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3. CULTURAL TRAUMA NARRATIVE

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



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

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

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

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

3.1. Cultural Trauma

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹¹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 8.

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

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

¹¹⁴ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁵ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 11.

¹¹⁶ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁹ Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 22.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1. The Mission of Literature

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵¹ Raif Necdet, *Uful*, 142.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.3. Defeat, Shock and Shame

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶⁰ Ersoy, *Safahat*, 198.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.4. The Hope for a Savior or Leader

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.5. The Awakening

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.6. Never Forget!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hatred is the foundation of the building of the state.

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

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

3.2.7. Hatred

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

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

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

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

¹⁸⁹ Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks*, 108.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

¹⁹⁷ Akyol, *Rumeli'ye Elveda*, 178.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.8. Rancor and Revenge

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

- O greatest cause of the Bulgarian savagery and monstrosity!

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

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

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

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

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

To the Turkish Sons:

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

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

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

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

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

- Ey Bulgar vahşet ve canavarlığının en büyük amili!

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

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

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

THE BULGARIAN MASSACRE

A Revenge Plaque

Tie a knot and don't forget

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

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

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

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

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

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



Illustration 6: Poem titled “The Bulgarian Massacre”²¹⁰

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

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

²¹⁰ Aġanoġlu, *Göç*, 372

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.9. Envyng the Enemy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.10. The Need for a National Ideal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The author then underlines how vital this concept is:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

