in *Fatih-Harbiye* remain innocent. But in a way proving how literature may create different or opposing realities, Peyami Safa accuses Neriman of getting involved in wicked, dishonest intrigues whereas Server Bedi portrays Cemile's passions as manifestations of a completely honest personality and of a passionate love. He describes her tricks as sign of her intelligence.

Indeed Cemile's female power may even carry feminist tones. She rebels against male dominance, but still her revolt is limited by passionate love. It is interesting that for the sake of woman's identity and solidarity, she even defends Nahide, the girl with whom Selim entered into a love affair before her. She stands against the essentialization of woman in a negative way. She explicitly claims her right to her life. But most importantly, she relates female degeneration to the repression of woman and to the fact that men are not honest, rather than to her natural weakness, although she does not demand equality or less-exploitation. In this way, she criticizes to some extent the traditional relationships among man and woman and she bases this criticism on a search for more liberty in the personal life:

⁴⁵ Bedi, p. 150, p. 160 and p. 274. The original texts are respectively as follows: "*Hi   a  lamamı  tı.        her ne vaziyette olursa olsun kendini Selim'den daha kuvvetli buluyordu... Bu sefer de Cemile Selim'in a  zına bir tokat vurdu. Fakat onunki hi   istemedi  i halde   ok sertti ve   ocu  un y  z  ne pen  e pen  e kan doldurdu ... "G  lme !" dedi, "benimle konu  urken benim g  lmedi  im yerde g  lmeyeceksin. G  lsek hep beraber g  lece  iz, anladın mı ?   imdi otomobilden iner, giderim".*

Shall I bring your slippers, my lord? I am your concubine: sell me, shout at me, beat me, hang me, cut me into pieces, kill me. I am your slave, your maid, your servant, am not I? You can marry ten or a hundred more wives. Shall I bring the washbowl and wash your feet? Shall I bring the whip? Would you take my dress off and whip me all naked. It is not that I cannot put up with these things, because I love you. But everything should be straight. Well, Nahide Hanım, yeah! Great. The girl has no fault on her part. I will defend her. You gave her hope, and she loved you. Now, how can you possibly come to me? It would be shameful to me, if you go to her, or the other way around... Now whatever we do, either she, or I; it is our right.⁴⁶

The Canonical Novels

In all of the canonical novels studied, similar to in the non-canonical examples, the female characters exhibit rather strong personalities. Yet, in the first group of canonical novels, this strength is not positively affirmed, but represented as a source of danger for the authority of the male head of the household⁴⁷, thus for the family as a whole and then for society. Hence, according to these texts, strong women characters are not described to the readers as characters to identify with, but rather as evildoers.

Moreover, except for in *Fatih-Harbiye*, they are stronger than men and can control them. Exhibiting a modern typology, they try to shape their own lives, without the intervention of male characters. Their behavior may be interpreted as efforts to become social actors.

Although in previous chapters she uses deceit to realize her purposes and although at the end of the narrative she loses the game, even Neriman of *Fatih-Harbiye* shows a big, explicit resistance against her father's and fiancée's criticisms, toward the conclusion:

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 205. The original text is as follows: "Terliklerinizi çevireyim mi paşam ? Ben senin cariyeğim beni sat, sav, döv, as, kes, öldür, kulunum, kölenim, halayığımı değil mi ? On karı, yüz karı daha alabilirsin... Leğeni getirip ayaklarını yıkayayım mı ? Kamçıyı getireyim mi? Beni çırılçıplak soyup esirci gibi döver misin ? Ben sevdiğim için bunlara seve seve katlanmaz değilim. Fakat her şey açık olmalı. Nahide Hanım ha ! Sevsinler. Kızın kabahati yok. Ben onu da müdafaa edeceğim. Sen ümit vermişsin sevmiş seni. Şimdi ne yüzle bana gelirsin ? Ona gitsen bana karşı, bana gelsen ona karşı alçaklık olur. Tevekkeli değil bu memlekette kadının ahlakı düşmüyor ! Şimdi o da ben de ne yapsak hakkımızdır."

⁴⁷ Duben and Behar also determine this fact, p. 214.

Trembling, she shouted: — You are a bastard! You and my father, and all of those who think like you. None of you, you know me. And I do not know you, any more. I will not be with you. Never, never... And I am going... I am going at once. Do you get it? Now, immediately, to the other side, to Beyoğlu... Do you understand? I am snobbish, fake, and uneducated. I keep silence, do you understand?⁴⁸

In *Kıralık Konak*, Seniha shows the courage to leave the house in order to realize her primary dream of going to Europe. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, the female characters are able to manipulate the male characters to do all that they desire, even at the cost of “familial disasters”. But unlike the explicit demands of Seniha, what they use to reach their purposes are dishonest intrigues, performed mainly by Hayriye Hanım, who mediates between her children and husband or the head of the household:

(Upon his wife’s demand to pawn the house, accompanied by her unusual interest in him that implies her toadying, thus immoral strategy) From his own experience, Ali Rıza Bey knew well that the household would corner him. He could see the tricks, attacks, and tortures to be made until he would have to say, “I deliver!” He had become tired of that even now. They were carried away in a flood. What good would strength make?⁴⁹

Here, Hayriye Hanım’s strength lies in her weakness towards her children. However, indeed among her five children, she protects only the ones who seek to live a modern life; that is, she prefers Leyla and Necla to Şevket, Fikret and Ayşe. The reason for her preference is not explained in the book. Hence, because of this bias, interestingly, the typology of Hayriye Hanım remains a contradictory personality fluctuating between weakness toward her children and power over her husband. In terms of our concerns, she still possesses qualifications displaying the strength of women.

In the second group of canonical novels too, the central female characters present strong personalities. For example, Selma of *Ankara* shows the courage and

⁴⁸ Safa, p. 121. The original text is as follows: “Tir tir titreyerek bağırdı: - Siz bir alçaksınız: Sen ve babam ve sizin gibi düşünenlerin hepsi. Hiçbiriniz beni tanımlıyorsunuz ! Ben de artık sizi tanımlıyorm, artık aranızda buunmayacağım, hiç hiç... Ve gidiyorum, şimdi gidiyorum, anladınız mı ? Şimdi, hemen, karşıya, Beyoğlu’na ... Anladınız mı ? Ben züppeyim, sahteyim, cahilim, ben sükut etmişim, anlıyorsunuz değil mi ?”

⁴⁹ Güntekin, p. 85. The original text is as follow: “Ali Rıza Bey, bütün ev halkının ertesi günden itibaren kendisini ateşten bir çember içine alacaklarını tecrübeleriyle biliyor, “teslim !” diye

the initiative to divorce her first two husbands, in search of a more meaningful life, which she will find in her final husband, Neşet Sabit.

In *Sinekli Bakkal*, on the other hand, although Rabia is from a traditional family, she exhibits a very strong personality and takes the necessary initiative at every turning point of her life. For example, even in her childhood, she can decide by herself to leave her mother and grandfather to live with her father.

Elif Şafak⁵⁰ explains this powerful representation of Rabia by her portrayal as a manly woman. Moreover, she argues that Peregrini and Kız Tevfik are twin characters in terms of having womanly inclinations, equalized by being weak. In this way, both try to live lives that do not belong to or are not actively constructed by them. Peregrini lives within the limits drawn by Rabia, like Kız Tevfik who is subordinated to Emine. In the same way, they have to prove themselves. Peregrini, for example, has to demonstrate his obedience to Rabia in his private life. In the public sphere, as a Muslim man, however, he has to appear to be dominant over his wife. Thus, he has to balance two contradictory personalities. Şafak interprets this characterization as a reflection of hegemonic male power in Halide Edip's writing.

An alternative interpretation is provided here. Actually, Kız Tevfik is not regarded by the author as a totally weak personality. On the contrary, he resists Emine's authority with the power of humor, just as he withstands the tortures of the Abdülhamid regime. Still it is true that his power is not reflected by the usual physical or repressive strength. But the attributes of power in Rabia do not necessarily imply that she is drawn as a manly woman. On the contrary, it may be read as the effort of a female author to create a powerful female character. It is true that in order to continue her public life after her childhood, she must present herself as an asexual, childlike young woman. Still she enters into a love affair with Bilal. To overemphasize the manliness of Rabia or not to notice different strategies of resistance in Kız Tevfik misses the nuances of the text. Here, it is argued that *Sinekli Bakkal* is the only canonical novel in this study that builds a distance from the idealization of the powerful man. The portrayal of Selim Paşa also contributes to this

bağırma mecbur oluncaya kadar dönecek entrikaları, yapılacak hücumları ve işkenceleri olduğu gibi görüyor ve şimdiden yoruluyordu. Bir sele kapılmış gidiyorlardı. Mukavemet neye yarardı ?"

⁵⁰ Elif Şafak, "Hegemonik Erkeksiliğin Gölge Oyunları: *Sinekli Bakkal*", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 81 (Summer, 1999), pp. 179-193.

claim: the powerful face of his dual personality, or Selim Paşa as the minister of Abdülhamid, is strictly criticized by Halide Edip.

The marriage between Rabia and Peregrini may alternatively be read as the story of a strong, eastern and traditional woman's successful efforts to shape the weak, "rational" but passionate, excited and unbalanced western man, or as a story of female calmness and civilization, domesticating and shaping male ferocity or dangerous nature.

Indeed, in *Sinekli Bakkal* it is the woman who convinces the man of the importance of marriage, tranquil family life and religious belief: "Rabia knew the greatest victory that a woman's heart can ever have. She got the most vagabond man in a corner."⁵¹ Thus, in addition to the stress on culture, family and marriage continue to be the central problematics in her nationalism, too.

In contrast to all of the other canonical novels, civilization and culture are symbolized by and embodied in the female. Rabia has the particular strength of eastern civilization, characterized mostly by Islam. In this respect, Rabia, or female "beloved", that is wife, is represented as the substitute of mother: "These days, you remind me of my mother. I am coming here as if I were coming to visit my own home,"⁵² says Peregrini to Rabia, to implicitly express his secret interest in her. Moreover, this equation is strengthened by determining motherhood as the fundamental, most distinguishing and privileged essence of female nature⁵³.

When these last arguments are united, we reach a representation of man-woman relationships as relationships of dependence and teaching, similar to that of the child-mother relation. This formulation implies that man also is characterized as a non-composed, incomplete, immature soul, like a child. Woman completes man, replaces his worldliness with spirituality, his chaotic essence with order. So, in opposition to Şafak, who reads in *Sinekli Bakkal* the glorification of masculinity, the narrative is indeed based on a proposition of putting limitations on the extent of the masculinity of the male protagonist, only after which the ideal unification of the body, mind and

⁵¹ Adivar, p. 287. The original text is as follows: "Rabia bir kadın kalbinin tadabileceği en yüksek zaferi tanımış. En serseri bir erkeği sonunda bir bucağa bağlamış."

⁵² Ibid., p. 167. The original text is as follows: "Bugünlerde siz bana hep annemi hatırlatıyorsunuz. Buraya evime gelir gibi geliyorum."

⁵³ In terms of defining motherhood as the primary female characteristic, *Sinekli Bakkal* approaches Republican ideology. But in some respects, it still differs from the official perception. In the novel, this theme is not handled in a discourse of social duties, but rather perceived as a personal, very feminine pleasure.

soul, in a conjugal marriage, is possible⁵⁴. In this way, woman appears as the real actor: she helps man find the real meaning of life, embodied in the order or the virtue. But this is not an easy job. It requires will, strength and authority, but it is also accomplished by love and an assumption: "ever since my birth, I lived in a net that was made of such a free will and affection."⁵⁵ says Peregrini to Vehbi Dede, while describing his mother. In a way reminding us of Freud and his famous Oedipal complex, the love of the woman imprisons the man; the ego represses the id; the culture restrains the childish passions of the individual. In this way, the man-woman relationship is shaped around a contradiction of love and hate, dependence and independence.

This theme of the domestication of man is encountered in the non-canonical *Aşk Politikası*, too. But this time, what the female character uses is her capacity to reason, rather than her natural instincts (of motherhood). Moreover, what Aysel aims at is a modern life-style, rather than the protection of an original culture. In a way, in contrast to *Sinekli Bakkal*, this novel is not based on the struggle of child and mother, of the superior eastern spiritual virtues and western materiality. Rather, it reflects the bargaining between two adults, one of whom is male and symbolizes a more liberal interpretation of modernity. Finally, unlike *Sinekli Bakkal*, this novel does not present a the narrative of marriage life, but ends in a marriage decision. Thus indeed, we do not know how the marriage life of Aysel and Necati would be.

In *Sinekli Bakkal*, both mother and wife have similar equipment in this struggle: the power of tradition or religion, rather than the nation or other entities: "Religion is a mace and shield in the hands of tradition. They are the most deadly weapons that can beat Satan and which can put him under the ground. Or he will have to give up his beliefs. The Satan of Rabia should know that there is the largest and most impossible passage to go through in between them. That is the passage of religion and tradition."⁵⁶

In *Sinekli Bakkal*, shaping the man is also a process of setting limits to his quest for liberty. This power relationship is not problematized at all in the narrative.

⁵⁴ For such an insight on the centrality of the theme of the domestication of excess masculinity in Halide Edip's novels, see Sirman's account of *Handan* and *Kalp Ağrısı*, "Conjugal", pp. 261-2.

⁵⁵ Adivar, p. 156. The original text is as follows: "Gözümü açtığım günden (i.e. since my meeting with my mother) itibaren böyle bir iradenin, muhabbetin kurduğu ağ içinde yaşadım."

Hence, in this novel, there is an almost feminist account because it equates woman with civilization, in contrast to man and in contrast to the first group of novels. Yet it still reaches the limits of its liberating potential by defining civilization as a process of limitations on individual potentials. Peregrini expresses his feelings about the repression by his mother with the following words: "Because she destroyed him with her love and religion."⁵⁷

The most striking example of this finding may be extracted from the passage where Peregrini accepts Rabia's conditions for marriage, i.e. apostasy and conversion to the Muslim religion and where she gives him his future name, so exhibited in the most challenging symbol of power and dominance:

— Rabia, your religion is my religion. I accept to live wherever and however you want. Will you accept me?

— Yes.

He stood up. He kissed the girl's hand and put it to his forehead.

— Once my mother brought me to this world, and now, you are taking me to a whole new world. Rabia, what is my new name?

— "Osman."⁵⁸

Conclusion: The Inner Tensions of Patriarchy and Modernism

In the first group of canonical novels (*Fatih-Harbiye*, *Kiralık Konak* and *Yaprak Dökümü*), the central female characters demonstrate how the lack of restrictions on woman may be as dangerous as nature, due to her unavoidable essence and inescapable power. In other words, in these novels an equation of woman, nature and a certain form of modernity, which are all represented in a suspicious way because of their potential danger of familial disaster, occurs. The responsibility in this possibility belongs to woman, who behaves according to her evil nature while trying to become modern. Moreover, this potential presents a real threat and risk, as woman is very strong.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 191. The original text is as follows: "Din, gelenek elinde birer gürz ve kalkan. O şeytanı yere vuracak, yerin dibine geçirecek en öldürücü silahlar. Yoksa imanından olacak... Rabia'nın şeytanı bilsin ki aralarında geçitlerin en geniş, en geçilmezi var. Din ve gelenek geçidi."

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 156. The original text is as follows: "Çünkü beni sevgisiyle, diniyle mahvetti."

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 230. The original text is as follows: "- Rabia, Rabia, dinin, dinim. İstedğin yerde, istediğin gibi yaşamaya razıyım. Beni kabul eder misin ?- Evet. Kalktı. Kızın elini öpüp,

In the second group of canonical novels (in *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal*) as well the central female characters are strong, behave primarily according to their nature, and the idea of a distance with at least a certain model of modernity is still dominant. But in contrast with the first group, this time the natural potentials and strength of the female serves to a positively affirmed outcome: to set a distance with modernity. As mentioned, there are still some alternative models in these novels. In *Ankara* the alternative model is much more obvious and it is still defined in the domain of the modern: it is the nationalist way to modernity. In *Sinekli Bakkal*, although what is suggested is a synthesis of the modern and the traditional, the latter is much more dominant.

In the non-canonical examples, on the other hand, women are strong again. This time the modernity embodied in them is not necessarily negative; it even has positive outcomes. The way that woman articulates modernity, however, may differ. In *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, she uses her very strong natural drives, which are conceived in quite positive terms, whereas in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* the female characters employ their capacity to reason (which is stronger even than the male hero in the latter case).

In conclusion, it may be argued that in each grouping, conceptions of modernity, of female nature and of female strength overlap to some extent. The question is, how to explain this relationship.

In novels where women are identified with nature and where this nature is essentialized (that is, in all novels except *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*), such a perception also includes the conception of gender as independent from social structure and conditions. It is indeed a perception contrary to feminist literature's most fundamental statement that gives legitimacy to the whole domain of women's studies, that gender is socially, culturally and historically constructed. Moreover, the emphasis on the difference of gender codes (which is present in all novels) is also distanced from the argument that male and female codes nurse each other in a patriarchal context, since it handles each gender category as separate from and in contradiction to the other.⁵⁹

başına koydu - Bir kere annem beni dünyaya getirdi, bir kere de sen beni bambaşka bir dünyaya getiriyorsun, Rabia. Yeni adım ne ? - "Osman."

⁵⁹ For these basic claims of the feminist perspective, there are uncountable volumes. For an example among them, see West and Zimmerman, "Doing Gender", in Lorber and Farrel (eds.), *The*

So, are these novels patriarchal?

Interestingly, the imagination of modernity as something related to the “natural” in the first group of canonical novels paradoxically contradicts a certain understanding of modernization as a process of control, against nature. These novels warn the reader, however, against only a certain model of modernity, strengthening the feeling of fear and terror of the authors towards it. In this respect, the main concern of the authors of the first group of canonical novels is to show their readers examples of “misunderstood” modernity and its negative effects, rather than conceiving of modernity as a liberating potential and stressing its positive influences. Moreover, we know that there is not one definition of modernity.

So, do these novels deny modernity as a whole or are they searching for alternative models? What kind of model of modernity do they deny and what kind of model do they seek, an authoritarian or a liberating one?

For the canonical novels, the fact that they deny a certain “individualistic” model of modernity is clear: they all consider it as degenerating, particularly for woman. It is important that at this point to see that there is a great consensus among them. But what does this consensus signify? Moreover the following questions remain confusing: do the authors have in mind some model alternative to (degenerated) modernity, and what are these alternatives?

The crucial question to answer at this point, in terms of the relationship between the representations of female nature, female strength and modernity, do female characters consciously prefer to adopt the modern way of life or are they unconsciously seized by the modernization process?

Indeed, if the preference of the female characters for a more modern but degenerated life style is represented as a conscious choice, then they appear as a real threat to the traditional order, sanctioned to a great extent by the authors of the canonical works. Such a representation also implies the conception of female nature as essentially dangerous, inherently wicked, non-changeable, non-controllable and

Construction of Gender, 1987 or J. Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis”, in J. Scott (ed.), *Gender and History*, p. 29.

Another basic premise of feminist perspective is the refusal of the traditional distinction between public and private, which is one of the most fundamental premises of feminist theory and practice. This fact is mentioned by Yesim Arat too: Y. Arat, J. Brenner & B. Leslet, “Introduction by Editors: Feminists Rethink the Political”, in *Rethinking the Political: Gender, Resistance and the State* (Chicago & London: The University of Washington Press, 1995). Moreover it is argued that those practices couldn’t be explained in the context of economic determinism. Sholle, p. 230.

irresistible. If this is the case, then a project that can save woman from the dangers of modernity is neither possible nor reasonable; that is, there won't be alternative suggestions in the novels (moreover, in such a case women do not merit saving). It is indeed a choice of emphasizing the essentialization of the female nature over (or in addition to) the essentialization of modernity.

But if the degeneration of the female characters is a result of the pressure of an inescapable modernization wave, then women appear as victims whose nature may be accused only of being weak, but not of being particularly wicked. As long as woman serves as a symbol of a “wrong” modernity pattern (as is the case in these texts from the first group of canonical novels), a possible alternative model to the degenerative modernity is possible and manageable because female nature is controllable. Thus women can be and merit to be saved; at least they cannot be blamed and punished. It is a case where the essentialization of modernity is dominant over the essentialization of female nature.

Indeed, the answer to this crucial question lies in the representation of woman as a strong character. In other words, in the second alternative, the female characters have to be weak. As seen above, however, this is not the case in our novels. At least they are not weak in comparison to the male characters, but of course it does not necessarily mean that they are not weak in the face of modernization.

In terms of the first group of canonical novels and considering the representation of female characters, the authors seem to consider woman as a creature with an inherently wicked and strong nature who consciously chooses the degenerative elements of modernity, rather than as victims who are weak, but unconscious. Yet, in spite of their essentialism in terms of female nature, they seem to cover some models alternative to a negative pattern of modernity, although they appear indistinct in the texts. In *Kiralık Konak*, in a way approaching *Ankara's* utopic final chapter, the alternative is the nationalistic way, symbolized by Hakkı Celis. In *Fatih-Harbiye*, it seems like a synthesis or a rejection of the relationship of superiority between different cultures, explained by Ferit in the last chapters of the novel. Only in *Yaprak Dökümü* does the situation remain hopeless and unsolvable.

In this context, in *Kiralık Konak* and in *Fatih-Harbiye*, there remains a disturbing gap between the essentialist and strong representation of the female nature and the presence of alternative models. The reason for this gap may be explained as a result of the hesitation of the authors between their patriarchal premises and their

defensive reactions against the individualistic model of modernity. When it is considered that the nature of the female characters is dominant over their consciousness and also that modernity is represented to a great extent as an unavoidable process, then, the women appear as victims of modernity. However, when it is also considered that all of the female characters are reflected as almost consciously wicked personalities, they return to the creators of their evil fate in the weak men in their life.

Indeed, because of the tension caused by the above-mentioned hesitation, this paradox remains unresolved. If the female characters were portrayed as victims, the patriarchal assumptions on the essentialness and dangerousness of female nature would be damaged. If the degeneration was explained by the patriarchal essentialist portrayal of female characters, then modernity's dangers would not be noticeable. Neither choice is preferable to the individual who is both patriarchal and modernist and has an essentialist approach in both of these positions.

But for example in *Sinekli Bakkal* an assumption on the essentialness of female nature is not necessarily present. On the contrary, the female is portrayed as representing both the potentials and weaknesses of her nature, embodied respectively in Rabia and in Dürnev. In this respect, *Sinekli Bakkal* does reflect a pluralistic approach to female nature, in contrast to the monolithic, negative and patriarchal perspective that is particularly visible in the first group of canonical novels. So, upon these premises, it can be concluded by declaring that there is still room for an exception in the canon, as may be observed in *Sinekli Bakkal*.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSION:

THE DIFFICULT ARTICULATION OF MODERNISM AND NATIONALISM

Oh my teacher, Dünder. Oh, my newspapers, my high schools, my governors, my fathers, my elder brothers, oh my German or American looking soldiers. My baby-face People's Houses. Oh, my "one Turks worth the worlds". My marches, my sculptures, my German sister-in-laws, and my "*Tout va très bien Madame la Marquise*" songs. Little bit from the things that flow in the air. And the war is over, happy friend! Let us celebrate the day of the great victory. Was it to love the homeland? Was it to love the homeland and the people more than oneself?

To love... to love is to know. The thing I learned best is aphorisms.¹

In this study, examination has been made of the representation of gender, particularly of women, of love, sexuality, family and marriage in five canonical and four non-canonical Turkish novels. These books were published between the years 1922 and 1939, although the majority are dated between 1929-1939, during the Kemalist reform period, which is crucial in terms of understanding the Kemalist ideology and project.

In this final chapter, first the basic conclusions of this thesis will be presented as a list, followed by an interpretative discussion of these points.

The canonical novels accessed in this study have many differences and similarities to the non-canonical ones. Important common themes may be enumerated as follows:

¹ Ağaoğlu, *Ölmeye Yatmak*, pp. 267-268. The original text is as follows: "Ah benim Dünder öğretmenim ! Ah benim gazetelerim, liselerim, kaymakamlarım, babalarım, abilerim, kah Alman, kah Amerikan kılıklı askerlerim, çocuk yüzlü halkevlerim, "Bir Türk dünyaya bedel"lerim, marşlarım, heykellerim, Alman yengelerim ve "Tout va tres bien Madame la Marquise" şarkılarım ! Havada uçuşan her şeyden biraz. Ve savaş bitmiştir ey şen arkadaş ! Büyük zaferin gününü terennüm edelim... Bu muymuş yurdunu sevmek? Yurdunu budununu özünden çok sevmek? Sevmek... Sevmek, bilmektir. En iyi öğrendiğim şeyse "vecize" söylemek"

1. Modernity is discussed mainly around themes conceived within the domain of the private sphere, such as gender, particularly woman, and gender relationships like love, marriage, sexuality and marriage.

2. Women characters are drawn with relatively strong, active and interventionist personalities.

3. Characters from both sexes are represented as naturally different personalities, just because of their gender. They are portrayed as personified forms of essential inborn contradictions. In the same way, the relationships between the sexes, such as love or marriage, are regarded as domains of conflict, at least at the beginning of the novels, rather than as domains of harmony, happiness and pleasure.

4. Socially recognized proper marriages and the formation of family constitute the happily-ever-after ending. The idealized family type is the nuclear one.

5. Except for one non-canonical example, i.e. *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the marriage decision is primarily taken after a logical account of wealth or nationality of future spouse, rather than according to emotional ties such as romantic love. The basic conflict is built upon the contradiction between these two criteria. Of course, the ideal situation is their unity, as achieved in *Aşk Politikası*.

6. Again except for *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, extra-marital sexuality is represented as a source of degeneration and dirtiness, especially for female characters. Sexual *namus* is the most unquestionable criterion that renders female characters strong and positive. In *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, too, *namus* is one of the fundamental categories that guarantee a personality's strength. In this case, it covers sexual fidelity, but it does not include rejection of extra-marital relationship. In this novel, in addition to this loyalty criterion, the concept of *namus* has a more extended content, comprising personal honesty.

7. In addition to *namus*, nation constitutes the other element of the domain of given, unquestionable codes. Moreover, nationalist feeling is perceived as a substitute for romantic love in many examples, such as in *Kıralık Konak* or *Bahar Çiçeği*.

8. No themes such as little children or their education are present. Motherhood remains as a secondary theme.

9. The patriarchal division of labor within the household is explicitly defended in all novels. Housework is conceived as a natural ability and the unquestionable duty of woman. To omit these duties is depicted as a sign of degeneration.

The differences between canonical and non-canonical novels may be listed as follows:

1. In every canonical novel, modernization (at least a certain model of it) brings with it certain dangers and risks. Thus, these novels situate themselves in a defensive position towards modernity. In *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye*, the main risk is economic and spiritual dissolution, the split and disintegration of the non-modern extended family. In these novels, this process goes hand in hand with the loss of the authority of the older male head of the household and is depicted as a decline and degeneration, rather than as emancipation. Moreover, this risk originates in the female characters' weaknesses toward the degenerated modern way of life and luxury consumption that it necessitates. This weakness is explained by the pre-given potentials of the evil female nature. Thus, the risk of modernity shows itself mainly in the degeneration of the women characters. This degeneration is manifested mostly in women's loss of *namus*. In *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara*, too, this distance to a certain model of modernity (conceived as individualism) is preserved. But this time, woman is the main protector of this distance and the character who rejects this suspicious model.

In the non-canonical examples no such defensive discourse is seen. To the contrary, in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, the modernity of woman or the fact that the female character is modern, brings with it the formation of an idealized nuclear family. In *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* again modernity is conceived as a process of gains rather than as a category of losses. In the non-canonical works the strength of the female characters lies in the fact that they are or they try to be modern. In sum, as opposed to the panicky tone of the canonical works that point to the dangers of deconstructing the traditional familial patterns, the non-canonical works tell stories of reconstruction to this same process of modernization.

2. In the non-canonical novels such as *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, it is observed that the representation of the female characters as strong personalities has its roots in reason and is regarded in every case as a positive attribute. In *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, on the other hand, there is a unity of natural strength with reasonable strategy. In certain examples in the canonical novels, that is in *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye*, this strength's origin is based on the potentials of female nature. In the remaining canonical novels, that is in *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, strong female characters are presented by the authors as positive

personalities to be identified by the reader. However, in *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye*, the power of the female characters is implied as a risky potential that needs to be repressed. In these canonical novels, this female initiative reflects itself not in reasonable decisions and honesty, but in dangerous intrigues. In sum, strong women appear in those cases as dangerous. Thus, the above-mentioned second similarity between the canonical and the non-canonical novels on the representation of woman as strong character turns into a difference in certain canonical novels, since this strength is perceived in a negative manner.

3. In accordance with this last remark, in every canonical novel, woman is equated with nature whereas in every non-canonical example she is distinguishable by her reason or by a unity of reason and nature. In other words, although in both the canonical and non-canonical cases the male and female sexes are conceived of from an essentializing point of view (as mentioned in the third point concerning similarities), the characteristics attributed to the genders are in the opposed directions: In the canon, the female essence is decisively identified with nature (although there is place for her reason) whereas in the non-canonical narratives, there are also narratives such as *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* in which she is distinguished by her reason (although in all of these cases, because of the representation in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*, the identification of female characters with reason is not as strong and comprehensive as the identification with nature in the canonical novels).

Besides this, in the canonical texts, man is expected to be reasonable, although this is not realized in every case, as in *Yaprak Dökümü* or *Kıralık Konak*. The most explicit example of this opposed identification can be observed in *Fatih-Harbiye*, where the female protagonist behaves according to her natural instincts and the male characters symbolize the reason. They want her too to behave according to the(ir) reason and achieve this goal due to their strength. In accordance with the previously mentioned difference regarding the element of personal strength, the female nature is defined as a dangerous and risky potential in some canonical examples, such as *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye*. In *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, however, the female protagonists still behave primarily according to their natural instincts, but this time this nature directs them to make the right decisions and to actively build the idealized life style. Of course, unlike the unreasonable and aggressive woman in the first group of canonical novels, there are passages in which

Rabia or Seniha makes decision using their reason. But their reason serves them only in their way to achieve the positive goals, while they still primarily listen to the voices of their inborn souls.

In the non-canonical novels on the other hand, women actively and frequently use their reason. They do not appear as creatures lacking reason, as is the case in the first group of canonical texts. Of course in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* there is an emphasis on the fact that Cemile's natural instincts influence her behavior, but it does not mean that she does not make her tactical decisions using her reason and even entering into intrigues that has she built by her capacity to reason. On the other hand, in *Aşk Politikası*, in strict opposition to the equation built in *Fatih-Harbiye*, man represents the nature in opposition to woman's powerful reason. Although in the non-canonical novels an equation of woman and reason under a form as categorical as the equation of woman and nature in the canonical side is not observed, even the presence of such an unusual representation shows that there is a place for an alternative discourse of gender identity in the popular realm.

4. In every canonical novel, the discourse of duties and responsibilities hinders the discourse of rights, while in the non-canonical novels, there is place for a discourse of rights, whose most representative example can be found in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*.

5. In the canonical novels, the completely idealized or criticized female stereotypes are dominant over the realistic portrayals of woman. Actually in the non-canonical novels, idealized stereotypes are seen. There are also examples of realistic female portrayal with both positive and negative personal traits, such as Cemile of *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*.

6. In certain examples among the canonical novels, there is place for a discourse in which passionate romantic love is represented as source of disintegration for the family and degeneration for woman. On the contrary, in every non-canonical novel, although certain themes such as national identity and *namus* precede it, romantic love itself is not necessarily represented from a critical point of view as the origin of degeneration. Rather, it is narrated as a non-essential, but complementary basis for a stronger nuclear family.

7. In connection with the last observation, in certain examples of the canonical novels, an explicit defense of arranged marriages is presented by the authors, in opposition to the degenerative romantic love and flirtation based on the free choice

of spouse, particularly by the female character. In the non-canonical novels, on the other hand, free choice is explicitly defended. This preference may be explained by the representation of female strength and nature. In most of the non-canonical novels, women are portrayed as reasonable personalities, there is no risk of them making wrong decisions; whereas in the first group of canonical novels, that is, in *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye*, women behave according to their dangerous nature rather than reason, so an important decision such as marriage should not be left to them.

8. Among the non-canonical works, examples can be seen where an explicit defense of the traditional division of labor within the household is absent, but there is not any suggestion of an alternative pattern. In these cases, female characters who do not do housework are depicted (due to household servants, of course) but are still portrayed in a positive way.

9. It has already been observed that in the canonical novels, all of the female characters are of bureaucratic class origin or where they get their formation is a bureaucratic class family, such as Rabia of *Sinekli Bakkal*. In the non-canonical novels, however, either the familial origin of the female characters is not mentioned or there are also characters from a bourgeois or lower class origin. Additionally in the non-canonical novels, single female characters living outside a recognized family structure where male authority figures form the center of the family appear. In a way contradicting the canonical novels' implications, these female characters are not depicted in terms of degeneration and are not criticized at all by the authors. On the contrary, they are able to make right decisions, to actively build their own lives and of course preserve their *namus*.

This inventory of similarities and differences between the canonical and non-canonical works needs further interpretation. First of all, the differences within each category should have a meaning. It can be argued that the canonical novels cannot be evaluated as a completely consistent whole. They were already divided into two groups: *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kıralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye* constitute the first group and *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara* constitute the other. It is observed that these two groups differ in their representation of modernity and their representations of gender. Although in *Sinekli Bakkal* and *Ankara* a defensive model towards a certain form of modernity is seen, modernity itself is not refused as a whole and the authors suggest synthetic models. In *Ankara* this model is the collectivist-nationalist one with

developmentalist overtones and in *Sinekli Bakkal* it is one based on a synthesis of the traditional and the modern, with culturally conservative overtones. These two groups of canonical novels differ mostly in their representation of woman: in *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, it is the female character who symbolizes the model defended by the author, whereas in *Yaprak Dökümü*, *Kiralık Konak* and *Fatih-Harbiye* the female personality symbolizes the degenerated pattern. This last observation confirms that in the canon there are gaps to be filled by alternative gender discourses. Furthermore, it shows that the canon does not necessarily mean a sphere of definitive ideological compromise and homogeneity, but it also includes opposition and pluralism. It demonstrates that these texts were written or that the canon was formed by the free will of their authors, rather than at the command of the state. Of course such a statement should not be read as if the canon does not construct limits and rules according to which mentalities are organized and (legitimate) thoughts are developed.

Indeed, these two groups of nationalist canon are very similar in terms of equating woman with nature rather than reason, in defending the patriarchal division of labor within the household, in idealizing a model of woman that voluntarily takes this duty upon herself, in imagining woman and man as naturally exclusive and contradictory sexes, and finally in emphasizing a discourse of duties rather than rights. They all embrace a discourse of ideal models to be reached rather than realistic portrayals. On the other hand, the first group of canonical novels defends arranged marriages. This discourse is interesting because at first look it seems to contradict the dominant Kemalist ideal of establishing modern marriage procedures. This situation can be explained by the fact that the Kemalists' apparent ideals of modern marriage (crystallized in the Civil Code accepted in 1926, the articles of which include such rules as putting monogamous marriage as a rule, constraining socially legitimate marriage to the secular marriage ceremony and act, ending the practice of marriage between close relatives, enlarging women's right to freely choose their spouses or to initiate divorce) do not necessarily mean to criticize or wish to abolish arranged marriage or to promote flirting before marriage. All of these facts show that the canon, as a whole, remains quite close to or at least non-critical of the patriarchal discourse. Thus, the canon confirms academically critical accounts of Kemalist gender policies.

This study shows that the non-canonical novels also can not be treated as a monolithic whole. *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* stand in many respects closer to popular romance structure in contrast to *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*. In *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası*, class blindness is apparent, whereas in *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* there is an explicit anti-elitist approach and positively portrayed characters from the lower classes are visible. In all of the non-canonical novels, however, in contrast to the canonical works, which preserve a defensive position, modernity is considered as a process to be coped with, rather than as a risky category.

Cumba'dan Rumba'ya marks an exception among both the canonical and non-canonical cases. Particularly in its unique formulation of *namus* and its positive portrayal of the interventionist female character of lower class origin who wants to attain a modern life. Thus, with *Sinekli Bakkal* on the canonical side, this novel proves how alternative discourse is possible in literary works. The existence of these exceptions in both the canonical and non-canonical categories demonstrates the difficulty of treating the canon and the popular works as monolithic entities. In other words, these exceptions show that the definition of canon and the determination of its characteristics are open to discussion.

To argue that the non-canonical novels consider modernity as a domain of possibilities rather than dangers does not necessarily mean that these texts have a totally emancipating potential. The findings of this study basically support certain claims of critical scholars working on the woman issue during the Kemalist reform period. In terms of discussing the modernity issue around themes of gender and related subjects, thus putting woman as the most representative “problematic” of Turkish modernization; in terms of underlining nationalism and *namus* as a fundamentally unquestionable base on which their plots are built, both the canonical and the non-canonical novels reflect the broader patriarchal perspective of the Kemalist reform period. Moreover, although the presence of a discourse of rights in the non-canonical novels was noted above, in the last analysis, in many narrative details, an essentialist representation of woman and an emphasis on duties are dominant over a discourse on rights. In other words, a discourse of duties and mission is present in both the canonical and non-canonical works, although its weight may differ. This reinforces several critical accounts of Kemalist gender policies: the reforms were primarily realized with practical aims, but did not aim at the liberation of women. They preserved some patriarchal premises when studied in detail and

finally, they did indeed load new missions on women. The discourse of social gain imprisoned the interests of the individual woman.

The absence of themes of child, education and nationalist self-sacrificing mothers in both the canonical and non-canonical novels contradicts the observations of scholars. It should be remembered at this point, although absent in the novels, that these themes were quite dominant in other textual material of the period, such as journals and newspapers.

One important finding of this study is that the non-canonical novels deviate from the clichés of popular romance in general, Turkish or otherwise, although they still impose marriage as the best final ending for the female character, by emphasizing the strong and reasonable independent woman as an ideal and by reason over romantic love as a basis for marriage.

What do all of these observations teach us about the characteristics of this historical period? First, they demonstrate once again that this reform wave imagined itself as a process to be manifested mostly on the cultural level, with cultural means and through detailed symbols and metaphors on the modern and non-modern, on west and east, on almost every practice of daily life. In other words, although many scholars have largely discussed the political dimensions of this project, in addition to political changes, the reforms also aimed at a cultural transformation. Here the term “cultural” refers to a definition that comprises such things as everyday life elements, values and symbols. In this context, the expressions of this imagination, that is the novels examined in this study, perceive the modernization process primarily at the level of ethics, rather than of material conditions. They legitimize the modernity or gender models that they suggest at this ethical foundation.

In *Ankara* and *Sinekli Bakkal* on the canonical side or in *Bahar Çiçeği* and *Aşk Politikası* on the non-canonical side, what the authors do seems to create an illusion, that is, to show the social order and the gender identity based on this order that s/he wishes to exist as already realized. In that sense, these texts are far from awakening in the reader an impression of reality. In *Kıralık Konak*, *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Yaprak Dökümü* on the canonical side, the criticism of the authors is based on their ethical judgments. The social or economic origins of the negative situation remain either unexplained or the explanation does not seem credible. Except for *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya* these novels are far from convincing and their explanatory power remains weak.

Another remark needs to be made. The fact that reformers aim at transformations at the level of everyday life is not a fault in itself. It may even provide for the participation of non-elite groups into the process of change and thus a certain dynamism. So, to criticize a period just because it aimed to achieve modifications in the everyday life of the people is somehow unjust. Rather what exactly was aimed at, by which actor and by which method it was decided and applied should be clarified. Moreover, whether and why the settled goals have been achieved or not (as to set a goal doesn't necessarily mean to achieve it) needs to be questioned. Although the scope of this thesis is limited to the first question, it needs to be stated that any criticism without interrogating at least one of these questions remains incomplete.

These novels are evidence that the fundamental limitations of the Kemalist discourse on the identity of the new woman were built on conceptions of modernism, nationalism and *namus*. In other words, the new woman idealized in the Kemalist period had to be modern, Turkish and *namushu*. The first premise was still open to discussion, there was still a place for alternative models of modernity; but how modernity was discussed was limited by nationalism and *namus* principles. In other words, in this period, one could write a novel that discussed or criticized a certain model of modernity, but one did not (or one could not) write a novel that categorically criticized *namus* and nationalism. The only thing possible was to discuss the limits of these, as was the case for *namus*, in the single example of *Cumba'dan Rumba'ya*. Moreover, how one criticized or imagined a modernity model was primarily determined by these limitations.

Thus, in terms of different suggestions of modernity, the canonical and non-canonical novels are situated in different camps. The non-canonical novels occupy a constructive position, which stands in contradiction to the defensive position of the canonical novels as a whole. Then the non-canonical novels ask, "how should we modernize?" in contrast to the "how shouldn't we modernize?" of the canonical novels. Indeed, these two ways of formulating the initial question overlap with two fundamental models defined by scholars working on modernity: modernity as a possibility to enlarge individual liberty and modernity as a way toward an ideal of rationalized society. These two conceptions may contradict each other as the latter may evolve into the idea of a more centralized and controlled society having primacy over individual rights. Although it cannot be claimed that the first liberty-oriented

model of modernity is defended in an extreme form in the non-canonical novels, it is obvious that in the canonical novels, particularly in the first group, there is an explicit reaction against this liberal model and support of the second one, based on social engineering rather than on individual progress. Thus, the canonical novels are first distant to a certain aspect of modernity rather than trying to construct it. They perceive and narrate the first model based on individualism as selfishness, as a process that would bring chaos and degeneration to the established order. Moreover, they see its manifestations mostly in the form of alienation and cultural crisis, observed mainly in families and women. Unlike the non-canonical examples, they aim to show how westernization was (thus, still can be) conceived in a wrong way, rather than trying to understand and adopt it.

Why do the canonical works perceive and depict the model based on individualism as a process that would lead to selfishness? It should be remembered at this point that the period in which they were produced was the time interval when Turkey was trying to achieve both nationalization and modernization simultaneously. In other words, during this period, Turkey tried to face modernity, within a nationalist context, embodied in an established state power. Trying to build national and modern identities at the same time carries in itself a certain contradiction and tension because the former is oriented toward itself and seeks its “original”, “authentic” attributes whereas the latter, shaped in Turkey according to a European model, is turned toward the outside, the “other”, the “universal”. In Chatterjee's view, the problematic of this early Republican period was composed of the western principles of modernization, whereas its thematic was composed of non-Western principles which were embodied in its nationalism and inherently incompatible with its problematic.

Thus, in a way showing that modernity's or problematic's style is shaped by the character of nationalism or the thematic or that understanding nationalism is critical in terms of understanding modernity, these novels, both on the canonical and non-canonical sides, try to build, in the last analysis, a model different from the European one and peculiar to Turkey. Of course, the canonical and non-canonical use different dosages and different formulations in this difficult, but creative question. Yet, nationalism continues to be a fundamental compromise drawing the last limits for alternative meanings open to public discussion.

Thus, Kemalism possessed a contradictory character, trying to resemble its past enemies and trying to solve this paradoxical situation, at least on the discursive level. It was both desirous and suspicious of modernity. And thus, this process was not completely consistent, but rather full of contradictions, as may be observed in the discursive realm deconstructed through the novels in this study.

Both of these models were present in Europe, too. These different possible models were driven by scholars through exploring European experience. Then, why in the canon, is the one based on individualism attributed to Europe and the other chosen as Turkish? As mentioned above, the answer is primarily based on nationalism, or more precisely, on the special characteristics of Turkish nationalism, i.e. on its emphasis on corporatism. The model based on collectivity was preferred to the one based on the individual, in line with the model Gökbalp initiated. It is argued that at least the intellectuals integrated into the canon were the ones who preferred this centralist model. In other words, in addition to some fundamental patriarchal premises that can be observed to some extent in the non-canonical texts, this preference of a centralist model of modernization and of putting a distance with a more liberal type were fundamental criteria in the formation of the nationalist canon in Turkey. It seems that this criteria was much stronger than the commercial or literary values of the novels. For example Gürpınar, whose books can be considered as best-sellers, was within the Turkish canon because he preserved this difference with modernity at all times. Indeed Gürpınar proves how it is difficult to determine and define the canonical realm, showing in a way the inner limitations of this thesis. At this point, although we put the distance with modernity as a basic criteria distinguishing the canon from the non-canon, we should also note that to discriminate canonical texts from the non-canonical ones is still a very hard job. This claim is strengthened when we think of the limits of the perception of modernity in non-canonical texts. In other words, as argued above too, the claim on the more liberal character of the non-canonical texts in respect to modernity, should not be understood as a final statement: there are still limitations and these texts are still not completely driven toward individual liberation (in the sense of being open to every kind of individual experiences).

In both the canonical and non-canonical cases these problematics of modernity and nationalism are discussed by heavily referring to representations of gender, in a way demonstrating again that both are gendered. In this respect, what has been

chosen to be preserved, in order to define a modernity model peculiar to Turkey (a nationalist model), has been a certain image of woman. What primarily demonstrated the originality of the desired, non-degenerated nationalistic model was *namus*, that is a code concerning the female body. Although, in the non-canonical novels, certain possibilities are seen in terms of more liberating, alternative models of modernity, *namus* continued to be in both the canonical and non-canonical works, the other non-discussible code, in addition to nationalism. Perhaps it is an area which is perceived completely within the domain of common sense. This fact alone reveals that in these novels, the traditional/religious principles defining woman's body as signifier of identity is translated into the nationalist context. In this respect, *namus* or restrictions over the female body also draws the limits and guarantees the originality of the national identity. This emphasis served to legitimize Kemalist reforms on the woman issue, seeking to enlarge the access of women to the public sphere, thus revolting against the strict *mahremiyet* principle.

This point also reveals one of the bigger inner-contradictions of the Kemalist mentality: the tension between the removal of *mahremiyet* to achieve modernization and the huge care taken for the preservation of female *namus* in this process, to set limits on modernization. As these two principles were complementary and the removal of one brings to mind the disappearance of the other, this point signifies one of the most controversial issues of modernizationist policies and mentalities and the most creative work is exhibited to bring suggestions to solve this problem. These novels should be read, particularly the canonical ones, in the light of this fundamental tension which exhibits one of the weakest points in the difficult articulation between nationalism and modernism.

On another level, however, the non-canonical novels may comprise some deviations from Kemalist conception of woman and modernity. This shows once more that popular works or works excluded from the canon are the sphere in which rules are investigated and where alternative discourses are developed. So, these things are sought, the best place to look for them seems to be the "popular" realm. More particularly, to catch the breaks and the gaps in the mainstream or official discourse, one should explore the differences between the canon and the discourses excluded from it. Another side of the coin exists too: the similarities among them show us the realm of "common sense". In other words, these similarities provide the researcher with a list of themes on which a general compromise is established. This

process seems to work through some discursive tactics such as defining an entity or explaining an event with reference to the "natural" characters or reasons and thus, keeping it out of discussion.

In line with this observation on deviations in the non-canonical works, some above-mentioned elements in these texts contradict some of the suggestions of the critical accounts of contemporary scholars on Kemalist feminism. Indeed, these earlier accounts are successful in terms of determining which elements of the traditional patriarchal discourse are preserved in the modernization process, but they remain inadequate in understanding the breaks and discontinuities. In a way, they succeed in explaining continuity, but they cannot grasp the change dimension. This seems to be primarily as result of their approach to modernity and modernization: they either conceive of the Turkish modernization process from a modernist perspective, as a deficient experience where many elements of an original model are absent, or from a post-modernist point of view, they accuse the whole idea of modernism as an already lost game in the entire world. Because of these limitations, it seems they are unable to grasp modernization as a dual process in which both repression and liberation exist. They do observe the repressive mechanisms of it, such as the continuity of the patriarchy in the private sphere, but they miss how a higher proportion of women in Turkey started to work outside of the home, chose their husbands by their own will and developed a romantic love ideal on which they at least tried to negotiate their relationships with the men in their lives. In other words, these works can only partially grasp the process to which referred in my quite personal, experience-based introduction to the preface section.

As in their approach to modernity, they lack the appropriate dual point of view suggested in the theoretical part of the introduction. The fact that they remain weak in the change dynamic is based on another factor, too: they remain blind towards the popular forms of art that influenced a higher proportion of the society and where the probability of finding divergent elements is higher. In doing so, they repeat one of the fundamental faults of the Kemalist modernism that they criticize. But of course, it should also be noted that this blindness and bias, this one-side approach to modernization are also present in non-critical "Kemalist" accounts of state feminism. They are in even more exaggerated forms. Thus, these criticisms made here are much more valid for them too and perhaps, it is quite understandable that the reaction

among such a strong discourse, which gives rise to the critical accounts, is shaped in this way.

Finally, what this study offers in terms of methodology is the fact that literature is a rich, profitable and legitimate domain of inquiry from which to grasp both dominant and alternative discourses. This claim is strengthened when it is considered that even in the canon there is place for both compromise and opposition. As the literature is influenced by and influences the social and historical context in which it is produced; as it is both within the limits of common sense and still comprises more possibilities and freedom to construct alternative discourses, literature is very suitable to reaching important conclusions on the complex mentality of an historical period. Of course, as has been argued earlier, these conclusions shouldn't be understood by the reader as a complete reflection of reality, that is, as a reflection of the gender policies of the Kemalist power holders, of their results or of a non-interpreted basis for gender ideology. It is useful to stress once more that these conclusions are based on representations.

The analysis of these representations is necessary only in terms of determining how certain people imagined gender and gender relationships in a modernizationist and nationalist context. The fact that some people conceived of them in a particular way and disseminated their ideas does not necessarily mean that these understandings were directly transferred into state policies or accepted and practiced by the ordinary people without any mediating interpretation. Moreover it should be remembered that the people who created this discursive realm were intellectuals who were able to write novels and thus spread their ideas within extensive formal and nationwide cultural channels. This does not mean again that these were the only channels on which to build gender discourse. In this respect, the contribution that such an analysis may make is to deconstruct one of the numerous resources that have served as raw material to form a complex modern discourse on gender, identity, and thus the policies and practices in Turkey.

This study has certain important but unavoidable problems and shortcomings. First, it is indeed an attempt to understand present through using past, as I was clearly proclaimed at the very beginning, in the introductory passage of the preface. Moreover, it is an attempt which aims in fact to understand the self through historical exploration. In other words, in this equation, history serves self-understanding and reflection. Although they are not openly stated, these premises are indeed present in

every historical account. Such an intimate relationship to history has both advantages and disadvantages: It has advantage in terms of building a sincere and honest relationship with knowledge, which is a must for truth; but it is also disadvantageous in terms of having too much sympathy with the studied material, which may cause difficulty in building and preserving a certain academic distance. This study includes both these advantages and disadvantages, although I personally strove to maintain my awareness of these risks.

In the final analysis, this study may be considered as a contribution to a newly developing field, i.e. to the study of gender codes in literary texts, which promises new openings and new perspectives in approaching the Turkish modernization experience. Moreover, it draws attention to the mechanisms of the formation of literary canon, which stands as an almost never discussed issue in the Turkish case and which seems particularly important in the nationalist contexts. Thus, in a way, it demonstrates how a sociological and historical perspective is crucial in understanding deeper literary texts and how literary texts are crucial in understanding deeper a historical period. The cultural raw material that social actors use in order to create meanings on gender and related issues as well as to construct their subjectivities was determined due to an analysis of literature. As it is based on a comparison between canonical and non-canonical texts, this study gained also the power of including the voices excluded from the mainstream discourse. The meanings attributed to modernity and to nation in this crucial period of construction could be deconstructed through an analysis of gender codes, demonstrating once more the centrality of gender in a process of nationalization.

To complete this analysis of the early Republican period, further research should be conducted on a comparison of gender discourses along a time axis, in different periods of Turkish modernization. Moreover, how these literary codes on gender are consumed and interpreted by social actors and policy makers forms another domain of inquiry as crucial as that attempted in this thesis. In other words, new researches should be oriented towards an audience analysis, which as far as I know, is almost never conducted in the context of Turkey. In connection with this, a quantitative and qualitative study on the printing industry and on the readership practices in the Republican period, remains untouched and necessary fields of inquiry. But at this final moment, we have to leave these questions to further research and confess that "*ars longa, vita brevis*".

APPENDIX A

CENTRAL CHARACTERS AND PLOTS OF THE NOVELS

THE CANONICAL NOVELS

(In Alphabetical Order of the Turkish Titles)

ANKARA

Characters

- Selma Hanım: She is the central character. Diverse adventures and dreams of nationalism are narrated around her life-cycle or different phases of her life, symbolized by her different marriages. She is an educated beautiful woman. She is the daughter of a bureaucrat living in Istanbul. Her destiny coincides with that of Ankara, by her moving to this city after her first marriage. She has a very strong personality. Although from a different point of view she could be described as a loose woman (as she is divorced and re-married three times), she is rather portrayed as a woman who courageously searches for a meaningful life, which she finds in the last utopic chapter, Ankara, and its enthusiastic national spirit.
- Nazif: First husband of Selma Hanım. He is a weak man.
- Hakkı Bey: Second husband of Selma Hanım. In the first chapter, he is a real hero. He is handsome, polite, strong and nationalist. He is a real man. But in the second chapter he turns into a degenerated man.
- Neşet Sabit: Third husband of Selma Hanım. He is the ideal man who unites in himself both physical and intellectual power and devotion to nationalism.

Plot

In comparison to the other novels, there are no important events in this novel. To understand the plot, it is sufficient to look at the relevant table about modernity codes.

The novel starts with Selma and Nazif coming to Ankara during the years of national struggle. They settle into a small house in a traditional poor neighborhood in old Ankara. Some months later, this small family begins to visit the small farm house of a deputy, Murat Bey and his family. Here, Selma is acquainted with Hakkı Bey, a

passionate young military officer filled with Turkish nationalism. Selma is impressed primarily by the courageous attitude and enthusiastic engagement of Hakkı Bey. During long excursions on horseback, in the natural settings of the countryside, they fall in love. Towards the ends of the national war, Selma works as nurse in a military hospital in Eskişehir. When she realizes that her husband is a coward man who does not understand at all the rising national spirit and the need for self-sacrifice, she decides to divorce him.

In the second chapter, Selma marries Hakkı Bey. Hakkı Bey has resigned from his military post and after the proclamation of the Republic he is completely changed and turned into a snobbish, degenerated defender of imitated western culture. Their luxury life in a rich quarter of Ankara, in Yenışehir is only a source of alienation for Selma Hanım. During a ball celebrating the anniversary of Republic, the reader is introduced to the gap between the elite and the people. We read the astonished words of the poor people who come to see the entrance of the new elite into the ball hall. Here, Selma meets a young intellectual, Neşet Sabit, and realizes that she is not alone in criticizing this degenerated life. Finally when she learns that he has had a love affair with a European woman, she realizes that national feelings of Hakkı Bey that attracted her him at first, have now been completely exhausted. She decides to divorce him and to earn her own life by working.

The utopic third chapter is based on her marriage to Neşet Sabit. Selma works as the director of a state dormitory for girls. Neşet Sabit works as an engaged intellectual in the fictive Organization of Social Responsibility. Meanwhile, he writes a play on the wisdom of the new order. His play evokes great admiration and garners praise even from Mustafa Kemal. At the end of the performance, they go to a “national bar” to celebrate Neşet Sabit’s success. Thus, the author describes to the readers the “healthy” and “national” alternative entertainment style of the new order, against the old western style degenerated style of entertainment.

With time Selma begins to feel jealous of Neşet Sabit, and Yıldız, a young actress in the play. It is indeed the awakening of her sickly habits of the past, that is the personal feelings and individualism. With time, she realizes that there is nothing improper between them.

The novel ends with the participation of Neşet Sabit and Selma, in another anniversary of the Republic, in contrast to the ball of the second chapter. It is a public meeting where everyone voluntary and enthusiastically participates in

celebrating their own achievements and in catching a glimpse of the divine Atatürk, portrayed as a semi-god.

FATİH-HARBİYE

Characters

- Neriman: A young girl who symbolizes Turkish woman longing for a modern life, hesitating between different life styles and values and thus alienated from her existing life style. She is not portrayed as a very beautiful, educated or strong character. She has frequent nervous attacks that show her weakness and lack of control over her feelings. She also behaves dishonestly, for example lie, if necessary.
- Faiz Bey: Neriman's father. He is a calm, educated and strong personality. He is a defender of the traditional life style.
- Şinasi: Neriman's fiancé; a good friend of Faiz Bey. He is portrayed as a calm, strong personality. He does not experience Neriman's hesitations and alienation at all as he has already decided on his preference for the traditional life style, or in better words, for a life style whose traditional elements are dominant and whose modernity is not degenerating. In this way, he is like a younger model of Faik Bey, and thus in the novel takes his place in the powerful and rightful men club.
- Macit: Neriman's friend. He has a modern life style and drags Neriman into it. Astonishingly, he is not presented as compete villain. Indeed he is not described in detail. For example, when they go out for the first time, he does not attempt to seduce Neriman. I think that in fact he couldn't do so for the sake of the novel's continuation: otherwise Neriman would not be able to find the "right way" and decide marrying Şinasi at the end of the story. In those novels it is impossible to imagine a girl who lost her sexual honor to marry, a fact that shows us the centrality of the sexual honor code.

Plot

The novel starts with the fiancés, Neriman and Şinasi walking in the streets of Beyazıt. Şinasi realizes that Neriman wants to leave him in order to visit one of her friends in the same district; thus, he leaves her alone. At the trolley car stop, he sees her again, but Neriman does not notice his presence and gets on the trolley for

Harbiye. So, Şinasi understands that Neriman has lied to him. He thinks that Neriman has changed very much in the last months.

Neriman and Şinasi live in the same old traditional quarter of Istanbul or in the same neighborhood. They are students at the classical Turkish music department of the Istanbul University Conservatory. They have known each other for seven years and Şinasi has a friendship with Neriman's father, Faiz Bey too. Thus, on his way to home, Şinasi drops in at Neriman's house and finds that she has not come yet, although it is late hour in the evening. Indeed, Neriman returns home very late and in a car. Faiz Bey finds a piece of confetti on the floor that shows that Neriman has been at a party.

The next morning Neriman gets up late with a violent headache. In a disorganized state of mind, she remembers the previous night at the famous night club, Maksim. She lies to his father also, saying that the previous night, she was at one of her girl friends, Fahriye's house. Thus, we comprehend that Şinasi did not tell the father that Neriman had caught the Fatih-Harbiye trolley.

In the same day, at the exit of the Conservatory, Fahriye and Neriman run into Şinasi. When he asks where she was last night, Neriman, who does not know that Şinasi saw her getting on the trolley, responds that she was at Fahriye's house. Realizing that she continues to lie, Şinasi leaves. Neriman then tells Fahriye how much she hates the traditional oriental life style that she has to continue with her father and Şinasi and declares her great admiration and longing for the modern life style. They decide to go to Beyoğlu together.

In a famous cafe in Beyoğlu, Lebon, they confront Macit with whom Neriman was together the previous night. Although he is with another woman, he invites Neriman to a ball at the famous Pera Palas Hotel which will held in ten days. Neriman plans how to arrange permission from her father and the necessary amount of money for a new dress to wear.

At night, in the house, although she finds the atmosphere completely boring, Neriman tries to seem likable to her father and gain his sympathy in order to obtain his permission and financial support for the ball. She enters the kitchen to help the servant, Gülter but gets angry. Still they pass a calm dinner and night, at the end of which Neriman debates with her father the modern and traditional ways of life, for the first time in her life.

The next day, realizing that she is still devoted to him, Neriman wants to see Şinasi. But while talking on their problems, she has a fit of hysterics. Upon their return home, Faiz Bey cautions Şinasi to marry his daughter without any more delay.

The next morning Neriman gets up in good spirits. Faiz Bey brings up the marriage issue. Neriman demands that it be delayed a longer bit later and talks to him about the ball for the first time. Faiz Bey accepts his daughter's demands. Shortly thereafter Neriman announces to Şinasi her dreams of a modern life after marriage and invites him to the ball.

Şinasi meets with one of his intimate friends Ferit. Ferit tells him that Neriman-Macit relationship is known by everyone and gives advice on how to act on this issue in a more decisive and strong attitude. Meanwhile Neriman goes to Beyoğlu to choose her ball dress. She also stops by her uncle's home to visit her nieces. Here an old woman tells the story of a Russian girl in Istanbul who leaves the man that she loves in order to become the mistress of a rich man. At the end of the story, the girl realizes that her choice brings her only unhappiness, returns to her poor beloved, but is refused by him, and then commits suicide. Neriman is impressed by this story. While returning home on the trolley, she meets Macit Bey, but he does not pay attention to her. Under the influence of his indifferent behavior, Neriman understands that contrary to Şinasi's approach to her, she is not an important person for Macit as she had assumed before. In her return to home, Güler suggests to Neriman that she gives up going to the ball because her father is very sad and ashamed of not being able to find money she had demanded for the ball dress. Neriman says that she has already abandoned her decision.

The night, Neriman, Güler, Şinasi and Faiz Bey go altogether to Fikret's house, to participate in a crowded gathering of friends. There, men, most of whom are musicians, discuss the cancellation of the Classical Turkish Music program from the Istanbul University Conservatory. The debate expands to the modern-traditional duality in Turkey and to the degenerating influence of modernization on women. Upon these discussions, in which she is shown as an example, Neriman has a violent fit of hysterics. By this crisis, full of revolt against her father and the other men at the gathering, she solves her hesitancy between the modern and traditional, in favor of the latter. She re-gains her psychological stability and decides to marry Şinasi as soon as possible.

KİRALIK KONAK

Characters

- Naim Efendi: Old man who symbolizes the honest, refined and devoted big bureaucrat of the Abdülmecid period. He is portrayed as a weak and yet sensible person. During the Tanzimat years, that is during the beginning of westernization, he becomes alienated, begins to lose everything that he possesses and cannot resist the developments that bring him to collapse.
- Seniha: Naim Efendi's granddaughter. As the young girl with huge ambitions for a westernized modern life, she symbolizes the victim of the degenerative period.
- Cemil: Naim Efendi's grandson. He is also portrayed as an other example of degenerated westernized youth.
- Servet Bey: Naim Efendi's son-in-love. He works as an inspector at the General Debts Administration Office. As an engaged and fiery advocate of westernization, he is portrayed as a selfish man who will do anything for his material interests.
- Sekine Hanım: Naim Efendi's daughter, Servet Bey's wife. She is a credulous and weak woman who cannot resist any of her husband's or children's immoral demands.
- Faik Bey: First lover of Seniha. He is also portrayed a degenerated product of westernization, but he really loves Seniha and loses his honor in this affair.
- Kasım Paşa: Faik Bey's father. Another representative of degenerative modernization and more particularly of its negative effects on the bureaucracy. In this respect, he is the character opposite to Naim Efendi.
- Hakkı Celis: Grandson of Seniha's grand-aunt Selma Hanım. So, he is cousin of Seniha. He is in a hopeless platonic love for Seniha, to which she has never responded. At the beginning of the novel, he is portrayed as a hyper sensible poet, lacking self confidence and psychological strength. With time, however, with the influence of his engagement in nationalism, he gains self-confidence and the necessary strength and harshness to constitute his personality and defend his ideas.
- Selma Hanım: The sister of Naim Efendi. Contrary to her brother, she has a quiet powerful personality and can control everyone around herself. She symbolizes the strong traditional old woman of Istanbul, with established values.
- Mme. Konski: Seniha's Polish nanny.

Plot

Seniha wants to live a modern life and exhibits frivolous behavior. Hakkı Celis desperately loves Seniha. Seniha often comes down with hysterical neurotic crises. Upon the physicians' recommendation, her family sends Seniha to her aunt's house on Büyükada.

As her aunt Necibe Hanım says to her brother Cemil to invite their friends to the Prince's Islands in order to cure Seniha's depression, he organizes a summer party where a love affair starts between Seniha and Faik Bey. They continue to flirt overtly without worrying at all about social sanction, in spite of the speedy spread of gossip. Meanwhile Naim Efendi gets an unsigned letter apprising him of the dishonest attitude of his granddaughter. When he tries to talk with his son-in-law, Servet Bey, on this issue, he is reproved for not being enough modern and for being conservatist. By this event, Naim Efendi realizes that he is no longer considered the head of the household. But when Seniha returns home, he forgets all as he loves her very much. Meanwhile his housekeeper warns him of the gradual deterioration of his financial situation.

One day Faik Bey demands that Seniha helps him pay his gamble debt. Seniha gives him the money but loses her respect for and interest in him. But this only fuels Faik Bey's passion and he becomes more violent. One day he waylays Seniha and her nanny, Mme Kronski. Kronski tells Servet Bey about this event, but in his usual way of escaping from his responsibilities, he demands that Naim Efendi solves the problem.

So, although it is not a traditionally usual procedure and although this fact wounds his honor, Naim Efendi goes to Faik Bey's father Kasım Paşa in order to demand that Faik Bey and Seniha marry. But he is refused. Then, under the influence of this insult and the shame of his granddaughter's loss of honor and good reputation, he falls sick.

Moreover, Seniha violently quarrels with him because of his attempt of visiting Kasım Paşa to ask for the marriage without asking her. During his illness, although she feels remorse for quarreling with him, she is unable to visit him because of her shame. At the same time she continues her relationship with Faik Bey. She makes secret plans to go to Europe, which is her primary aspiration.

One day she suddenly and secretly leaves the house and goes to Europe. With this event Nail Efendi falls into a real hopeless situation. Moreover, Servet Bey

blames Naim Efendi for this escape. Meanwhile, his housekeeper reminds to Naim Efendi that his financial affairs are really in bad shape. During these days, Naim Efendi and Hakkı Celis start to develop a very close friendship; Hakkı Celis appears as the only young person who shows a warm and affectionate interest in Naim Efendi. Seniha begins letters writing to her family, in which she demands money to return to Istanbul. But when her father refuses to send her the money, Naim Efendi transmits the necessary amount. This event is repeated many times, but Seniha does not return to Istanbul. In her letters she writes affectionate words for her grandfather, but Servet Bey does not give them to Naim Efendi. Meanwhile Istanbul people gossip about the fact that Seniha live in Paris with Faik Bey.

During Seniha's absence, Servet Bey and his wife Sekine Hanım rent a new flat in a modern apartment building in Şişli with the financial aid of Naim Efendi. Thus they leave him alone in his big mansion. His sister persuades him to rent out the house. The candidates who come to see the house denigrate and mock him. During these days of loneliness, Naim Efendi and Hakkı Celis' relationship get deeper.

At the beginning of First World War, Seniha returns to Istanbul. At the same time, Hakkı Celis voluntarily joins the army and under the influence of awakening nationalist feelings, he begins his escape from his sickly passion for Seniha. Meanwhile Seniha is engaged with an ex-foreign affairs officer, now deputy, Nedim Bey, who owes his big wealth to some unlawful activities during the war years. Servet Bey enters into a financial relationship with him. Meanwhile, Seniha continues her tea parties which German military officers also attend now. Meanwhile, although he does not really want to do so, Naim Efendi refuses to forgive his most beloved Seniha.

Hakkı Celis goes to fight in the First World War. From day to day, Naim Efendi becomes increasingly alone, sick and poor. He is portrayed as an old man who has lost all that he possessed, his wealth, health, friends, relatives and honor. Meanwhile Seniha is unable marry Nedim Bey, as he does not return from Europe to Istanbul for the marriage ceremony. It is the last shock for Seniha, who has lost now, like her grandfather, everything that she possesses, her values, dreams, good reputation and honor. As the consequence of her ambitions, she has become real desperate, disappointed and degenerated woman. Faik Bey is in a similar situation. Meanwhile, Naim Efendi is on his deathbed.

The novel ends with a dinner at Sermet Bey's house. Sermet Bey has started to finance his luxury life from his daughter's several rich lovers' "gifts". The people who participate in this dinner are Turkish and German military officers, wartime profiteers and other degenerated snob typologies of the time. The Turkish officers tell the guests the story of Hakkı Celis' heroic death on the war field. They say that he fought as if he had wanted to die. Although Seniha knows that the actual cause was their last conversation in which Hakkı Celis realized he still loved her, she remains indifferent.

SİNEKLİ BAKKAL

Characters

(Nicknames are translated into parenthesis)

- Rabia: The heroin of the novel. She is portrayed as a very strong woman. She gets her formation under the influence of her father's joyful, poor and traditional house; of the rich elite environment of Selim Paşa's mansion (or *konak*); of the discussions between Vehbi Dede and Peregrini on western and eastern civilizations; and finally of the political gatherings of Selim Paşa's young Turk son Hilmi Bey and his western style friends in which Peregrini also participates. In sum, while she is growing up, she is educated in a milieu in which both eastern and western, traditional and modern tones are present, although the former is much more dominant. She symbolizes the wisdom of Eastern culture and woman.
- Peregrini: A former priest living now in Istanbul. He is the symbol of western culture. Interestingly, he is not criticized by the author like the other westernized Ottoman characters. In a way, as he is the original representative of a culture, in contrast to its imitators, he reflects both its negative and positive aspects.
- Emine: Mother of Rabia. She is also a very strong woman. But in contrast to Rabia, she is portrayed as the dark side of the traditional eastern woman, a rough, severe and authoritarian conservatist figure.
- "Kız" Tevfik ("Girl" Tevfik): Father of Rabia. He is a very cheerful man and artist of the traditional public theatre. Although he is not an educated man, he has great talent and honesty.
- İlhami Efendi: Emine's father and Rabia's grandfather. He is a severe man like his daughter; he works as prayer leader in the little mosque of the *mahalle* and defends a

frightening, very conservatist approach in religious affairs. Moreover he is a person excessively fond of money.

- Selim Paşa: He is a minister of the authoritarian Sultan Hamid, responsible for security. He symbolizes the honest, devoted Ottoman bureaucrat, who sincerely believes in the absolutist power of the state. Thus, although he is a very sensitive and polite man in his private life, he is harsh in his profession, even to the extent of arresting his own son.

- Sabiha Hanım: Wife of Selim Paşa. She is a perfect old, elite, traditional, Istanbul woman of etiquette. In spite of her high social rank, she is a polite, sincere, modest and joyful woman, due to the established culture that she symbolizes.

- Hilmi Bey: Son of Sabiha Hanım and Selim Paşa. He is a young Turk and thus has political ideas contradictory to those of his father. This fact causes infinite disputes and conflicts between them. But indeed, although he is enthusiastic in liberal politics, his personality is not strong enough to endure the consequences of his beliefs. He is a weak, unbalanced person, although he undergoes a transformation during his exile years at the end of the story.

- Dürnev: Wife of Hilmi Bey. She is portrayed as the symbol of the negative effects of westernization on Ottoman woman. By her artificiality and impolite manners, her superficial fondness of adornment and physical appearance, she is the opposite of Sabiha Hanım's established, traditional customs.

- Kanarya: Very beautiful female slave in Selim Paşa's *konak*, of Circassian origin. She is raised by Sabiha Hanım as a present for the palace. She lives a secret love with Selim Paşa. After her entrance into the palace, she marries the Ottoman prince, Nejat Efendi, but from her implicit words later, we understand that her love for Selim Paşa never ceases.

- Nejat Efendi: Ottoman Prince, Husband of Kanarya. Rabia regularly visits his palace on the Bosphorous. Although he is portrayed generally in an affirmative way, as a polite and timid man, his weakness is criticized. Public culture is a real domain of unknowns for him.

- Vehbi Dede: Religious man. As he defends a tolerant and affectionate understanding of religion, he is the opposite of İlhami Efendi. He is a calm, wise and very cultured man. Thus, he symbolizes the wisdom of Islam and eastern culture. With these attributes, he is also portrayed to some extent in contradiction to Peregrini, who symbolizes western culture.

- Cüce Rakım (Rakım the “Dwarf”): Friend of Tevfik living with Rabia and his father. He is also an artist performing traditional public theatre. He is a symbol of the painful and ugly comedian, who begs for some affection. He finds from Rabia a response to his demands, and as such is completely devoted to her.
- Bilal: Selim Paşa’s gardener’s niece. He is a tearing young man of Macedonian origin full of dangerous passions, angers and ambitions, to compensate his deeper oppression. He is protected by Selim Paşa and sent to Galatarasay high school, a famous western style school where many Ottoman and Republican bureaucrats have been educated. In a way he is seen by Selim Paşa as the strong son that he misses and could not find in Hilmi’s personality. He is married to Selim Paşa’s ugly and indistinct daughter, Mihri.
- Sabit Beyağabey: He is a traditional public figure, a *kabadayı* (literally, "tough uncle", meaning a neighborhood or *mahalle* tough). Although he could have been presented as a dangerous, aggressive and negative personality, he is described as the protector of the *mahalle*.
- Zati Bey: Degenerated, westernized, oppressive and self-seeking Ottoman bureaucrat.
- “Göz Patlatan” Muzaffer (This non-translatable nickname expresses that Muzaffer beats people violently to the extent of giving them a black eye): Cruel but stupid torturer during the Abdülhamid reign. Strikingly, at the end of the novel, we read that after the revolution, i.e. after the change of order, he has become a famous orator who recites speeches for those who return from exile, i.e. for those who have been tortured by himself.

Plot

Rabia is the daughter of Kız Tefvik and Emine. After the divorce of her parents and her father’s exile, she passes her early childhood with her mother in İlhami Efendi’s house in Sinekli Bakkal.

When her grandfather realizes that Rabia’s voice is very beautiful, he starts to teach her to chant Koranic passages in order to earn money by making her work. With time, although she is a little girl, due to her talent, she becomes famous in Istanbul.

Her reputation reaches Sabiha Hanım, too. This old woman is the wife of Selim Paşa, a minister of Sultan Hamid responsible for security affairs. They live in a

konak in the same *mahalle* with Rabia. Sabiha Hanım calls her and decides to educate her in order to organize private sessions of music. This change constitutes a turning point in Rabia's life; thus, she is given access to an elite milieu, a better education and an environment much more open than that of her grandfather's house.

A little bit later, Rabia's father, Tevfik, returns from exile. But Rabia cannot see him because her mother and grandfather do not give her permission. One day she decides by herself to go to her father's grocery. Here, she gets acquainted with her father and his dwarf friend Rakım. She likes this joyful environment very much. But some days later, her mother realizes her lies. Under the arbitration of Selim Paşa and upon the request of Rabia, it is decided that she will live with Tevfik, on the condition that the money she earns is given to her grandfather. Here she spends a happy childhood and also works in her father's grocery.

After her maturation, she experiences difficulties with the traditional values that dictate that she must now a closed life, out of the public domain. She resists this repression. She experiences her first romantic emotions with Bilal, but it is a short affair because she realized that this ambitious young man is not suitable for her calm personality. After she resists the attacks of Sabit Beyağabey, she proves herself and earns the right to continue the public life of her childhood.

Tevfik becomes ill. At the same time her mother dies without pardoning her daughter's leaving the house. With the report of İlhami Efendi, Tevfik is interrogated by Zati Paşa and he is set free. But some times later, while he is carrying under a female dress some illegal Young Turk publications from the post, he is again arrested in a case of really bad luck. Although he is carrying the publications for Hilmi Bey and although he is tortured by Selim Paşa's man, he does not talk or give any name. At the same time Selim Paşa has to follow his own son because Paşa's belief in absolute state power is more important to him than his paternal feelings and responsibilities. In the conclusion of this investigation both Tevfik and Hilmi Bey are sent into exile in the Arabic provinces of the empire. Rabia is scattered and cuts off her relationship with Selim Paşa, but when he resigns later from his post and returns a very simple life, she starts seeing him and his household again.

Later, she is invited to a *konak* to recite a musical poem on the Prophet Muhammed. She interprets the piece on the prophet's birth as the expression of a mother's sufferings. This interpretation out of the traditional style evokes the admiration of the women at the gathering. She is invited to prince Nejat Efendi's

palace in Bosphorous, which she starts regularly visiting because prince is very interested with this traditional girl that he does not usually meet. During those visits, the reader is introduced to the great gap between the elite and public cultures, with the illiterate and orientalist curiosity of the elite towards the people.

In the second part of the novel, we read of the marriage life of Rabia and Peregrini, symbolizing in a way the confrontation and struggle of original models of eastern and western cultures. In this confrontation, Rabia is portrayed as the stronger and more praiseworthy part. With time she obtains a dominant position and a certain equilibrium is established.

When she gets pregnant, she is told that to give birth to the child will kill her. Despite this danger, as motherhood is the value most important for her, she decides to give birth. Meanwhile, after İlhami Efendi's death, they move to the house where Rabia had spent her childhood. After a very difficult birth, she becomes a mother. In the final part of the novel, Tevfik also returns from exile after the Young Turk revolution.

YAPRAK DÖKÜMÜ

Characters

- Ali Rıza Bey: At the beginning of the novel, he is portrayed as a very honest, cultured and strong man. The novel indeed is the story of the gradual lost of his moral values, psychological strength and position as head of the household in the process of modernization. At the end of the book, we see him as a completely lost and weak man.
- Hayriye Hanım: Wife of Ali Rıza Bey. She is a symbol of the self-sacrificing mother who tolerates all the defects of her children and submits to all of their demands. She mediates between all of the members of the family. Because of her excessive fondness for her children, she behaves weakly, rebels against her husband and thus contributes to the collapse of the family.
- Şevket: The only son of Ali Rıza Bey, he is like a younger model of him. He is as educated and as moral as his father, but because of his degenerated wife and his weakness for love, he gradually loses his moral values, like his father.

- Fikret: The older daughter of Ali Rıza Bey. She is an ugly, but educated and sober girl. She is portrayed as a strong personality who tries to resist the immoralities of Leyla, Necla and Ferhunde.
- Leyla-Necla: Other daughters of Ali Rıza Bey. He brings them up in a very closed environment and does not give them a strong and cultured education like Fikret because he thinks that they will easily find husbands due to their beauty. But they are longing for a richer, more modern and open life, to the extent of ambition.
- Ayşe: Ali Rıza Bey's youngest daughter. Her only function is to show at the end of the novel that Ali Rıza Bey has not achieved to rescuing her too the immoral modern life style, as he dreamt as the last aim of his life.
- Ferhunde: Şevket's wife. She is portrayed as a perfect villain. She is modern, very degenerated and drags the family into complete disaster. As is shown to the reader by the fact that she seduces Şevket while she is married with an other man, what she primary lacks is sexual honor.

Plot

Ali Rıza Bey is a very honest man who works and lives according to traditional values of honor. Although he was before a high level bureaucrat who left his job because he did not treat a powerful man in a privileged way. After this event, he starts working as an Arabic and French translator in a private company. He married at an old age and has four children.

While working in this company, by request, he mediates the employment of one of his daughters' friends, a fatherless young woman named Leman, who he belatedly realizes is a frivolous girl. Some months later Leman's mother comes to ask for his aid because Leman is carrying the boss's, Muzaffer Bey's, child. Ali Rıza Bey feels that it is his duty to resolve this problem and goes to Muzaffer Bey to discuss the issue. But he is gently refused with the reason that Leman was not virgin before being with Muzaffer Bey. This makes Ali Rıza Bey feel like a procurer. He resigns from this job, deciding never to see Muzaffer Bey again.

When he returns to his house, his family tells him that his most beloved unique son Şevket has begun working as cashier in a bank. When Ali Rıza Bey tells his son and wife what has happened, Şevket acknowledges him to be right but his wife argues that his action, based on his moral values, would lead to the collapse of the family.

From the first days of retirement, Ali Rıza Bey and his entire life begin to change. Gradually he loses power over his life and his children, except Şevket and Fikret. Particularly his middle daughters Leyla and Necla begin rebelling against him, demanding a more modern and free life. Contrary to his dreams, retirement is boring and not respected.

At the same time Şevket falls in love with a married woman, Ferhunde. Ali Rıza Bey, who before was known for his devotion to moral values has to accept the immoral situation of his son marrying a previously married woman, on the insistence of his wife. With the arrival of Ferhunde, a new modern life style with heterosocial parties starts in the home. This modern life leads gradually to the financial and moral collapse of the family. With time, his son, who tries to meet the endless demands of his wife and his sisters for luxury material things, begins to look sick. After working hard during all day, he has to participate in the parties at night. Although he took oath not to see him again, Ali Rıza Bey goes to Muzaffer Bey to ask him for a new job. But he is refused.

Meanwhile only Fikret objects to the new life style in the home. She also accuses her father by of not showing enough strength to prevent these immoralities. A bit later, she is unable to endure this situation and decides to marry an aged widower with three children. Although he is a quiet disadvantageous husband for her, she prefers this difficult life to the present immorality in the household.

Meanwhile, the house is mortgaged. The borrowed money is spent again on luxury consumption. Afterwards, Şevket is accused of debiting a large amount of the money against his own account. He explains this robbery to his father citing the infinite demands of his wife. He is put in prison. During this time, his wife starts living with another man and divorces him.

After Şevket's imprisonment, an Arab man, Abrülvehhab Bey, who claims that he is a rich sheikh, announces his desire to marry Leyla. But a little bit later, he leaves her on the pretext that she behaves in a very open way; and he proposes this time to marry Necla. In spite of her most beloved sister Leyla's tears, Necla accepts this immoral proposal, because of her ambitions for a richer life. But when she arrives in Syria, she realizes that her husband has deceived her, that he is not rich at all and indeed lives in a small house with other two wives, his father, sister and several children.

After this event, Leyla becomes sick. She enters a depression. Upon the physicians' recommendations, Ali Rıza Bey lets her stroll freely. Meanwhile he sells his house, pays his debts and buys a smaller and darker house in a worse quarter of Istanbul. Gradually Leyla gets better; she continues her free life. One day, one of Ali Rıza Bey's friends tells him that his daughter has become the mistress of a rich married solicitor. Ali Rıza Bey quarrels violently with Leyla and drives her away from home. When Hayriye Hanım begins trying to persuade him to accept Leyla, he leaves the house and goes to Fikret's home in Eskişehir. Here he observes that Fikret is also not happy at all. He feels that his presence in his daughter's household is unwanted by her husband, sister and mother-in-law. He leaves Eskişehir and gets sick during his return. Leyla takes her mother into her house in Taksim, which has been rented by her lover, and Ali Rıza Bey starts living there with his daughters and wife. He is no more the strong and morally upright person that as he was at the beginning of the novel. At the end of the novel, he is portrayed as a semi-child or clown, completely weak and dependent, amusing the crowd of degenerated people in the parties organized in his daughter's "immoral" house.

NON-CANONICAL NOVELS

(In Alphabetical Order of the Turkish Titles)

AŞK POLİTİKASI

Characters

- Aysel: Central female character. She is not very beautiful, but she is well-educated and clever. She lives with her family in a big home in Erenköy. Later she goes to Paris to study fine arts. She is distinguished by her balanced and powerful personality.
- Necati: Central male character. He is a very handsome, athletic young man, from a rich bourgeois family. He is also the cousin of Aysel, the son of her maternal aunts (so, there is close kinship between the hero and heroine). He is graduated from Galatasaray High School, a famous French school for boys which has educated many of the Turkish political, economic and cultural elite. Unlike Aysel he is neither clever nor hardworking. He also lives with his family on the

European side of the city, in an apartment flat, symbolizing all his closeness to a European style modernity. He is a rather irresponsible figure who likes entertainment, girls and all the pleasure of the western life style.

- Kemal Bey: Father of Necati. He is a rich merchant and symbolizes the responsible figure at the head of the family.
- Nedim Bey: Father of Aysel and the maternal uncle of Necati. He is from the high bureaucracy. He is rich too but it is implied that his wealth is not as great as Kemal Bey's. He is well educated and has raised his daughter very well.
- Hamdi Bey: Paternal uncle of Necati. He is an old man who never married. He is a rentier who has inherited a large fortune and spends money originated from this unearned income. Thus, he does not know the value of labor, family, money or love. He is mostly distinguished by being a senior womanizer and a perfect hedonist. In the first chapters of the book, he appears as the primary master and advisor of Necati .
- Şura: A very beautiful young Russian cabaret artist that Necati meets during one of his vagabond life's nights. She is of the Russian aristocracy, of a family which has escaped from the communist revolution.

Plot

Necati and Aysel's relationship has been very tense since their early childhood. They have different personalities, values and familial origins, yet Necati's mother and father want them to marry each other.

Necati has a free social life. One night he meets the Russian Şura and falls in love with her. They make love in Hamdi Bey's house. Necati decides to marry her, but Hamdi Bey warns him that she will never adopt the values of Turkish family's strong ethical structure and he will not be able to meet the demands of this girl who likes a luxurious life. After this love affair, which Necati easily forgets, during his military service, he lives in sexual intimacy with a young, quiet free woman who is married to a rich man.

Meanwhile, due to a state grant, Aysel goes to Paris to study fine arts. Here, she joins a multi-national group of students. She demonstrates (or rather proves) to her European friends the virtues and modernity of the new Turkish woman and the new Turkish republic. Impressed by her beauty and her serious character, an English aristocrat, Danielson, proposes marriage to her. But on the advice of her closest

friend, a Swiss girl named Greta, Aysel thinks that marriage between people from different nations would cause many problems and she rejects Danielson's proposal. While she is thinking on this issue, Necati suddenly comes to her room and sees the letter written by Danielson. He feels a deep jealousy and realizes that he indeed loves Aysel. This is also after his trip to Lions, where, observing the intensity of business life, he suddenly decides that modernity does not mean irresponsibility as he previously has supposed, but it rather means hard work and family life. He proposes marriage to Aysel. After long minutes of bargaining, Aysel makes him accept her conditions for marriage, which are based on the construction of their family life as tranquil and ordered and they sign a written contract.

BAHAR ÇİÇEĞİ

Characters

- Feyhan: Central female character. She is a beautiful, clever, modern Turkish young girl, with high ethical standards, a strong personality, distinguished talents and a well-balanced distance to the negative effects of the modern life style.
- Suat: Central male character, who conceals his nationality from everyone in Paris. He is rich, handsome, well-educated and a real womanizer whom all women, except Feyhan, desire at first sight. But behind his irresponsible behavior, there is indeed a broken heart due to an unrealized love affair in the past, rather than his real personality. Thus, he is actually a responsible man and he understands and realizes his true character in his relationship with Feyhan.

Plot

Bahar Çiçeği is the story of a young girl who lives with her nanny in Istanbul, in her deceased father's house. With the grant from a non-governmental organization, Feyhan goes to Paris to study fine arts. Here she meets a young man whose nationality is unknown to everybody in the multi-national group of students in which she participates and where she demonstrates (or rather proves) to her European friends the virtues and the modernity of the new Turkish woman and the new Turkish republic. In their first meeting, upon a waiver that he enters with other students, this unknown man tries to kiss Feyhan but Feyhan reacts violently against him and he loses the bet as expected by the other students. This scene serves to demonstrate to

the reader how as a Turkish girl, Feyhan is fond of her *namus* and also gives us the first key of the future love that will flourish (as the hate in the first meeting is the messenger of the love for an experienced reader of romance). But this love remains as a non-confessed feeling and Feyhan tries to repress her emotions because she does not know the nationality of this man and on his deathbed her father had made her promise not to marry a non-Turkish man. Indeed, Feyhan's mother is a French woman whom her father had to leave because of her improper behavior. Although the mother realizes in the end the superiority of the Turkish culture and her ex-husband, she can't return to him. At the end of the novel, the climax is resolved when Feyhan discovers that the man she loves is actually Turkish, and they marry.

CUMBA'DAN RUMBA'YA

Characters

- Cemile: Central female character. She is very beautiful and not well educated. She is raised in a poor neighborhood of Istanbul, in quiet unfavorable material conditions. She is very aggressive and semi-mad. But she is distinctively honest, outspoken and strong (even stronger than all of the male characters). She is also self-sacrificing when necessary.
- Selim: Central male character, but always stands behind the shadow of Cemile's powerful personality. He is a university student, well-educated and a candidate to join the elite stratum but he is not as active and as strong as Cemile.
- Tahsin: He is a nouveau rich, from a small Anatolian province. He wants to live a modern life but can not accomplish its exigencies. In spite of his ill-mannered behavior, he is a good man.

Plot

Cemile wants to change her poor, traditional life and live a modern, rich life. She falls in love with Selim, who with his father rents a room in Cemile's family's big old house. She makes love with him.

She is planning to burn this house, gets the insurance and move to a new flat in Taksim. She divulges her plans to Selim and tries to convince him to help her, and in the end he accepts her proposal.

Meanwhile, Tahsin Bey invites Cemile and her family, composed of her old mother, her sister and the baby of her sister, to a modern ball. With his luxury automobile, all of them go to the ball, but because of the presence of the baby and ridiculous appearance of this strange group, there are ironic scenes. After the ball, Tahsin Bey asks Cemile to move into a cubic style, modern apartment flat that he has rented in Taksim. He says that he will not have sexual relationships with her, but wants Cemile to appear as if she is his mistress, because it is the fashion among the Istanbul bourgeoisie with whom he wants to build relationships primarily for business purposes.

On the other hand, Selim's father is accused of debiting an amount of money against his account. Cemile promises to help him. She goes to Tahsin to announce that she does not want to continue her relationship with him. In this visit, she gives him a clock for the expenses that he paid out for her. Tahsin convinces her that this clock is valuable antique and worth the amount needed to get Selim's father out of prison. Thus, she arranges the rescue of Selim's father.

For this help and on the condition of not touching her, against Tahsin Bey's expenses, she accepts his proposal of living with him, for three months. The fact that she has learnt a past love affair of Selim with a girl from university, named Nahide, also contributes to this decision. Without informing Selim about her new address, she, her mother and her sister, move to the flat in Taksim. There, Cemile starts joining the western style parties that Tahsin organizes. Although she is not a well-educated girl, with her beauty and intelligence, she is able to impress the coxcomb, artificial elite participating in these social events, too the extent that she is invited to a party in a distinguished and respected lady's (whose pseudonym is Princess) house, where only a privileged segment of Istanbul society is invited.

She receives a letter from Selim, explaining that what she supposes a love affair is indeed no such thing. From Tahsin's driver, she learns that Nahide was indeed in love with a friend of Tahsin Bey. She meets with Selim and tells him all the details of her new life in Taksim. Upon his suspicious attitude, she leaves him once more again.

At Princess' party, she impresses this really aristocratic and distinctive woman, too. Different artificial portraits from the Istanbul elite are exhibited in this passage. She drinks too much in this party and gets the information that her former neighborhood's wooden houses are burning. From the effects of these development,

her drunkenness and of her observations on the superficiality of these people, at the end of the party, she makes a speech, tells her whole story and demonstrates the distance between the elite and the people, the poor conditions of the people and the superficiality of those who pretends to be the elite. This speech influences everyone at the party and Cemile collects a large amount of money for the victims of the big fire. After this public confession, she solves the identity crisis that she has been feeling between her old and new lives. She returns to her old neighborhood and distributes the money that she has collected.

Finally, she learns that Selim has fallen sick because of her absence. She returns to Selim and starts taking care of him. But Selim has to go to Europe for treatment and the doctors do not let Cemile either to marry or follow him as a sexual relationship would be harmful to Selim's illness. In the last second before his train departs, Cemile insists that he get off the train, although he wants to visit Europe before his sickness. After the careful treatment of Cemile, they get married in a luxury hotel in Istanbul. Tahsin Bey marries Cemile's sister.

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE AUTHORS

ADIVAR, Halide Edip

(1884, Istanbul-1964, Istanbul)

Female author. Graduated from American School for Girls in Istanbul. She received private lessons from the famous Ottoman intellectuals of the period, such as lessons in philosophy from Rıza Tevfik and lessons in mathematics from Salih Zeki. She received a strong educational background, reflecting a synthesis of both the eastern and western humanities and natural sciences, as well as areas like popular Turkish literature. She married Salih Zeki and gave birth to two sons. She has divorced because she rejected a co-wife. Meanwhile, she worked as a director and inspector at the Ministry of Education, at different high schools for Girls in Beirut, Lebanon and Damascus. She gave lessons on western literature at the Darülfünun (old name of today's Istanbul University).

After her famous speech at a Sultanahmet meeting against the occupation of Izmir, she participated in the Anatolian Nationalist movement. During the National War, she worked in the Press Office and as a nurse on the front. She participated with Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Yusuf Akçura in the Committee of Investigation of Greek Cruelties and thus had the opportunity to see many regions of Anatolia. She collected her observations in *Izmir'den Bursa'ya* (1922), which she wrote with Karaosmanoğlu, Falih Rıfkı Atay and Mehmet Asım. Those years of the National War are also reflected in *Ateşten Gömlek* (1922) and *Dağa Çıkan Kurt* (1922).

After the National War, she went to England and France with her second husband, Adnan Adıvar. There and in America she gave serial conferences on Turkey. In 1939, she returned to Turkey and worked as a professor of English Language and Literature at Istanbul University. Between 1950-1954, she was Deputy in parliament representing Izmir.

Her first writings appeared after the proclamation of the constitutional monarchy in 1908, in different journals, with the name Halide Salih. These were literary analysis and articles on women's rights. Her first novels were on individual

subjects and on different aspects of female psychology. Thereafter she became a defender of Turkish nationalism and she started to write on social issues, with realistic language. She is considered by mainstream literary historians as a pioneer of the National Literature Movement in Turkey. *Handan* (1912) is the best known of her novels on individual subjects. She collected her memories in *Mor Salkımlı Ev* (1963) and *Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı* (1962). The former includes her childhood years whereas the latter comprises the years of the National Struggle. Among her numerous novels, the following are the most famous ones: *Mevut Hüküm* (1918), *Kalp Ağrısı* (1924), *Vurun Kahpeye* (1926), *Zeyno'nun Oğlu* (1928), *Yolpalas Cinayeti* (1938), *Tatarcık* (1939), *Sonsuz Panayır* (1946), *Akile Hanım Sokağı* (1958).

She wrote *Sinekli Bakkal* in English with the name "The Clown and His Daughter" (1935). Translated into Turkish the same year, the book won 1942 Prize of the Republican People's Party. It may be considered among first among Turkish best-sellers as in 1972 its 30th publication was undertaken.

In addition to her novels, she did many translations from English into Turkish and wrote many paper on English Literature. Her novels have been adapted many times for the cinema (*Ateşten Gömlek* in 1923 and 1940; *Vurun Kahpeye* in 1949, 1964 and 1973; *Sinekli Bakkal* in 1967 and finally *Yolpalas Cinayeti* in 1956). There are also many literary analyses of her work.

BEDİ, Server: See SAFA, Peyami

BERKAND, Muazzez Tahsin
(1900, Selanik-...)

She finished the high school in Istanbul. She worked as a teacher and as a translator in a bank for 25 years. She was a very popular novelists of romances, producing until the early '70s. Some of her numerous novels are *Sen ve Ben* (1933), *Aşk Fırtınası* (1935), *Bahar Çiçeği* (1935), *Sonsuz Gece* (1938), *O ve Kızı* (1940), *Kezban* (1941), *Mualla* (1941), *Bir Genç Kızın Romanı* (1943), *Bir Gün Sabah Olacak mı ?* (1972) etc.

GÜNTEKİN, Reşat Nuri
(1889, Istanbul-1956, London)

Graduated from Faculty of Arts of Istanbul University, Güntekin worked as a teacher and inspector of education. He was a deputy from Çanakkale and served as cultural attaché in Paris.

He became famous with his popular and influential novel *Çalılıkusu* (1922) that narrates the life of a strong and modern young woman, Feride. In almost all his novels, he uses provincial settings. In addition to *Çalılıkusu*, among his novels are *Damga* (1924), *Dudaktan Kalbe* (1925), *Bir Kadın Düşmanı* (1927), *Acımak* (1928), *Yaprak Dökümü* (1930) and *Kızılık Dalları* (1932).

KARAOSMANOĞLU, Yakup Kadri
(1889, Cairo-1974, Ankara)

He was of the famous family Karaosmanoğulları, which governed the Aydın and Manisa regions in western Anatolia during the 17th century. During his childhood, he visited the Arab provinces of the empire. After his father's death, the family returned to Egypt, where he attended the French High School there. He joined the local Young Turk movement. In 1908 his family settled in Istanbul. Although he was registered at the Faculty of Law, he left the university before graduation. He became part of the literary school *Fecr-i Ati* (Dawn of the Future), composed in 1909 of a group of young intellectuals and lasted until 1912. These young men published the literary journal *Servet-i Fünun* (Riches of Sciences). They were not a homogeneous group in terms of artistic style and concerns, but were more or less united around defending individuality and western influence in literature.

After the dispersal of *Fecr-i Ati*, Yakup Kadri learned that he has tuberculosis and went in 1916 to Switzerland for treatment. During those years he became interested in non-orthodox Islamic sects and also, under the influence of his friend Yahya Kemal, in ancient western mythology and mysticism. With this inspiration, he wrote *Nur Baba* published later in 1922.

Under the influence of the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars and in the First World War, and the miseries he witnessed during those years, he abandoned his beliefs on the individuality of art and turned toward social issues. In 1919, he started

writing in *İkdam*, a political daily newspaper that supported Turkish nationalism. Yakup Kadri became an engaged defender of the Nationalist movement and of the War of Independence. He collected in *Ergenekon* (1929) his articles published in those years.

On the invitation of Ankara, he passed to Anatolia. He participated with Halide Edip Adıvar and Yusuf Akçura on the Committee of Investigation of Greek Cruelties and thus had the opportunity to see many regions of Anatolia. He collected his observations in *Izmir'den Bursa'ya* (1922), written with Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Falih Rıfkı Atay and Mehmet Asım. He also became parliamentary deputy from Mardin (1923-1931) and Manisa (1931-1934). In 1923, he married Leman Hanım, the sister of the famous intellectual and politician Burhan Asaf Belge. In 1922 he published *Kiralık Konak*. He wrote numerous articles in various journals such as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Ulus*. For health reasons, he made a second journey to Switzerland, where he collected his memories in *Alp Dağlarından*.

In 1932, with Burhan Belge, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin and Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, he established the journal *Kadro*, which defended a planned, centralist and elite path of development. In the same year, he also publishes his novel “*Yaban*” that evoked a lot of heated discussions. In 1934, *Kadro* was considered by the government a “harmful” publication and its director, Yakup Kadri, was appointed ambassador to Tiran. Thereafter, the journal was closed. Thus, in addition to Tiran, Yakup Kadri went to Prag, La Haye, Bern and Tahran embassies. He collected his memories in *Zoraki Diplomat* published in 1955.

Among his novels are also *Sodom ve Gomore* (1928) and *Ankara* (1934).

MORKAYA, Burhan Cahit
(1892, Istanbul-1949, Istanbul)

After finishing faculty of the political sciences, Morkaya started earning his living through writing novels and articles in daily news papers. In the books, he usually worked on the subject society during the First World War and after. He reflected westernizing Turkey. His novels are not considered important and valuable by critics, but they have been very popular.

Among his 40 novels are *Aşk Bahçesi* (written in 1925 and published in 1937), *Kızıl Serap* (1926), *Ayten* (1927, 1941), *Harp Dönüşü* (1928), *Hizmetçi Burhanı*

(1928), *Aşk Politikası* (1930), *Izmir'in Romanı* (1931), *Gazi'nin Dört Süvarisi* (1932), *Köy Hekimi* (1932), *Yalı Çapkını* (1933), *Yüzbaşı Celal* (1933), *Cephe Gerisi* (1934).

SAFA, Peyami

(1899, Istanbul-1961, Istanbul)

His poet father, İsmail Safa, died in the exile in Sivas when he was two years old. He became sick at nine and had to earn his own living at thirteen. Thus, he did not receive a formal education. In 1918, he started working in the press. Using the penname Server Bedi, he published more than 140 popular novels in order to earn money. He was also famous for his polemics with Nazım Hikmet.

His work with his own name reflects in general a sentimental perspective towards the depths of human psychology. His novels are concerned with analysis rather than events.

Among his novels, the most notable are *Sözde Kızlar* (1928), *Dokuzuncu hariciye Koğuşu* (1930), *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931), *Bir Tereddütün Romanı* (1933) and *Matmazel Noraliya'nın Koltuğu* (1949).

Source: Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü* (Istanbul: Varlık Yay., 10th Edition, 1980)

Note: As may have been noticed, the information appearing in biographies of the canonical and non-canonical authors is unbalanced in length. This is due to the difficulty of finding information on the lives of the non-canonical authors, in a way showing how they are excluded from literary history.

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