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

Part Two of this thesis described the shock created by the Balkan Defeat, and discussed its military and political consequences. I alluded to how the defeat effected a sudden transformation in the psychology of the nation, and how it dealt a great “blow” to society. The assertion of this thesis is that this collective psychological transformation and its long-term impact could be realized because of the narrativization of the trauma by intellectuals involved in the rich and lively print culture of the period. In this part, I will elaborate this argument on the basis of the utopian works published after the Balkan Defeat. I will discuss how the shock of the Balkan War shaped the mental images of the future of the writers of these works, in a clear contrast to the pre-Balkan War utopian literature and its view of the future, that were examined in Part 4.

One of the side effects of this “blow” caused by the Balkan War was a boom in publication. In a short time, thousands of works were produced in different media: books, articles, etc.³³⁸ Accordingly, the historian Tarık Zafer Tunaya has described this literary output as “a literature of research and disclosure.”³³⁹ Moreover, this literature gave rise to a trauma narrative. As was discussed at length in Part Three, the latter consists of an effort to forge a new identity through motifs like rancor, revenge, and remembrance, as well as an attempt to create a “national goal” which will bring about a revival.³⁴⁰

Before attempting to examine works which look to the future, sharing some general findings about the ways the Balkan War has been reflected in Turkish literature will help to create a theoretical framework.³⁴¹

Needless to say, it was difficult for the Balkan War to be directly reflected in a novel written concurrently with its outbreak. Indeed, there are very few novels written

³³⁸ This “boom” did not simply take place on the literary plane. There were also hundreds of conferences, rallies, talks, etc., some of which have been written up in book form. See Mustafa Satı el-Husri, *Ümid ve Azm: Sekiz Konferans* [Hope and Determination: Eight Conferences] (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1329 [1913]); Şefika Kurnaz (ed.), *Balkan Harbinde Kadınlarımızın Konuşmaları* [Talks by Our Women during the Balkan War] (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), and *Darülfünun Konferans Salonunda Kadınlarımızın İçtimaları* [Rallies by Our Women in the Conference Hall of the Darülfünun] (Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1328 [1912]).

³³⁹ Tunaya, *Türkiye’de Siyasal Partiler*, v. 3, 583.

³⁴⁰ Erol Köroğlu explains this process through Miroslav Hroch’s concept of “patriotic agitation,” noting that even though conditions were not auspicious, Turkey’s entry into the First World War the next year was easily accepted thanks to the aforementioned phenomenon. Köroğlu, *Propagandadan*, 120.

³⁴¹ Duman’s and Ceyhan’s books provide detailed data on the subject, see Duman, *Balkanlara Veda* and Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*.

during the Balkan War, or in the period immediately following it, which take the war as their subject.³⁴² Likewise, the number of novels from the Republican period focusing on the Balkan War, or devoting even some space to it, is extremely limited. The short story, on the other hand, is clearly a more suitable genre for reacting to a war which is currently taking place. Nesime Ceyhan has found that a total of 66 stories were written about the Balkan War, either during the war itself or immediately afterwards. Of these, 11 have been included among the Latin transcriptions of their authors' works; all the others have remained as untransliterated Ottoman texts.³⁴³

However, there is no question that neither the novel nor the short story can rival the prolificacy of the poetic genre. According to Harun Duman, between 1912 and 1914, 280 poems were written about the Balkan War in regularly-published Istanbul newspapers and journals. While there were many poems published in the beginning phases of the war, towards the end – when defeat was becoming apparent – the number began to dwindle.³⁴⁴ Clearly, when one takes into account poems published outside Istanbul, the figures grow considerably. Poems about the Balkan War were written by nearly all the prominent poets and authors in this period, such as Süleyman Nazif, Abdülhak Hamit, Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem, Muallim Naci, Ali Emiri, Rıza Tevfik, Celal Sahir, Köprülüzade Mehmet Fuat, Aka Gündüz, Ali Canip, Ziya Gökalp, Enis Behiç, Mehmet Akif, Ali Ekrem, Halit Fahri, Faik Ali, and Florinalı Nazım.

In order to obtain a more exact picture, it will be helpful to take a look at the figures provided by Erol Köroğlu about works of literature published during the First World War.³⁴⁵ According to him, between 1908 and 1918 a total of 228 novels, novellas, and longer short stories by 100 different authors were published in book form. During the years of the First World War, there was a huge decrease in the publication of fiction:

17 novels and 50 novellas or lengthy stories were published in 1914 (the greater part of that year having been untouched by war). The respective figures dropped to nine and nine in 1915; to three and six in 1916; and to one and two in 1917, reaching seven and two in 1918. In other words, if we leave out 1914, then during the four years of the war, 18 novels [sic] and 19 novellas or longer stories were published in

³⁴² The following works could be included in this category: Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Üvey Valide* [The Stepmother] (1912), Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Müteverrim* [The Tubercular Woman] (1912), Kaşif Dehri [Hüseyin Kâmi], *Mazlume* [The Wronged Woman] (1916), Moralizade Vassaf Kadri, *Ölüm Habercileri* [The Messengers of Death] (1914), Moralizade Vassaf Kadri, *Melekler* [The Angels] (1914), Halide Edip [Adivar], *Mev'ud Hüküm* [The Predestined Judgement] (1917-1918). Osman Gündüz, *Meşrutiyet Romanında Yapı ve Tema II* [Structure and Theme in the Novel of the Constitutional Period II], Quoted in Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 19.

³⁴³ Ceyhan, *Balkan Savaşı Hikâyeleri*, 19., 8.

³⁴⁴ Duman, *Balkanlara Veda*, 103.

³⁴⁵ Köroğlu, *Propagandanın*, 205-6.

the Ottoman Empire. The number of these which were devoted to patriotic agitation was comparatively small.³⁴⁶

The situation was no different in the field of poetry; the number of poetry books was also quite small. Furthermore, the poetry books published during this period were also rather short.³⁴⁷

When one considers the issue in this light, one is struck by the great number of works published during and after the Balkan War dealing directly with the topic of the Balkan War. And a significant number of them are utopian works that contain and narrativize the trauma of the defeat and aim at creating a new identity as well as envisioning a new social and political order. Analyzing these works and their visions of the future will be the subject of this part.

The utopian works analyzed in this part will be ordered on a chronological basis instead of an ordering based on their -often overlapping- thematic or ideological orientations. As will be seen in the following chapters, none of these works reflect clear and distinct political stances. In most cases, we see that different ideological positions are present in one work. Therefore, like the ones in Part 4, these works too will be analyzed in chronological order of their publication years. In this way, we will be able to observe also, to a certain extent, the gradual differentiation of sensitivities, priorities and the agenda before, during and after the Balkan War. The works that will be explored in this part are listed below:

- *The New Turan*, by Halide Edip, serialized in September-October 1912, i.e., on the eve of the outbreak of the War.
- *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, by Mustafa Nazım, written in May 1913.
- “Thirty Years Later”, by Ali Kami published in May 1913.
- “Colloquy under the Pines” (the first part) by Yahya Kemal, first appeared in October 1913.
- *The Farm Overseer* and *The Heroic Turks* by Ethem Nejat, published in 1913 without any indication of months.
- *The History of the Future* by Celal Nuri, published in 1913 without any indication of months.
- *Turkey, Awaken* by İbrahim Hilmi, published in 1913 without any indication of months
- *Ruşeni’s Dream* by Hasan Ruşeni, published in 1915,
- *The Army of Labor*, by Kâzım Nami, published in 1916,

³⁴⁶ “Büyük bölümü savaşın dışında kalan 1914 yılında 17 roman ve 50 kısa roman-uzun hikaye yayınlanmışken, bu sayı 1915’te 9-9; 1916’da 3-6; 1917’de 1-2; 1918’de 7-2’ye düşmüştür. Yani 1914’ü dışarıda bırakırsak, savaşın dört yılı boyunca Osmanlı’da 18 roman ve 19 kısa roman-uzun öykü kitabı yayınlanmıştır. Bunlar arasında vatanseverlik ajitasyonuna yönelik olanların sayısı daha azdır.”

³⁴⁷ Köroğlu, *Propagandan*, 206.

- *Aydemir*, by Müfide Ferit, published in 1918.

The part will end with the evaluation of selected utopian works of the Republican period which were published in and after 1930.

5.1. A Decentralized Vision of Turkism: *The New Turan*

The first work we will deal with in this part is the novel *Yeni Turan* [The New Turan], by Halide Edip Adivar, one of the leading names in Turkish literature.³⁴⁸ In the introduction, we argued that utopia is not a recognized genre of Turkish literature, and that utopian works are unknown and lie outside the literary canon. Within this context of obscurity, Adivar's novel – along with Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara* – is one of a handful of well-known works that come to mind when one thinks of Turkish utopias.



Illustration 23: The inner cover of *The New Turan*³⁴⁹

The renown accorded to *The New Turan* is no doubt related to the fame of its author. A novelist, activist, feminist, professor of literature, and politician, Halide Edip Adivar (1884-1964) was one of the most prominent intellectuals of Turkey during the late Ottoman and Republican eras. During the Second Constitutional period, Adivar played a crucial role in the National Struggle; falling out with the regime immediately after the war, she was forced to live abroad for many years. Returning to Turkey after the death of Atatürk, she took up a university position in addition to her literary activities, and entered Parliament as a representative of the Democrat Party. She died in 1964.

³⁴⁸ Halide Edip [Adivar], *Yeni Turan* [The New Turan]. Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası, 1329 [1913]. For a modernized edition of the text, see Halide Edip Adivar, *Yeni Turan* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, n.d.). References to the text follow this edition.

³⁴⁹ Private collection (E.K.)



Illustration 24: Halide Edip Adivar³⁵⁰

Adivar began writing in 1908, and a feminist sensibility is prominent in the works of her early period. Later, the War of Independence and the establishment of a new state came to be reflected in her works. In the last phase of her literary career, Adivar's novels dealt with themes such as the structure and problems of society, cultural issues, and models of social reconciliation which included phenomena such as religion, the past, and different ethnicities.

During the Balkan War, which coincided with the outset of her writing career, Adivar was involved in women's societies, and took part in educational projects; at the same time – influenced by names like Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, and Ahmet Ağaoğlu – she began to be drawn to the idea of Turkism. While *The New Turan* may not be one of her most important novels, it met with great enthusiasm in nationalist circles upon its publication during this period. Ömer Seyfettin, for instance, praises the novel as “the history of our future”. For him, “this book could be considered the Bible of Turkish nationalism.”³⁵¹ In 1916, the novel was translated into German.³⁵²

The timing of the novel's publication is significant. Before being published in book form, *The New Turan* had already begun to be serialized in the newspaper *Tanin*

³⁵⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_Turkey (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁵¹ Ömer Seyfettin “İnkılâplarda Kadın” [Women in the Reforms] in *Bütün Eserleri: Makaleler 2, Tercümeler* [Complete Works: Articles 2, Translations], ed. Hülya Argunşah (Istanbul: Dergâh, 2001), 234-237.

³⁵² Halide Edip Adivar, *Das neue Turan. Ein türkisches Frauenschicksal* [The New Turan: A Turkish Woman's Fate], translated with a preface by Friedrich Schrader (Weimar: Kiepenheuer, 1916). In the Turkish version of her memoirs, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] she writes that it was translated into a great many languages, but I have not been able to locate any other translation. Halide Edip Adivar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] (Istanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1996), 184.

[Echo] on September 7th, 1912 – the same date that the Balkan countries formed an alliance and began to prepare for war. The serialization of the novel ended on October 25th, 1912, when the Ottoman army suffered a great defeat against the Serbs at Kumanova, and against the Bulgarians at Kırkkilise. In other words, *The New Turan* was written immediately before the war, began to be published in installments as the war began, and saw its last installment published at a time when the horrible effects of defeat began to be felt. Under such circumstances, there is no doubt that the impending conflict had some effect on the novel. In this framework, with its relatively detailed picture of the future, its presentiment of the Balkan War, and its concern with the Balkans, the novel occupies an important place in this thesis. As stated above, it is not written during or after the War but slightly before it, nevertheless it shares many themes with works written after the War rather than those analyzed in Part 4. That is why it is placed in the beginning of this part.

The following passage from Adivar's *Memoirs* is significant in that it describes *The New Turan* as a utopia, suggesting that its fundamental aim is political and frankly confessing its lack of artistic value:

I was much criticized, mostly by the allied press, because of “New Turan,” and I have often smiled to think of the place where I wrote it. No book has been more misunderstood. In the outer world it has been held largely responsible for the faults of the Unionists, while in Turkey it was taken to represent a formulated doctrine of nationalism.

The book is a political and national Utopia, but not so far away from possibilities as one may suppose a Utopia to be. It looks forward to a New Turkey where a chastised and matured Union and Progress has taken the reins of power, where women have the vote, and where women work with the qualities of head and heart which characterize the best Turkish women. The highest ideal is work and simplicity. There is not only a Turkey that is nationalized in its culture, but there is also a Turkey that is liberal and democratic in politics. Above all, there is no chauvinism in the administrative system. The book, which has the usual love-story, has not much pretension to art. But its practically worked out ideals will, I firmly believe, be at least partly realized.³⁵³

Memoirs of Halide Edib (1926) has a Turkish version titled *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [The House with Wisteria] (1955), but it is a re-writing rather than a faithful translation of her memoirs, and there are considerable differences between the two. In *The House with Wisteria* – unlike in the English version – Adivar states that “[t]he New Turan was without doubt a utopia and, just like other utopias, it contained aspirations that were

³⁵³ Halide Edip Adivar, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004), 332.

impossible to realize.”³⁵⁴ And in addition to the ideals professed in her novel, *The House with Wisteria* puts forth as a goal “a Turkey that aims to become a kind of United Nations in the Near East.”³⁵⁵

The novel takes place in Turkey between 1932 and 1936. Kaya and Oğuz are cousins, and are in love with each other. Together, these two nationalist youths lay the foundations of the New Turan movement. An offshoot of the Union and Progress Party, over time this movement transforms its parent party into the New Turan Party. Meanwhile, Hamdi Paşa is the most prominent figure in the New Ottoman Party, the conservative rival to the New Turan Party. Hamdi Paşa is a friend of Kaya’s dead father, and is also in love with Kaya. The narrator of the novel is Hamdi Paşa’s nephew and right-hand man, Asım.

When the New Ottoman Party comes into power, Hamdi Paşa has Oğuz arrested, demanding that Kaya marry him in exchange for Oğuz’s life. Being ready to sacrifice herself for Oğuz and for the New Turan movement, Kaya accepts his proposal, but never becomes Hamdi Paşa’s wife in the true sense of the word. She does not inform Oğuz of what is happening, but keeps completely silent. In the elections that follow, the New Turan Party gains a majority, and begins to implement its political program. A religious fanatic, incited by the rigid opposition of the New Ottoman Party, shoots and kills Oğuz.

At the center of the novel is the political struggle between the centralist, conservative, Westernizing New Ottoman Party, and the decentralist, federalist, Turkish nationalist New Turan Party. Although the narrator is himself a member of the New Ottoman Party, it is clear that the author supports the position of the New Turan Party. The latter has made it a principle to ground its program for the future upon the past; as in other nationalist texts of this period, here, too, there is an aim of creating a “glorious past” for the Turks. Oğuz recounts the history – or, so to speak, the foundational myth – of the Ottomans, declaring that his ancestors, who held sway over a large area with just 400 horsemen, were “as civilized as the men of Northern Europe, who, despite being dispersed through ancient Gaul and Germany, and all over Europe, despite their initial acts of vandalism and destruction, displayed a superlative talent for organization and government.”³⁵⁶ (32) These men, he says, were “of an entirely different cloth from our first ancestors – the Atilas, the Genghis Khans, the Hulagu Khans – who, without nourishing any political or national ambitions, simply razed to the ground the lands through which they passed, till not even grass could grow there.”³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴ Halide Edip Adivar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, 186: “Yeni Turan hiç şüphesiz bir ütopya idi ve ütopyalar gibi tahakkuk ettirilmesi mümkün olmayan gayeleri vardı.”

³⁵⁵ Adivar, *Mor Salkımlı Ev*, 186: “Yakın Şarkda bir nev’i birleşmiş milletler şeklini istihdaf eden bir Türkiye”.

³⁵⁶ “eski Gal ve Almanya’ya, bütün Avrupa’ya dağılıp –ilk kırıp yıkmalarına rağmen- teşkilat ve hükümet kurmak yeteneğini en çok gösteren kuzey adamlarının uygarlık derecesinde”

³⁵⁷ Bunlar “siyaset ve kavim ile ilgili amaç beslemeyerek sadece, ayak bastığı yerlerde ot bitirmeyecek kadar yıkıp geçen ilk atalarımız Attilalar, Cengizler ve Hülagulardan pek başka bir hamurdan”dırlar . Following the birth of Turkish nationalism, such Mongolian and Hun rulers began to

Oğuz divides Ottoman history into four eras: a foundational era; an era of growth and expansion; an era of stagnation and infighting; and an era of collapse. In the first of these eras, the Ottomans established a great state and civilization; in the process, they allowed themselves, with great humility, to benefit from the wisdom of the Arabs, the Persians, the Seljuks, and the Byzantines. The Greeks, and other peoples, also began to “amass” around them during this time; in Adivar’s belief, the Turkish race is at the core of the Ottomans’ ethnic make-up. In the second era, the Turks spread into Europe. The third era begins with the reign of Sultan Süleyman; during this period, the state administration began to face difficulties due to the harmful aspects of civilizations like those of the Byzantines, the Persians, and the Greeks. The Ottomans were also weakened through blunders like making a pointless expedition to Vienna, or battling the Hungarians and Russians without incorporating the conquered territories into their own empire. During this era, the Turkish element in the population shrank and declined, while the Christians multiplied and advanced. The last era saw the establishment of new states founded on what had once been Turkish land. Finally, in 1908, the first national revolution based on Turkish national sovereignty took place; however, every community took advantage of it in order to pursue its own independence. (32-35)

Turning back to the future time portrayed in the novel, we see that the opposition party, the New Turan Party, has gained great popularity in the eyes of the people thanks to its Friday schools (where people receive health education and agricultural training); its efforts to increase the population; its exaltation of “everything Turkish”; and most importantly of all, its Turkish women’s institutions. A simple way of life predominates among the supporters of the New Turan Party. Instead of fancy clothes, women wear long, dull gray coats, white headscarves, and simple, sturdy shoes. Instead of sumptuous meals, people eat meat and rice pilaf, and drink kumiss (fermented mare’s milk). The supporters of the New Turan Party dream of a return to “Ancient Iraq” and of preserving the land of Turan; in this way, they strive to show a different face of Islam both to the New Ottomans and to the Europeans.

One of the novel’s most striking political aspects is its advocacy of decentralization, together with a non-exclusionary understanding of nationalism which incorporates other ethnic groups. As there is no chance of having a viable centralized state based solely on Turkish nationalism, the novel upholds a decentralized system. (38) Moreover, a system of federated states will be granted freedom of religion and will be given “permission” to develop. However, the following are the preconditions for such a system: other ethnic groups must overcome their hatred of the Turks; a union of mutual gain and mutual affection must be established; and finally, other ethnic groups must overlook the favoritism that will be shown to the Turkish members of the population for a twenty-year period (in the economy, education, architecture, public

be considered Turks. Even today, their empires are represented as Turkish states in the presidential standard of Turkey.

works, etc.) as compensation for the lag in development the Turks have suffered by maintaining these other groups. This last point is important, for while the Turks have always died for others, they themselves have not had a chance to develop; their race has diminished in number, and is about to become extinct. Accordingly, the investments currently being made in the Balkans will be directed towards Anatolia.

If this is done, then it will be a simple matter to have Iran, and then other small states, join this federation. Of course, any opposition to these conditions will have to be violently suppressed. Moreover, the minorities which will be ruled under this decentralized system will be under close observation, and there will be severe curbs on any separatist movements.

With this platform, the New Turan Party wins the election and starts to implement its projects, and the country begins to develop. We do not learn any more details about this process of development, aside from the fact that male illiteracy has been completely eliminated, and that Bursa and Adana have developed rapidly. In Bursa, one sees row upon row of hotels, as well as the chimneys of thriving factories. On Hermit Mountain (Mt. Uludağ), a cog railway has been built, along with a new hotel; the local people have become very rich. Adana has become a new Egypt. While the Turks and Muslims practice farming, Christians mostly work as manufacturers. But prosperity is everywhere. Moreover, the fact that “reserve troops” have not been levied for three years has made a big difference; the people have remained in the fields, and been able to work. With the help of a few young farmers in the New Turan Party, who have been educated in Europe and now impart their learning to the people, the nation grows richer. In one passage, the Değirmendere [a town in the Kocaeli Province of Turkey] of the future is likened to a “Swiss village.” Most importantly of all, transportation and communications have become easier thanks to the network of highways and railways enveloping the entire nation; every part of the country has started to develop, just like Adana and Bursa.

As always, the most critical benchmark in the process of Turkey’s modernization is the issue of women’s education. While the New Turan Party has fought to have women’s education put into effect, the New Ottomans have used this to stoke the fanaticism of their supporters – successfully. As mentioned above, Oğuz is shot to death by a New Ottoman fanatic outraged at the educational campaigns of the New Turan Party.

It is striking, moreover, that the author has taken America as a model for Turkey’s future. For instance, the novel’s hero Oğuz represents America as a place where different ethnic identities dissolve in the pot of a single official identity; in order to “dissuade” minorities which might want to secede, he cites the example of the American South, which, when it wanted to secede from the North, was “brought back in line with guns and cannonballs”; moreover, the novel foresees a two-party system like the one in America, and compares the period of Ottoman growth to the founding of America. This tendency to take America as a model is so persistent that while the New Ottomans who make up the opposition praise America for being a “melting pot,” and

for its lack of a single dominant ethnicity, the New Turan Party, once it is in power, calls attention to America's decentralized political system.

As a liberal author with an Anglo-Saxon education who stressed the role of women in the social life of Ottoman Turkish society – and who herself served in bureaucratic posts as a result of the importance she placed on education – Halide Edip stands apart from the writers of her era. On the other hand, *The New Turan* is one of the most significant texts in Turkish utopian literature, addressing the topic of Turkey's survival, and, in many respects, the present novel is in accord with the prevailing political tendencies of the time. In his article "Macedonians in Anatolia: The Importance of the Macedonian Roots of the Unionists for their Policies in Anatolia after 1914", Erik-Jan Zürcher sheds light on these tendencies that is also reflected in *The New Turan*. He asserts that beginning from 1906 onwards the CUP was an Ottoman-Muslim organization whose members, "whatever their ethnic background, identified themselves as 'Turks' in the sense that they felt themselves to be part of the 'dominant nation' (millet-i hakime) and they identified with the Ottoman state as their own."³⁵⁸ Zürcher indicates, however, that their Ottomanism was instrumental and conditional in nature. "They offered national solidarity and equality on condition of the minorities demonstrating loyalty to the Muslim-dominated Ottoman state to the exclusion of all national aspirations."³⁵⁹ And, in that sense, they aspired for "a strengthened state that could successfully resist movements towards the autonomy or partition of the Macedonian provinces."³⁶⁰

When we consider *The New Turan* within this context, we see that that its political project is shaped in accordance with the above tendencies; its basic solution is a decentralized system which is imposed by force, is closely monitored, stipulates preferential treatment for Turks, and aims, in the long run, to unite everyone under a single identity, and to incorporate other states into its fabric. However, it would not be wrong to attribute a highly "centralized," Turkist-Islamist, authoritarian vision to this work, as with many other proposals for the future during this period. The novel presupposes that the solution it offers will be adopted without the consent of other ethnic groups – indeed, suggests the use of force if they should refuse. When one considers this in light of the Balkan tragedy which occurred immediately after *The New Turan* was written, it becomes clear to what extent this unrealistic solution is a reflection of "imperial blindness." Employing a racist, nationalist image of the future in her efforts to preserve the Ottoman state, Adivar does not transcend the intellectual presuppositions of her time with this novel. Nevertheless, *The New Turan* could be considered a unique work of literature that reflects this state of "inbetweenness", i.e., combining the decentralist/Ottomanist tendencies of the pre-1912 period and the centralist/Turkish nationalist mindset of the post-1912 period.

³⁵⁸ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 967.

³⁵⁹ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 966-967.

³⁶⁰ Zürcher, "Macedonians in Anatolia," 967.

What is more, in its use of the West (in this case, America) as a model, and its idealization of socio-political institutions such as the Friday schools – which would soon afterwards become a reality, under the name of the *Halkevleri* or People’s Houses – Adivar’s novel, like other utopias of the period, is closely tied to existing conditions.³⁶¹ The main goal of this utopia, as before, is the attainment of wealth and power. In addition, Oğuz and Kaya can be seen as *The New Turan*’s contribution to the theme of the savior/guide. The novel’s emphasis on the importance of education is something we will encounter in nearly every text considered in this study.

What is also interesting about Adivar’s novel is its emphasis, at this early date, on the need to give priority to Anatolia over the Balkans, an inclination that would later become unanimous.³⁶² Indeed, under the influence of the bitter sentiments triggered by the Balkan defeat, Anatolia became the focus of attention as the real homeland of the Turks. However, as Zürcher suggests, “[a]n increased interest in Anatolia is already discernible after 1908. It was motivated by a desire to know more about this land that figured in the schoolbooks as the fabled cradle of the Ottoman Empire, but about which the Young Turks, whether they hailed from the Balkans, the Aegean or Istanbul, actually knew next to nothing.”³⁶³ In that framework, *The New Turan* can be seen as a pioneer work that urges to prioritize Anatolia over the Balkans.

The notion of Turan in the novel reflects another shared characteristic in Turkish utopias. As Murat Belge has pointed out, the idea of the “good life” in Turkish utopias typically conveys, not a vision of different kinds of human relationships, but a search for a proper “essence.” Belge stresses the inherent contradiction in the fact that Adivar, in envisioning a future for her country, has returned to this past “essence,” Turan. He further remarks that, generally speaking, this represents a source of difficulty for Turkish authors who write about utopia.³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Murat Belge, “Ütopyasız Kalmak” [Remaining without a Utopia], *Milliyet Popüler Kültür Eki* [Milliyet Newspaper Popular Culture Supplement], December 5, 2003. Accessed May 14, 2004, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/12/05/sanat/san04.html>.

³⁶² A year later, Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmet Hilmi would also express this sentiment as follows: “The Crimea, Rumania, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Serbia, Bulgaria, the Caucasus all went one by one ... Finally Tripoli [Libya] and three-fourths of the Balkans also were lost. These areas were all rich and valuable places; we gained them at the cost of our blood. But those territories, however rich they may be, were not the heart and soul of our homeland [yurdumuzun yüreği] ... O Turk! Anatolia is the heart and soul of our homeland. O Turk! If we continue in our old ways, if we face the enemy again in slumber, unprotected, then this time the enemy’s sword will come to our [homeland’s] heart and soul and kill each one of us.” Aksakal, *The Ottoman Road to War in 1914*, 30-31, quoting Özdemir [Şehbenderzade Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi], *Türk Ruhu Nasıl Yapılıyor? Her Vatanperverden, Bu Eserciği Türklere Okumasını Ve Anlatmasını Niyaz Ederiz* [How the Turkish Spirit is Formed: We Ask of Each Patriot to Read and Relate this Booklet to the Turks] (Darülhilâfe: Hikmet Matbaa-i İslamiyesi, 1329 [1913]), 6-7.

³⁶³ Zürcher, “Macedonians in Anatolia,” 970.

³⁶⁴ Murat Belge, “Ütopyasız Kalmak”.

5.2. A Mullah's Reverie of the Future: A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization

The work which we will discuss in this chapter, a 1913 narrative entitled *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization]³⁶⁵, is one of the more noteworthy instances of unknown early works of Turkish utopian literature. It was written during the Balkan War,³⁶⁶ and the picture it paints of the future clearly reflects the Balkan War era mentality. Furthermore, it offers concrete validation of the argument advanced by this thesis, containing instances of nearly all the utopian motifs discussed in Chapter 3.2, and envisioning a Turkish utopia of the future which is depicted in a highly colorful, detailed manner. Accordingly, this work will be dealt with in depth.

Information about the book's author, Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî (1867-1932) – like that about the book itself – is extremely limited.³⁶⁷ We learn from the cover of another book of his, the 1912 work *Asr-ı Hazıra İçin Hutbe* [A Sermon for the Present Age], that Mustafa Nazım was the owner of the Osmanlı Asar-ı Vatan Fabrikası [Ottoman National Goods Factory] in the Orhanbey Han on Babıali Caddesi;³⁶⁸ many details in the text can be linked to the author's experience in this factory.

Before embarking on an analysis of this text, it will be useful to clarify one point. We remarked earlier that this work is little known today; in fact, it can hardly be said to have received much attention in its own day either. On the contrary, in a note left by the author at the end of the book, he states that he has planned for it to contain three volumes; if the first volume receives sufficient attention, a second and third will follow. As there are no records that a second or third volume was ever published, we can assume that the book did not garner the attention its author had expected.³⁶⁹ All the same, the fact that this text is not a canonical work by a well-known author in no way diminishes its importance for the present study; with its striking details and fresh imagery, it allows us to see how an ordinary Ottoman intellectual would have reacted to the consequences of the Balkan War.

³⁶⁵ Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî, *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization] (Dersaadet: Kader Matbaası, 1331[1913]).

³⁶⁶ In the first paragraph of the book, it says that the war has been going on for seven months. Accordingly, the composition of the book can be dated to the end of May, 1913.

³⁶⁷ As an illustration of the truth of this statement, it was exceedingly difficult even to learn the dates of the author's birth and death. I am once more thankful to my esteemed professor Günay Kut and her husband Turgut Kut for helping me to obtain this information at last.

³⁶⁸ Mustafa Nazım, *Asr-ı Hazıra için Hutbe* [A Sermon for the Present Age] (Bursa: Muin-i Hilal Matbaası, 1328 [1912]), 1.

³⁶⁹ After its initial publication, the next edition of this book did not appear until roughly a century later, in an edition which I prepared for publication. This edition includes both the original text (transliterated into the Latin alphabet) and a rendering into Modern Turkish. All references to the book will use this edition. See Molla Davutzade Mustafa Nazım Erzurumî, *Rüyada Terakki ve Medeniyet-i İslamiyeyi Rüyet* [A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization], trans. and ed. Engin Kılıç (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

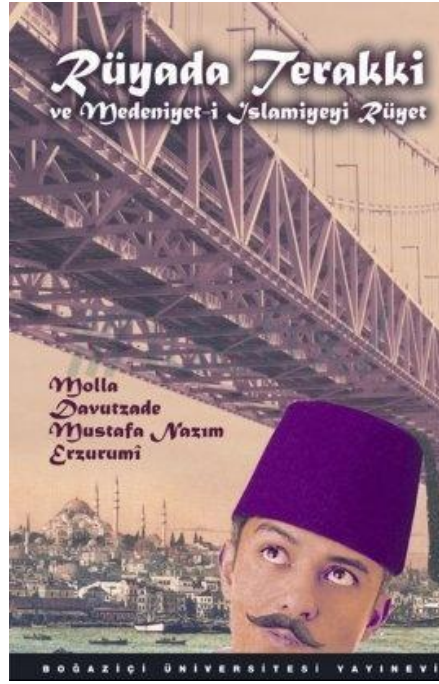


Illustration 25: The recent edition of *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*³⁷⁰

Mustafa Nazım's work is also highly interesting in terms of genre. There is a "table of contents" on the cover of the book, which promises to discuss such diverse phenomena as "science, art, commerce, and agriculture – methods, rules, recipes, manners – morals, customs, and amicable relations – intellectual exercises, discussions, and ideas," not to mention "every conceivable kind of knowledge and science"; it is presented to the reader as an "entertaining, useful book." Clearly, we are dealing with a text which defies generic classification. While the text is a work of fiction, it is impossible to place it within the framework of traditional literary genres such as novels and short stories. As we have seen to be the case in nearly all utopias of this period, Mustafa Nazım's work has been composed in the form of a dream, in accordance with the *habnâme* genre of classical Ottoman literature;³⁷¹ one can therefore speak of a continuity with long-standing tradition. At the same time, however, it employs a number of conventional formulas first seen in Thomas More's *Utopia*, and repeated in many classic utopian works: these include a displacement in time and/or place (i.e., locating the utopian narrative in a past or future time frame and/or a different geographical region), and the use of a guide who introduces this world to the main character (to whom it is as strange as to the readers) by taking him on a tour. In conformity with another utopian convention, the first-person narrator falls asleep and has a dream, in which he meets his

³⁷⁰ <http://www.idefix.com/kitap/ruyada-terakki-ve-medeniyet-i-islamiyeyi-ruyet-molla-davutzaade-mustafa-nazim-erzurumi/tanim.asp?sid=XCK1CJLCXT7TON0XETER> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁷¹ For a detailed study of this topic, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*.

ancestor Mullah Davut, who lived four hundred years ago. Guided by Mullah Davut, he then travels four hundred years into the future, to the Istanbul of the 24th century. Mullah Davut and the narrator travel around the city; meanwhile, we receive a detailed account of the advanced civilization prevalent there, and of the “future history” which has made this civilization possible. Accordingly, it would seem that this text is most accurately classified as a “utopian narrative.”

The political and ideological stance of this text is quite radical, in line with utopias’ tendency to endorse a political position or program by means of fiction. The author’s basic ideology is Islamism; at the same time, this work also bears traces of Ottomanism – and, in various forms, Turkism. Therefore, as with many texts of this period, it is clear that Mustafa Nazım’s work has eclectically blended a number of different, and in some respects mutually contradictory, ideologies.

One of the most noteworthy aspects of this text is its use of the defeat of the Balkan War as a basic reference point for its political stance. Right at the start of the book, the Balkan War is referred to as a “religious war,” as a “Crusade,” and the author recounts the sufferings that have resulted from this defeat. (189) Unable to bear the sorrow he is feeling, the narrator passes out and falls into a deep sleep. The dream that emerges out of this sorrow at the Balkan Catastrophe will comprise the contents of the book.

At this point, we can commence an analysis of these contents. In his dream, the narrator suddenly finds himself at the summit of a mountain. He meets a number of elderly people there; one of them, he learns, is Mullah Davut, his ancestor from 400 years ago. His ancestors ask him about the present situation of the Ottoman state, and the narrator recounts the unfortunate events that have occurred. Mullah Davut then asks the narrator if he would like to see the future of the Islamic world. The narrator says that he would; Mullah Davut tells him to close his eyes, and then massages his hands. When the narrator opens his eyes again, he finds himself upon a hill overlooking the Bosphorus. They have traveled four centuries forward in time, and are now witnessing the future of Islamic civilization.

History of the Past – History of the Future

Below, we will list some of the things the future holds for Istanbul. First, however, we need to say a few words about how the devastation faced by the Ottomans in 1913 gave way to the powerful, advanced Turkey of the 24th century. This is a significant point, and one which distinguishes utopian texts from fantasies; as this text falls into the former category, the new way of life which it depicts – one which is meant to be a source of emulation – should be attainable through rational methods. Mustafa Nazım’s work provides a detailed answer to the question of how to attain such an advanced state of civilization.

Prior to discussing the successes of this society four centuries in the future, the text first points out the mistakes that were made four hundred years earlier. Before traveling into the future, the narrator converses with Mullah Davut and his friends,

seeing his own ancestors as responsible for the predicament his country faces in 1913. In this section, which reveals the author's own opinions as to what happened, and what should have been done, the narrator speaks the following words to Mullah Davut:

Trusting in your power, you subjugated numerous states in Asia, Europe, and Africa, and made the whole world obedient to you. But apparently you never considered this: the populations of these places you conquered and invaded are made up of different nations. As long as they remain, for the most part, in their own regions, then as soon as they have the chance, they will think of their own national interest, and will demand independence. These various and sundry nations will one day unite around the Cross; and then, with the aid of the Christian nations of Europe, those Ottoman Lands which you once subjugated with so much bloodshed will be reclaimed from the Ottomans with just as much bloodshed.³⁷² (197)

What, then, does the narrator think should have been done? He offers the following explanation: of the lands his ancestors conquered, they should have removed the non-Muslim inhabitants of the more desirable areas and settled them into regions with meandering borders which would be difficult to unite; then, they should have filled the Ottoman Lands with Muslims of pure ancestry from all parts of the globe, thus homogenizing the population. Moreover, the interests of a certain Christian state – currently the Ottomans' biggest enemy – in Asia should be completely eliminated, and all of the continent should be given over to the Muslims, the Indians, and the Chinese. It was a mistake for the Ottomans to enter Europe rather than uniting their forces in Asia and Africa and fortifying their own territory. As a result of this error, Europe has risen up, and there have been continual wars. The narrator's ancestors did not consider that a handful of Turkish tribes, constantly fighting to defend their vast territories extending over three continents, would end up in such a weak state. (197-198)

In short, the narrator sees the mistaken expansionist policies of the past as responsible for the disaster of 1913; his view of history is patently teleological in nature, for he projects the events of his own day onto the past. Rather than look to the past, the narrator apparently prefers to explain the current situation, and to make suggestions about what to do, in accordance with the political trends of his own day. This strong, wealthy country 400 years in the future will eventually arise through the "unity" of

³⁷² "[S]iz kuvvetinize güvenerek Asya'da, Avrupa'da, Afrika'da birçok memleketler zapt etmişsiniz ve cihanı kendinize itaat ettirmişsiniz. Fakat asla düşünmemişsiniz ki, fetih ve istilâ etmiş olduğunuz bu yerlerin ahalişi hep farklı milletlerden oluşmaktadır. Bunlar çoğunluk olarak kendi bölgelerinde var kaldıkça bir fırsat bulur bulmaz milli menfaatlerini dikkate alarak istiklallerini isteyeceklerdir. Bu farklı farklı milletler günün birinde Haç etrafında birleşerek, Avrupa Hristiyan milletlerinin de yardımlarıyla vaktiyle o kadar kan dökerek zapt etmiş olduğunuz o Memalik-i Osmaniye'yi yine kan dökerek Osmanlıların elinden alacaklardır."

Muslims, and through an economic development program which copies the National Economic Program of the Union and Progress Party nearly word for word.³⁷³

Let us now see how this illustrious future civilization has come about. According to the author, when the Ottoman State was defeated in the Balkan War, fifty patriotic citizens of every political party retired to a deserted island, and studied the morals and ways of life of developed countries. When all of these appeared to be corrupt and degenerate, the citizens then examined Islamic civilization; deciding that this was the most suitable choice, they adopted Islamic values, and put them into practice. The group later took up industrial enterprises, and subsequently founded a bank, then a research and development laboratory. Meanwhile, total war had broken out in Europe, upsetting all the European balances of power and inundating the continent with calamities. In another passage, too, the author states that Europe, the reigning power of his era, is no longer powerful at all. Europe has been crushed by war, its wealth has decreased to a tiny fraction of what it once was, and internal strife has arisen. Most of the poverty-stricken population of Europe emigrates to Asia or Africa, working there as migrant laborers. (215)

The Ottoman government started to dole out large amounts of money which it had borrowed with the aim of developing its national commerce, but so far had not put to use. The islanders made use of this fund to set up a business firm, which was a great success. At the same time, more and more pupils were being trained in the islanders' schools, and much progress was made by entrepreneurs who benefited from their patronage. All of these things formed the basis of Ottoman salvation. (283-286)

Meanwhile, the Ottomans made an alliance with the Chinese (to whom they had racial ties), and, in order to oppose the inroads of the Europeans, gathered together the leading intellectuals of all the Asian peoples: the Japanese, the Tatars, the Kurds, the Turks, the Indians, and the Persians. Later, they decided to establish a union which included Africa, as well. A parliament was founded in Istanbul, and a constitution was drafted. During the narrator's stay, sectarian divisions are also outlawed; it is decided that all members of the Islamic, Christian, and Buddhist faiths will be ruled, depending on their religion, by three different governments and three different constitutions. (213-215, 245) Thus, the policies of the National Economic Program and the Islamic Union have evidently been instrumental in Turkey's advance.

Islam, Technology, and a New Life

Here we will discuss what this Turkey of the future (and, in particular, Istanbul) looks like, and what kind of transformation has taken place in people's lives. In doing so, we should bear in mind that the author regards all of these changes as positive

³⁷³ For information on the origin and implementation of the National Economic Program, see Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi* [National Economy – National Bourgeoisie] (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1995). Toprak, too, stresses the fact that the societal collapse triggered by the Balkan War put an end to the liberalism of the Second Constitutional Period. (Toprak, *Milli İktisat*, 112)

developments, ones which he assumes will also meet with the readers' approval. When considered in terms of today's values, some of the details of Mustafa Nazım's utopia may seem so unappealing as to make us think we are reading a "dystopian" work. However, from the author's point of view, these very same details are like a dream come true.

While overcrowding in today's Istanbul may represent a serious problem, in the author's day there was evidently a powerful aspiration for increasing the size of the city; thus, Mustafa Nazım informs us that Istanbul's population has reached 10 million. (214) The appearance of the city has altered considerably as well. The author describes the appearance of the Bosphorus in his own day – what we would term its lack of overdevelopment – as a "wasteland"; at the time of the narrator's visit, it has been saved from this fate. By the 24th century, both shores of the Bosphorus, from the Sea of Marmara to the Black Sea, have been paved from end to end with promenades, overlooked by eight to 10 storey buildings. The hills behind these buildings have been leveled, and freestanding villas have been built there. As a result, the slopes of the Bosphorus shore have become covered with architecture. (208)

A similarly radical change has taken place on the Princes' Islands. The green, quiet Princes' Islands of today – a suitable place for a summer house – have turned into an industrial zone in the future. The islands are now reachable by a railway constructed on top of pontoons set into the sea; there are so many factories there that their chimneys have girded the island "like a black cloud." Again, with our current environmental sensibility, we might make the mistake of interpreting these passages as a reaction against over-industrialization. In 1913, however, developing Turkey's industry was such a pressing item on agenda – and so little importance was given to the environment – that the author's reference to "black clouds" is not necessarily a negative one. (208)

Along with this increase in population, construction, and industrialization, Mustafa Nazım's utopia features another centennial aspiration: the Bosphorus Bridge. At the mouth of the Bosphorus, by the Sea of Marmara, there is a huge, three-level bridge connecting Kumkapı to the Harem Ferry Landing. The upper level has been reserved for pedestrians, while the lower two levels are for trains and cars; these can be opened, when needed, to make way for passing ships. (209)

The layout of Istanbul has evidently been completely redesigned: all of the city's neighborhoods – those by the Old City, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar on the Asian side – have been divided into "quadrilateral sections, like a checkerboard" – i.e., arranged into a grid, as in certain modern cities like New York. Each section (or "neighborhood") has been filled with 10-storey buildings. In addition to the roads on the street level, there are also roads extending from the balconies of the various floors of these buildings; these "balconied streets" are connected to one another by bridges, making it possible to pass from one building to another, and one neighborhood to another, without descending into the street. (362) Moreover, people can easily travel everywhere individually by means of tram-like vehicles which run on rails built all over the city. (208) One might have thought that the historical Sultanahmet Square, home to

the Sultanahmet Mosque, Hagia Sophia, and many other important monuments, would have been exempt from this process of renovation. In fact, it too has been surrounded by 10-storey apartment buildings, whose streets, crossing from balcony to balcony, cover the sky like a spider's web. It has also been paved over with an asphalt-like material, and – being decorated with shrubs, traditional fountains, and jet fountains – has been made to conform with the author's modernizing Islamic aesthetic. (211-212)

In Mullah Nazım's book, moreover, we see the impact of technological improvements and discoveries upon every area of life, on a scale not previously encountered in any work of Turkish literature. For instance, when you are tired, you can visit a hotel and go to sleep in a sleeping machine. After using these machines for just a short time, you emerge as relaxed and invigorated as if you had slept a whole night. (228-229) A more effective solution for those suffering from mental fatigue consists of "mind treatment centers." This simple operation, which uses an acupuncture-like procedure to speed up the circulation of the capillaries in the brain by stimulating specific areas with electricity, quickly makes the mind work more precisely and lucidly. (343) There is no longer any need for waiters in restaurants, either: orders are given by diaphone, with service being provided by robots. (217-219) Right at the start of the text, the narrator and his ancestor enter a splendid park, looked after by animals who are trained through a system of rewards and punishments. In this way, monkeys, birds, ants, and other creatures learn how to perform their duties, later becoming teachers to members of their own species and instructing them about the tasks they must perform. (207)

In this advanced civilization, we see machines which cause the desired letters to line up one after another with each press of a finger; the texts which are thus "typeset" are later printed on paper. The author is apparently imagining a kind of computer, or at least an electronic typewriter. (211) Wireless telegraph devices are now found in every home, as well. (210) In the streets, wall panels with audio-newspapers relay the latest news to people; pocket electric cinematography machines allow people to watch every kind of video with ease, everywhere they go; three-dimensional live photography devices (evidently a kind of hologram machine) are also in use.

The narrator, who is himself an inventor, is overjoyed to see that several devices which he envisioned and designed back in 1913 are now mass-produced in his name in this future civilization. Among these are flying machines which can be worn like a suit of clothing – operated by means of a pair of wings attached on the side – and water-powered and air-powered motors which cost nothing to run. (271)

Big Brother

The way of life recounted in this book is both celebrated by the author and intended as a source of emulation; when we read about it today, we can see that it reflects a wish for an authoritarian/totalitarian order, strong government, and a disciplined society. For instance, the tall building resembling a fortress, set in the middle of a square in the heart of Istanbul, is a police headquarters. People who enter

the city are given X-rays, both to check for diseases and to take photographs for the purpose of registration. Visitors are also given a medallion which they must wear at all times. These medallions are decorated with a set number of stars, to indicate that person's ranking as determined by the government. (211)

None of the inhabitants are given over to foolish pastimes like tea- or coffee-drinking, or smoking hookah pipes or cigarettes. While the narrator approves of this abstemiousness, it causes him great inconvenience since he himself is a cigarette smoker. He later finds relief when, with someone's help, he succeeds in obtaining tobacco. (237)

There are no coffeehouses in the city; these sorts of old-fashioned habits are seen as a waste of time, and meet with disapproval. In any case, meeting and conversing with one's friends during working hours is forbidden, and can lead to one's being arrested. (237) People are required to walk on the right side of the road, and stopping in the middle of the street is strictly prohibited; people can only stop in public squares. (265-266)

Population and birth are also under the complete control of the state. Newborn children are not left with their families, and parents do not have the right to raise their children; birth and childcare take place in special government centers, which are completely staffed and administered by women. Births take place in the childbirth departments of these centers, and no fee is charged; women who have just given birth are free to stay there, with a guest, for as long as they like. Even more significant is the childcare department. Here, starting at the age of one month, children are cared for and raised using scientific methods. 140-meter towers on top of the building bring fresh air from higher altitudes down to the children. The children are constantly monitored by a doctor; their parents, on the other hand, can only see them by appointment. By continuing this same disciplined form of childrearing later, at school, society has been able to reach its present level of civilization. (254-259)

Another device dreamed up by the author – in the manner of a pre-1984 “Big Brother” fantasy, but with the purpose of inspiring rather than frightening the readers – consists of a bunch of giant mirrors known as *devridaim-i istinsah* [“perpetual motion reproduced”] with which everyone's every movement can be watched. This device – whose workings are described in detail by the author – is used not only for crime prevention, but also to ascertain what everyone is doing at all times. (348)

Another interesting practice, which plays an important role in the social structure of this future age, consists of numerically measuring the value of human relations – their “social capital,” so to speak. This mechanism, somewhat recalling Facebook's “Number of Friends” or Twitter's “Number of Followers,” allows people to score their friends' importance and status; these scores are collected in notebooks available to both parties. When someone performs a good action, all that person's friends increase his or her score; if the person in question acts immorally, his or her score plummets. In this way, those who have received high scores from their friends, as well as those who have accumulated many points, achieve a high level of prestige. The

scores a person has been given by his or her friends are influential in every kind of situation. (241-242)

Women

The text also reflects its author's search for an "Islamic" equality of men and women. In order to bring about this equality, but also preserve the institution of the *harem/selamlık* [the sexually segregated living arrangements in Ottoman households], every male is required to be partnered to a female. At twelve noon, bells are rung and cannonballs are fired all over the city, and all men are forbidden to go outdoors. As every male has a pre-determined female partner (his wife, sister, etc.), for the next twelve hours the city is handed over to the women, with all business, production, administration, and similar tasks being carried out by these female partners. (216) Such an arrangement may stem from a wish on the part of the author – who clearly has a strong economic vision for his country – to compensate for work lost during people's lunch break, along with his desire to keep men and women separate.

Within this future Istanbul, there is a parallel city, so to speak, set aside for women. While the shops, offices, reading rooms, recreational centers, etc. on the main streets are reserved for men, the buildings looking out on the side-streets feature equivalent facilities which women may make use of. (238)

One might ask how marriage takes place in a world in which men and women are segregated to such an extent. In fact, the author lays out a highly complex procedure concerning marriage. Briefly, men create a sort of CV or application form, and circulate it everywhere; their friends then put these documents in the hands of marriage candidates. In the event of a suitable match, the man and woman meet, accompanied by their relatives, and prepare a marriage contract, which they then sign. (240)

Any claims that this system favors men are answered in the following way:

Women can in no way claim that a right which belongs to women should be concealed and not granted to them. Yet, in every matter concerning men and women, their own assemblies have confirmed their privilege of not having their equal rights complied with, and of not being allowed to enjoy the same rights as men – on account of being women. Nevertheless, the women of this age live a much easier life than men. Women, too, generally admit that this is the case.³⁷⁴
(216)

³⁷⁴ "Kadınlar hiçbir veçhile iddia edemezler ki kadınlara taallûk eden bir hak ketmedilip kendilerine verilmiş olmasın. Ancak kadınlarla erkekler arasında her hususta hakk-ı müsavata riayet edilememek ve kadın olmaları itibariyle kendileri erkekler kadar hukuka malik olamamak hakkını yine kendi meclisleri tasdik etmiştir. Mamefih bu asrın kadınları erkeklerinden pek çok ziyade rahat yaşamaktadırlar. Bunu alelumum kadınlar da teslim ediyorlar."

In other words, the author means that in this ideal, perfect Islamic society, women have simply made use of their inalienable privilege. Not being equal to men in every respect, not enjoying all the same rights as men, is itself a right, in the author's opinion. Women have preferred to exercise their privilege to have fewer rights than men. What is more, thanks to this privilege, they lead more comfortable lives than men (even if the text does not specify in what way this is so).

The Effects of the Balkan War

Written during the Balkan War, this text attributes a crucial role to that war in its vision of Turkey's future prosperity. Right from the very first line, we hear of the destruction wrought by the war, and the sorrow that has come in its wake. The Balkan War is presented to us from two different angles: first, as the fatal result of errors made in the Ottomans' "imperial policies" over the four centuries prior to 1913; second, as a "foundational catastrophe" which was a catalyst for the building of a strong, wealthy utopian Turkey over the 400 years that followed. The intellectual and societal trauma, shame, and feelings of defeat stemming from the great losses caused by the Balkan War are evidently the source of the revanchist anger pervading the entire work.

As a result of the joint attacks on the Ottomans by the united Balkan states, who have turned Rumelia into a sea of blood, the Turks descend into a dark, deep maelstrom of disaster. Soon comprehending the gravity of their situation, they awake from their lethargic state, and determinedly begin to move forward as a nation. (297) In this sense, the author views the disaster of the Balkan War as the turning point leading to Turkey's happy future; similarly, he views the mistakes of his own day as the cause of the nation's subsequent revival. On this point, the text effectively makes the observation that "if the Turks had not borne the disasters which occurred at that time, but had fought against each other instead, they would never have achieved the progress they enjoy today"; this can be taken as a direct reference to the political climate at the time of the work's composition.

A performance which the narrator attends at the Hezar-ı Hoş-Elhan [Sweetly Warbling Nightingale] Theater likewise highlights the central importance of the Balkan War. (307) These back-to-back performances, lasting for 10 nights straight, stage the deadly tragedy of the war, which begins due to the enmity the Christians harbor towards the Muslims. In one scene, the Ottoman flag falls to the ground and is dirtied; in another, Muslim women are forcefully converted to Christianity. (314) Most touching of all is a procession of destitute Muslims who are migrating out of the Balkans. At the head of this procession is a turbaned old man, who addresses the audience as follows:

O Muslims! What has happened to you? Are you in a perpetual sleep?
You make no sound at all! Do you have no sense of honor left – no
sense of compassion, no sense of charity? How can you stand to see us
thus destroyed, oppressed by the People of the Cross?...

(...)

O Muslims! Where are my wives, my daughters, my sons, my grandsons? Where is my wealth, my prosperity? Where are my possessions, where are my fellows, my companions? Muslims! Why do you remain silent? Did we not all become fellow believers on that day on which the Almighty God addressed all humanity, saying, “Am I not your Lord?” Why do you not help us?³⁷⁵ (316-317)

In the above passages, the old refugee reminds the audience of the fellowship of all Muslims. Here, as throughout the text, the Balkan War is characterized as a Crusade:

Do you still trust in the honor or the conscience of Europe? (...) You see how the allied powers and countries of the Balkans, made up of a bunch of ogres, are inducing the Great Powers of Europe – who are pleading the cause of their civilization simply because they are Christians – to take part in their killings. Thus, they continually endeavor to wipe the Crescent off the face of the earth, and replace it with the Cross. And if things go on in this way, they will succeed.³⁷⁶ (318)

Every believer, he argues, is responsible for aiding the Muslims who are facing this tragedy. Yet the destruction caused by the Balkan War is so great that this aid is not forthcoming. In tears, the old man expresses his great disappointment, accusing the Muslims of being accustomed to living in comfort. In doing so, he acts as a spokesman for the author’s own sentiments: there is no one to help the Muslims, he says, and Muslim solidarity is finished. After accusing the Muslims of apathy, the old man goes on to warn them that this very apathy will soon lead them to share the same fate:

Alas! The Muslims have no more heart, no more soul, no more spirit! They are asleep! They are frozen stiff! They have become the living dead! They can no longer discern between good and evil! What a pity – what a pity! Dear God, come to our rescue!...
(...)

³⁷⁵ “Ey Müslümanlar! Ne oldunuz? Yoksa hep uyuşup kaldınız mı? Hiç sesiniz çıkmıyor! Sizde hiç hiss-i hamiyet, hiss-i merhamet, hiss-i muavenet kalmadı mı? Ehlisalibin nice zulmü altında bizim böyle mahvolup bitmemize nasıl razı oluyorsunuz?... (...) Ey Müslümanlar! Hani benim haremim, kızlarım, oğullarım, hafidlerim? Hani benim servetim, saadetim! Hani benim emvalim, ihvanım, ahabım? Müslümanlar! Niçin sükût ediyorsunuz? Biz sizinle Cenabı Allah’ın ervaha (Ben sizin rabbiniz değil miyim!) hitabında bulunduğu o ruz-ı eleste din kardeşi olmadık mı! Siz niçin bize yardım etmiyorsunuz!...”

³⁷⁶ “Siz hâlâ daha Avrupa’nın namusuna, vicdanına mı güveniyorsunuz? (...) İşte görüyorsunuz ki birtakım gulyabanilerden mürekkep olan Balkan düvel ve milel-i müttefikası Hristiyan olmak itibarıyla medeniyet davasında bulunan Hristiyan Avrupa düvel-i muazzamasını da cinayetlerine iştirak ettirerek Salıp namına Hilal’in ruy-ı arzdan büsbütün kalkmasına çalışıp duruyorlar. Bu gidişle muvaffak da olacaklar.”

All of the Balkans, its valleys, its plains, its brooks, its streams, are bright red with the blood of Muslims. Though the flames of oppression scorching the Muslims, and the clouds of enemy smoke, are trying to transmit their cries for help to their fellow Muslims, the latter are fleeing from those very clouds of smoke for fear of causing themselves distress. They will not even listen to the howls of pain, to the shrieks and lamentations, of their Muslim brothers and sisters. Alas! There is no one to come to our aid, no one to have pity on us! Lord, may you have mercy on us! O people of Muhammad, may you have pity on us! (...)

Muslims! O all you Muslims living on the face of the earth! Are you waiting for a blacker day than this one before you will help us, your fellow believers? Be certain that today, a dagger is sticking right into the heart of the Muslim world! As for this blood-drenched, tragic lamentation which we have introduced – tomorrow, you will attempt to convey it to every corner of the globe with a cry even more heart-rending than ours; but you will not find a single honorable person to lend a friendly ear to your cry. Today, we are being exiled from Rumelia; do you doubt that you too will be expelled from your own lands if you continue this treacherous apathy? Where will you go then? Can you still not perceive what the result will be?³⁷⁷ (317-318)

Later, the old man sets about portraying the cruelty perpetrated by the Christians. His utterances read like a sampling of the universal motifs used in the creation of a trauma discourse about the Balkan War:

“Alas! What kind of civilization is this? Do they have no humanity? No conscience? No honor? I do not know. They chop a boy in pieces with an axe right in front of his mother...they assault a man’s wife right before his very eyes...they burn a mosque to the ground, along with the Muslims who have taken refuge in it...they insult the Muslim faith, Muslim places of worship...they force the Muslims to become Christians...they burn alive those who oppose the People of the Cross

³⁷⁷ “Eyvah! Müslümanlarda kan, can, ruh kalmamış! Uyuşmuşlar! Donmuşlar! Meyyit-i müteharrik haline gelmişler! Artık hayrı, şerri idrak etmez olmuşlar! Yazık, hem pek yazık! Ey Allahım! Sen bize imdat eyle!... (...) Bütün Balkanlar, vadiler, ovalar, dereler, çaylar hep Müslüman kanıyla kıpkırmızı oldu. Müslümanları yakan ateş-i zulüm ve taaddi dumanları sada-yı imdatlarını dindaşlarına isale çalışıyor ise de onlar kendilerini izaç eder korkusuyla o dumanlardan kaçıyorlar. Din kardeşlerinin ah ü eninlerine, feryad ü fğanlarına kulak bile asmıyorlar. Ah! Hiçbir taraftan imdada gelen yok! Merhamet eden yok! Yarabbi sen merhamet et! Ümmet-i Muhammede sen acı! (...) Müslümanlar! Ey ruy-ı arzda yaşayan Müslümanlar! Biz din kardeşlerinize imdat etmek için bundan daha kara bir gün mü bekliyorsunuz? Bütün ü emin olunuz ki bugün Müslümanlığın tâ cangâhına hançer saplanıyor! Mukaddimesi bizden başlayan bu kanlı, feci vaveylâyı yarın siz bizden daha canhıraş bir sada ile küre-i arzın her tarafına aksettirmeye çalışacaksınız; fakat sadanızı hüsn-i telâkki edecek hamiyetli bir kimse bulamayacaksınız! Şimdi biz Rumeli’den sürülüp çıkarılıyor; eğer bu uyuşukluk hainde devam ederseniz yarın sizin de bulunduğunuz yurtlardan çıkarılacağınızda şüphe etmeyiniz? O vakit nereye gideceksiniz? Siz bu neticeyi hâlâ idrak etmiyor musunuz?”

in bonfires...they slice open their mouths, cut off their noses, their ears, and at last, their heads...they bayonet hundreds and thousands of captives...they hang bells upon our mosques! How can this be? Since the world was created, has such cruelty as this ever been seen?”³⁷⁸
(318)

When the narrator hears these words, he feels unwell, and cannot watch any more. Both his friends and his ancestor reproach him for this display of weakness. (324) His ancestor then gives a long speech about the glory of going off to war and dying in combat, a speech intended entirely for the benefit of policy-makers and audiences in 1913. (326-327)

Smart Economics

As we remarked earlier, the fact that Mustafa Nazım was a businessman is obvious from a reading of this text. Along with his excessive interest in issues of technology and engineering, his book contains a far more detailed economic analysis than we will find in other texts. This text is so rational in nature that it even proposes a radical solution to the extremely complex, illogical system of measurements used by the Ottoman Empire; Mustafa Nazım develops a new number system which is indexed to the weight of gold, and considers making this the basis for all systems of measurement. (334-335) The National Bank and the National Subsidiary Bank work very well, managing the economy in expert fashion both in terms of assets and in terms of credit; at the same time, they pay into a fund which aims at achieving social justice. (234) Thanks to the Office (Ministry) of Commerce, progress has penetrated into the villages as well, with every village now being able to sell its products at optimal prices. (235) The use of cash is almost unheard of in this text. There is a system of payment which superficially resembles checks, but in practice calls to mind the credit card system: everyone makes payments with sheets of paper taken from a “credit ledger.” The tax system has been completely streamlined to a single flat rate; in this way, tax revenues have increased immensely. Thanks to these effective measures, even the concept of a balanced budget has become a thing of the past. The government only spends 22 percent of total revenues, with the remnant going towards social welfare and investments. (231) Needless to say, there is no theft in such a prosperous society as this one. (209)

³⁷⁸ “Ah! Bu nasıl medeniyet! Nasıl insaniyet! Nasıl vicdan! Nasıl namus! Bilmem ki... Evladı anasının gözü önünde balta ile birkaç parça etmek, kocasının gözü önünde zevcesine taarruz etmek, camilere iltica eden Müslümanları cami ile beraber yakıp kül etmek, Müslüman dinine, Müslüman ibadetgâhına hakaret eylemek, Müslümanları tanassur ettirmek, Ehlihalibe muhalefet edenleri diri, diri ateşlerde yakmak, ağızlarını, burunlarını, kulaklarını, en sonunda da başlarını kesmek, yüzlerce, binlerce esirler süngüden geçirilmek, camilere çanlar asılmak! Bu ne hal? Acaba dünya, kuruldu kurulalı böyle mezalim gördü mü?”

Such a high level of efficiency in the economy and the administration is due not only to sound decisions made in the areas of governance, international relations, and foreign alliances, but also to a very effective change brought about in the local government: in villages and city neighborhoods, significant powers have been granted to councils of elders, so much so that it could be termed a form of decentralization. As a result, the centralized bureaucracy has shrunk, taxes are collected in an efficient manner, and local issues are dealt with very effectively. (232)

To reprise our earlier point, the narrator's ancestor recommends the adoption of these measures – which have brought about this level of power and prosperity within four centuries – to the Turkey of 1913, suffering the recent blow of the Balkan War. A key element in this advice is the need for a leader. (200, 202) The Turks have no leader, no guide, to bring about their salvation. What they need to do is to join ranks behind a leader, and patiently work towards the right goal. The ancestor's advice does not merely remain theoretical, either: he urges the imams and elderly citizens of every neighborhood to gather together and instruct the people in patriotism. The government should take out money on loan and dole it out to the neighborhoods; the committees of elders should use this as capital to set up companies for merchants or artisans. If they follow even a quarter of this advice, the narrator's ancestor says, they will create a solid foundation for the future.

A Dream of Islamic Progress and Civilization depicts its imaginary ideal society with precise, highly intriguing details; attempts to explain the transition from today's world to the world of the future; gives a detailed account of certain practices unheard of in the age in which it was written; and aims to make its readers desirous of building a society like the one it portrays. In all these respects, it can be characterized as one of the most utopian narratives among similar works of its period. In terms of its content and ideology, it operates within the confines of fiction; proposes a program to revive a political and social system on the brink of disintegration and annihilation; makes us feel the effects of the severe trauma wrought by the Balkan War, which in 20th century historiography has been overshadowed by the First World War and, especially, the War of Independence; and evinces the desire for the future harbored at that moment of history, showing us the spectacle of an ideal Turkey, strong, rich, and with a large population.

5.3. An Optimistic Dream: “Thirty Years Later”

Another work composed during the Balkan War which provides a cross-section of Turkey’s future is the short narrative entitled “Thirty Years Later,” by Ali Kâmi [Akyüz, 1872-1945].³⁷⁹ The author came from a family of literati, being the son of the Trabzon poet Mehmet Behçet Bey, the brother of the poets İsmail Safa and Ahmet Vefa, and the paternal uncle of the author Peyami Safa; like many other Turkish writers, he was also a bureaucrat. Akyüz served in the Imperial Treasury, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Directorate of Post and Telegraph, in addition to working as a teacher and as a member of parliament (from 1939 to 1945). Although better known for his important translations of writers such as Goethe, Tolstoy, and Flaubert, he also published numerous poems and other writings.³⁸⁰



Illustration 26: Ali Kâmi Akyüz³⁸¹

The text which we will deal with in this thesis was published on May 2nd, 1913 (i.e., between the two phases of the Balkan War) in *İçtihat*. This text can be said to follow the old literary convention of the dream, while transforming it in the process: the narrator falls into a deep sleep, and while he does not have a dream in this case, the narrative has him awaken thirty years later. (1393) “Thirty Years Later” consists of the narrator’s impressions of what he sees and experiences upon awakening.

The narrative begins when the narrator falls asleep sometime after a peace agreement is reached. When the narrator wakes up thirty years later, i.e., in the mid-1940s, there are big and pleasant surprises in store for him. The first things to catch his

³⁷⁹ Ali Kami [Akyüz], “Otuz Sene Sonra” [Thirty Years Later], *İçtihat* [Jurisprudence] 64 (May 2nd, 1329 [1913]): 1393-1397.

³⁸⁰ Akyüz, Ali Kâmi, *Tanzimattan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* [An Encyclopedia of Literary Figures from the Tanzimat to the Present Day], Volume 1 (Istanbul: YKY, 2001), 66-67.

³⁸¹ Album of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, 1939, http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed 15.08.2014)

eye are airplanes, which have become an essential means of transportation, and can be seen on the roof of every house. (1393) Likewise, automobiles, electric trams, and “underground railways” (as metro lines are called) operate very speedily all over the city.

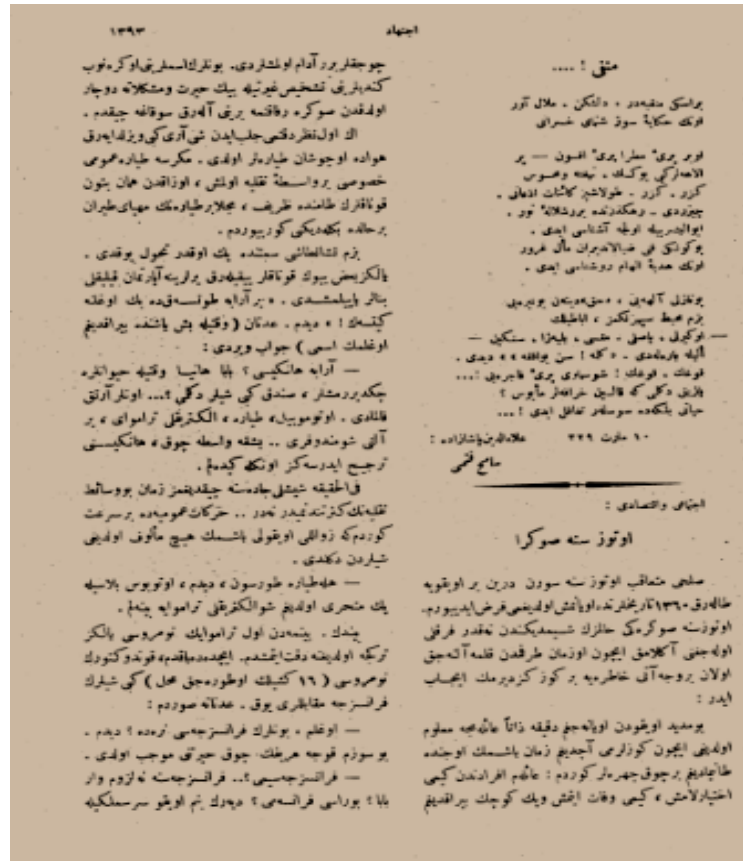


Illustration 27: The First page of “Thirty Years Later”³⁸²

The narrator then boards a tram; his impressions there provide the author with an opportunity to make one of the most significant propositions found in this piece. In this future Istanbul, the use of French – whose influence has insinuated itself into the marrow of everyday life in the author’s day, so much so as to make Turkey seem like a French colony – has been completely abandoned. At the same time, high school students have come to learn impeccable French, thanks to innovations in foreign language pedagogy. (1394)

A Love of Buildings

The neighborhood of Nişantaşı, where the narrator himself lives, has not changed very much, although he notices that some old mansions have been torn down and replaced with apartment buildings. As this text contains a positive vision of the

³⁸² (İçtihat, May 2nd, 1329 [1913]). Private collection (E.K.).

future, it can be inferred that the narrator approves of this change, even if he does not directly comment on it. As for Beyoğlu, it has been completely transformed. For one thing, the boundaries of the neighborhood have expanded to include Pangaltı and Şişli; open spaces like the Topçu Kışlası [Artillery Barracks] and Talimhane [Drillgrounds] Square have been razed and then filled with large, tall, densely-packed buildings.³⁸³ (1394) In another striking change in the city, the green hills stretching from Okmeydanı to Söğütözü have become covered with villas.

Later, the narrator boards a plane from the roof of a nine-storey building, and goes to Fatih, along with his son Adnan, who accompanies him on his journey. (1395) At the Gate of the Cake-sellers (one of the four entrances to the Fatih Complex, an important historical monument which includes the Fatih Mosque), there are “great big shopping malls, and five- and six-storey buildings.” Evidently, this love of construction has not only made inroads on green spaces, but also on historical monuments.

The bridge motif, which can be encountered in nearly all utopian texts, is present in this one as well. In this case, the narrator is not speaking of a bridge over the Bosphorus, but rather of innumerable bridges crossing the Golden Horn. It should be added that passage over all bridges is now free of charge.³⁸⁴ (1395)

Industry

Taking a tour of an “Islamic trading house,” which the author names “Ferdi & Co.” (in a reference to the 1896 novel of the same name, *Ferdi ve Şürekâsı*, by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil),³⁸⁵ (1396) Adnan gives his father information about Turkey’s economic development. He says that Turkey has far surpassed Europe in the textile industry. With electricity³⁸⁶ produced from waterfalls on the Sakarya River, factories have reduced

³⁸³ The Artillery Barracks were built in 1780, and then demolished in 1940 as part of a new urban plan for Istanbul prepared by the French architect Henri Prost. They were replaced by Gezi [Promenade] Park, one of the city’s most central, important green spaces. A plan to raze this park and recreate the Artillery Barracks (which would have included a shopping center, hotel, residence, museum, etc.) against the wishes of the local inhabitants was the take-off point for popular demonstrations in the summer of 2013, which spread to every part of Turkey. Already one of the few green spaces left in Istanbul, Gezi Park would have been removed in order to make way for construction yielding high profits. The above passage is significant in that it shows the historical origins of, and justifications for, the love of construction which is harbored in some circles today. Moreover, it is noteworthy how some phenomena which seem nightmarish to us today demonstrate just how highly prized they could be in the past, a paradox we have witnessed in many other examples in this thesis. While open, green spaces are very precious to us nowadays – at a time when we are overwhelmed by the number of buildings – such spaces were perceived as a sign of a backward, uncivilized society in the period in which this narrative was written.

³⁸⁴ As previously mentioned, the “bridge” controversy, which has been revived due to a third Bosphorus bridge currently under construction, represents a centuries-old aspiration; we have already discussed instances of bridges in texts like *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, and will also find such instances in *Ruşeni’nin Rüyası* [Ruşeni’s Dream], dealt with in a later chapter.

³⁸⁵ At the center of this novel is a company called “Ferdi & Co.” In the background to the story of the novel’s heroes are scenes concerning the birth of the Muslim Turkish bourgeoisie.

³⁸⁶ The author proposes that Turkey’s energy needs be met economically by building hydroelectric power plants on rivers. In doing so, he has highlighted a conflict which is currently

their energy costs, and have rendered Europe's old-fashioned machines – which cost millions of francs – obsolete. In this sense, Turkey can be regarded as lucky to have lagged behind; thanks to advances like this one, the country has not suffered the losses that Europe has.

Another big advantage possessed by Turkey is its inexpensive labor force. Factories pay women and children day-wages of three *kuruş*, thus greatly reducing their own expenses; they are then able to compete much more strongly against their European (and, in particular, English) rivals, and have driven many such rivals to bankruptcy.

Another important indicator of the level reached by Turkish industry is the “local automobile.”³⁸⁷ The narrator notices a car with the inscriptions “Ottoman-made” and “Ayastefanos Automobile Factory.” (1395) The author's high degree of optimism on this subject can be inferred from the manufacture date of the car: 1340 (1924). Even so, the narrator asks a pertinent question: seeing that all branches of industry need to be advanced in order to produce a car, how was this accomplished in such a short time?

Adnan's answer provides the secret to Turkey's development. Young people have studied for years in Europe and America; upon their return home, they have shared their knowledge of scientific and technological developments abroad. When one also factors in the investments made through “rich people's money,” i.e. private capital, it has understandably been fairly easy to attain this level of success.

Thus, in addition to the author's other concerns, there is also an emphasis on education in this text, but with one important nuance. Ali Kâmi states that education in his own day has remained entirely theoretical rather than practical. When a practical dimension is added to education, it will be a simple matter to produce a local automobile.

The Political System

I alluded earlier to the fact that democracy, in the Turkish utopian tradition, is hardly ever regarded as a political system conducive to national progress; authors of different political stripes have nearly all displayed utopian tendencies of an

ongoing, more than a hundred years after 1913. Hydroelectric plants, the object of Ali Kâmi Akyüz's aspirations, are currently being built by the hundreds. However, because hydroelectric plants deprive inhabitants of access to fresh water, and cause great harm to the natural environment, they have led to numerous local protests and demonstrations. “Thirty Years Later” thus provides an important piece of data on the historical roots of this mentality, in which notions of profit and industrialization have outweighed environmental and democratic concerns.

³⁸⁷ Although this piece is short and not very detailed, many of the author's predictions about the future are nonetheless on the mark. The issue of local automobile production is one example. The local brand of automobile known as Devrim [Revolution] was first produced in 1961, but never became mass-produced; nowadays, the question of producing “local automobiles” has had a prominent place on the agenda for the past few years. When we consider that this text was written a full 100 years ago, that the automotive sector has undergone sweeping changes in the interim, and that it is now debatable what the phrase “local automobile” even means, the continued existence of this aspiration in much the same form is quite interesting.

authoritarian/totalitarian nature. Likewise, in the last part of this work, the narrator addresses the political situation in 1940s Turkey, wondering what has become of the party rivalries of his own time. The narrator remarks that “as long as the Unionists strive against the Ententists, the Arabs against the Turks, the Turks against the Albanians, the soldiers against the civilians, the civilians against the imams, and the imams against everyone else – in other words, as long as all segments and classes of society try to undermine each other, this nation cannot advance.”³⁸⁸ (1396) In making this observation, the narrator adheres to a tradition which regards pluralist political systems as inherently chaotic, with a tendency to weaken one’s country; he also deduces that the development and progress which he has witnessed have been possible precisely due to the absence of such a pluralist system, with its attendant political rivalries. (1397)

Dystopia – Utopia

Ali Kâmi’s work features some of the main problems faced by today’s Istanbul and other big cities, such as a superfluity of bridges, excessive transportation density, a shortage of green spaces, over-construction, and the building of hydroelectric plants. Strikingly, the author represents such problems as positive aspirations. Military power, one of the main themes in texts of this period, is not directly addressed; however, the text deals extensively with the theme of wealth, in particular a kind of wealth which brings about the impoverishment of Europe. In this text, we do not encounter a discourse of direct hatred towards Europeans or the Balkan peoples. The author has merely expressed an indirect desire for revenge by depicting Europe in a state of impoverishment.

In similar fashion, a monist, authoritarian method of government – as in many other texts – is put forth as one of the fundamental traits of this imaginary Turkey.³⁸⁹ As long as the country avoids corruption-prone systems like democracy, abandons its Western aspirations, and implements a practical, healthy, modern system of education, it will be easy to attain this level of development.

After the author has seen 1940s Istanbul, he remarks, “Then I recalled the Balkan conflict in all its tragedy. Since that time, I wonder, what changes have taken place in the maps of Europe and Asia? I am extremely curious to know this.”³⁹⁰ The text offers no answer to this question. But it matters little; in a future in which Europe has become so impoverished, and Turkey has developed to such an extent, there is no

³⁸⁸ “İttihatçılarla İtilafçılar birbirini, Araplar Türkleri, Türkler Arnavutları, askerler sivilleri, siviller hocaları, hocalar bunların hepsini yani bir milletin bütün aksam ve sunûfu yekdiğerini batırmaya çalışırken o millet yükselmez,”

³⁸⁹ This is yet another reference to a debate which is currently ongoing today, i.e., debate about a regime change towards an authoritarian, totalitarian rule. In this age-old discussion, Ali Kami clearly favors authoritarianism over parliamentary democracy.

³⁹⁰ “O zaman bütün fecaatiyle Balkan muharebesini hatırladım. Acaba o zamandan beri Avrupa ve Asya haritalarında ne gibi tahavvûlat vücut bulmuştu? Bunu şiddetle merak ediyordum...”

need for anxiety, fear, or sorrow. It is enough for Turkey to accurately identify its strategic goals, and advance towards these goals in a spirit of national unity and brotherhood. Having said that, the author aims to show his readers how to overcome the Balkan tragedy and become a wealthy and powerful country again.

5.4. A “What If...” Scenario: “Colloquy under the Pines”

Another post-Balkan War work of literature with utopian characteristics is “Çamlar Altında Musahabe” (Colloquy under the Pines), by the famous poet and author Yahya Kemal (1884-1958).³⁹¹ This two-part work was published between 1913 and 1914. The first part is based on the notion that there is nothing inevitable about existing reality; although this reality has had the potential to develop historically in an entirely different (and greatly preferable) manner, conditions have forced it to assume its actual, undesirable state. The story can thus be said to contain an indirect wish that the mistaken choices of the past will not be repeated today. The second part, by contrast, takes place in the year 2187, projecting onto the future the principles laid out in the first part. Below, I will deal with both parts in order.



Illustration 28: Yahya Kemal³⁹²

Counterfactual History

The first part (89-96) is a “what if” scenario imagining a counterfactual sequence of events following the conquest of Istanbul. Defeating the Crusader army at Varna, Prince Mehmet, the son of Sultan Murat, loses his way on the plains of Thrace and meets Calchas,³⁹³ the prophet at the sanctuary of Apollo on the island of Delos [sic].³⁹⁴ Calchas tells him that he will find an old earthenware pot, and that he must take

³⁹¹ Yahya Kemal, “Çamlar Altında Musahabe I ve II” [Colloquy under the Pines I and II], *Aziz İstanbul* [Dear Istanbul] (Istanbul: Yahya Kemal Enstitüsü, 1974), 89–102.

³⁹² <http://bovu.net/nazimin-annesi-ve-yahya-kemal/> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

³⁹³ Calchas is one of the greatest seers and soothsayers in Greek mythology, especially known for helping the Greeks in the Trojan War.

³⁹⁴ The author has doubtless confused the island of Delos and the site of Delphi in mainland Greece, the latter being the actual site of the sanctuary of Apollo.

care not to break it or let the elixir inside spill out. The prince then relates this to Zağanos Mehmet Paşa, a courtier who is also a convert to Islam. The text states that Zağanos, who was a Byzantine who secretly remained loyal to the ancient Greek religion, and hated the Orthodox faith, converted to Islam and assisted the young prince in his conquest of the Byzantine Empire. Until Prince Mehmet becomes sultan, Zağanos Mehmet Paşa educates him in Greek and Roman culture, reading classical authors to him such as Plato, Plutarch, Theocritus, Sophocles, and Homer. In this way, he instills his pupil with a sense of this ancient Mediterranean civilization, which has become incorporated into the Byzantine city of Constantinople, founded by Emperor Constantine.

After the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmet locates those who are still loyal to the ancient Greek religion and are maintaining its ancient traditions. They acknowledge the sultan as the heir of Rome, and become Muslims. Upset by this, the members of the Byzantine church go to Italy, where they disperse all over the country, while the sculptors, painters, and architects in Istanbul – as well as those with a knowledge of Greek and Roman culture – become Muslims and remain in the city.

Up until that time, a general ignorance has prevailed among the Turks. These newly-converted Muslims translate works from Ancient Greek into Turkish; as a result, the Turkish language becomes richer and more capacious, a brilliant linguistic idiom freed of the influence of Persian and Arabic words. One or two centuries later, neighboring peoples – enchanted by the magic of this language – begin to speak Turkish as well. “Turkish poets” appear among the Italians, the French, the Germans, and the Spanish. Over time, Turkish historians, critics, linguists, philosophers, musicians, and scientists acquire more expertise. By contrast, countries like Italy, France, Germany, and Spain become more barbaric due to the influence of the Church. Students flock to Turkey – known throughout Europe as a center of learning – in droves, and most of them remain here as Muslims. They are trained at universities in Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Konya, Skopje, Belgrade, and Budapest. Among them are Erasmus, Copernicus, Montaigne, and Galileo. Most of them become Muslims, as well. The explorer Columbus, who is also educated here, discovers a land beyond the seas, which they name the Land of Islam.

The Turks dub this age – in which they have been freed from Asian Gnosticism, and have acquired analytical and synthetic habits of thought – the “Age of Awakening.” The key element in this awakening is Islam, for Islam is based on the principle of freedom, has reverence for learning, and is universal in nature.

One of the most gripping and controversial subjects in Ottoman history is the struggle for the throne between Beyazıt and Cem following the death of Mehmet the Conqueror. Beyazıt won out in the end, while Cem – after a long and arduous series of events – died in Europe. Beyazıt, a devoutly religious man, was not able to sustain the advances made by Mehmet the Conqueror, and there is a great deal of speculation about whether history would have taken a very different course if Cem had succeeded to the throne. In fact, in this part of the text, Beyazıt retires to a *zaviye* [Islamic monastery]

following the death of his father the sultan, and leaves the throne to his brother Cem. Cem then unites the Turkish race – which has spread out all over Asia – so that the Turkish homeland stretches from Nice to the foothills of the Alps, from Kazan in Russia all the way to India, from India to Gibraltar. As the barbarous kingdoms of the West are rife with ecclesiastical fanaticism, the only true civilization to be found on earth is now that of the Turks. Life in the Turkish nation is now “free, pure, and delectable.”

The other peoples living around have likewise been assimilated and become Turks. In speaking of the peoples who will be assimilated, the author is only referring to the Greeks and the Balkan Slavs, corresponding precisely to Turkey’s enemies in the Balkan War. The author himself is from Skopje. From other works of his, as well as from his memoirs, we know how deeply distraught he was at the loss of the lands of his birth as a result of the Balkan War. For example, in his poem “Kaybolan Şehir” [The Lost City], he writes as follows: “Once it was ours in our true fatherland. Why / Is Skopje no longer ours today? I feel this bitterly / The lost city, whose specter lingers in my heart / The sorrow of parting is deep within me.”³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the discourse of hatred and the desire for revenge which we encounter in other texts does not appear in this one. This is almost the only reference to the Balkan War and the Balkans. In fact, the author sees the root of the problem as lying in the past, sharing the view of Mustafa Nazım Erzurumi, who makes the following statement: “When our ancestors conquered the Balkans, they ought to have assimilated the people living there.”³⁹⁶

All of these events were possible thanks to the secret given to Mehmet the Conqueror by the priest of Apollo. However, the sultan spilled the elixir in this pot, and so history has instead unfolded in the manner with which we are familiar, far differently from what is narrated here.

A Shining Future

The second part of this work (97-102) is concerned with the future. Here, education is valued above all else. In the course of reading H.G. Wells’s novel *The Time Machine*, the narrator falls asleep, and then seeing that the year on his “time-meter” reads 2187, he turns off the machine. The first thing we see when he exits the machine is yet another manifestation of the centuries-old fascination with bridges. The bridge in this case is on the Golden Horn. The narrator sees this splendid bridge, which “no longer charges a toll,” as well as passenger planes flying above it. The city has changed beyond all recognition. In this narrative, the old city center of the historical peninsula – in particular, an avenue running between two spectacular squares in

³⁹⁵ Yahya Kemal, *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* [Our Own Dome of the Sky] (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989), 71-72: “Vaktiyle öz vatanda bizimken, bugün niçin? / Üsküp bizim değil? Bunu duydum için için / Kalbimde bir hayali kalıp kaybolan şehir / Ayrılmanın bıraktığı hicran derindedir.”

³⁹⁶ See *Rüyada Terakki*, 197.

Eminönü and Sarayburnu – comprises the heart of the city. From the New Mosque, which lies in the middle of the first square, all the way to Sarayburnu, one sees magnificent institutions like the Bank of the Islamic World, the Ottoman Public Gymnastic Pavilion, the Music Hall, the Pavilion of Teachers and Islamic Learning, the Deputies' Pavilion, the Governor's Pavilion, the Privy Council, and more. In this way, the author lays out his own priorities: the center of the city is occupied by institutions concerned with the economy, sports, music, education, and politics. In the second square, in Sarayburnu, there is a triumphal arch, surrounded by statues representing Ottoman victories from the beginning of the dynasty until the present day.

Here, the narrator meets the historian Mehmet Refik (the great-grandson of the historian Ahmet Refik), from whom he learns the 260-year history that has resulted in the current state of affairs. The patriots who deposed Abdülhamid were unable to find any solution to the country's problems, and wrestled with internal and external conflicts. In this moment of despair, one of them emerged as a patriotic leader. Identifying education as the root of the problem, they immediately set about restructuring the Ministry of Education from top to toe. The author concludes his story by stating that advances in education have changed every aspect of life, and that this has been the reason for society's development.

Immanent Utopia

As we have seen, the first part of the story takes place in the past, and the second part in the future, yet both parts endorse the same position. In the first part of the story, the author sees it as a mistake that Mehmet the Conqueror embraced the church in order to control his Orthodox subjects, causing many thinkers and intellectuals – such as Constantine Lascaris and John Argyropoulos – to flee to Italy, where they contributed to the development of the Renaissance. Yahya Kemal's story imagines what might have happened if Mehmet the Conqueror had done the opposite. Thus, the author's desire is for a racist, expansionist nationalism, manifested through phenomena such as the purification of Turkish, advances in science and the arts, the unification of Turks, and the assimilation of different peoples over a vast territory encompassing the majority of the known world, which has been conquered by the Ottomans. The author calls this the "Age of Awakening." The key factor in this awakening is a different interpretation of Islam, one which breaks its ties to Eastern Gnosticism and embraces modern science and rationality. Of course, this will only become possible through a different system of education. As in other texts, the themes of "awakening" and "progress" – with a Turkist-Islamist vision, albeit a more low-key one – predominate in "Colloquy under the Pines."

The second part of the work, which takes place in the future and has a direct message for the age in which it was written, likewise puts an emphasis on education. In this work of fiction, it is understood – even if not elaborated in much detail – that the Turks are once more the most powerful and wealthy country on earth. The work makes it clear that the Turkish nation – currently living through the darkest times in their

history following the disaster of the Balkan War – will be able to get back on their feet again by giving priority to education, with the aid of a guide to lead them and show them the way to salvation.

The second part of the work, which does not provide a detailed or original perspective of the future, seems to have been written in order to drive home the message in the first part. The first part, by contrast, is more detailed and more interesting. We do not often see the “what if” scenario – which furnishes ample scope for creativity and speculation – employed as it is here. For that reason, the text’s approach is an original one.

In order to position this approach, it may be useful to recall the concept of “immanent critique,” to which Hegel, Marx, and the Frankfurt School had recourse. This concept assumes that approaches which critique a phenomenon by way of specific external norms and criteria not contained in that phenomenon are thereby invalid. What needs to be done is to critique existing reality by getting to its roots, showing that “what is” also contains “what ought to be,” but that the latter only manifests itself under certain social and historical conditions, and demonstrating that this inherent “what ought to be” can be juxtaposed with existing reality as a goal.³⁹⁷ Utopias based on normative criticism can be described as “transcendent utopias,” while those based on immanent criticism can be termed “immanent utopias.” In this sense, unlike other works, Yahya Kemal’s “Colloquy under the Pines” can be seen as an “immanent utopia.” The basic assumption in this narrative is that the existing order possesses the dynamics which can make an ideal social order possible, and that this ideal order will emerge through the expunging of elements which currently are causing these dynamics to degenerate.

³⁹⁷ Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm, and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 21-43. As Benhabib has pointed out, both Hegel and Marx have performed an “immanent critique” of bourgeois civil society and the theories which legitimize it. The basis of this approach is to show that what appears to be a given is actually not a natural phenomenon at all, but rather a reality shaped by historical and social concerns.

5.5. First a Turanist, Then a Socialist: Ethem Nejat

This chapter will focus on the works of Ethem Nejat (1882-1921),³⁹⁸ whose short yet extraordinarily active life is a good example of the sort of experiences that could be had by an intellectual of this period. Moreover, the story of Nejat's life also indicates the extent to which certain ideologies which we encounter today in crystallized form were intertwined during his own era.



Illustration 29: Ethem Nejat³⁹⁹

Nejat began his career as an educator, teaching in Balkan cities like Ellassona (in present-day Greece) and Manastır (Bitola, in the present-day Republic of Macedonia). His career as a writer began in 1908, with his writings taking the Turkist-Turanist line prevalent among those associated with the journal *Türk Yurdu*. Nejat participated in the Balkan War as a volunteer – along with a group of student scouts – and was taken captive by the Serbs. During the First World War, he traveled to Germany, where he took an interest in socialism, and was drawn to the German Spartacists. He later returned to Turkey in order to take part in the National Struggle, publishing the journal *Kurtuluş* [Liberation] and founding the Workers' and Farmers' Party of Turkey. Subsequently, he went to Baku to join the followers of Turkish communist leader Mustafa Suphi. This group was eventually invited to Turkey by Atatürk; on the way,

³⁹⁸ The author's year of birth is subject to some difference of opinion; one can find different dates such as 1882, 1883, and 1887.

³⁹⁹ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/22/Ethem_Nejat.png/250px-Ethem_Nejat.png (Accessed 15.08.2014)

they were murdered in Trabzon by Yahya Kahya (the head of the boatmen's guild and a prominent CUP boss in Trabzon), on January 28th-29th, 1921.



Illustration 30: Ethem Nejat (middle), Mustafa Suphi (right)⁴⁰⁰

The works which we will examine here consist of the narratives published as separate books entitled *Yiğit Türkler* [The Heroic Turks]⁴⁰¹ and *Çiftlik Müdürü* [The Farm Overseer]⁴⁰². The stories take place in the future, taking agricultural development as the basis of Turkey's future, and depicting a Turkist fantasy.

Before we start analyzing these works, it is worth mentioning Ethem Nejat's two other works that lay the theoretical grounds for the future perspective reflected in the stories. The first one is his "Happy Village" project.⁴⁰³ This project was presented in a serialized article written by Nejat along with his friend Osman Ferit [Uyguç] for the journals *Yeni Fikir* [The New Idea] and *Toprak* [The Land]. Spurred on by the problem of settling refugees from the Balkan War, Nejat and Uyguç designed an ideal Turkish village, envisioning it as the basis for the country's development. Secondly, in his book *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods]⁴⁰⁴, Nejat lays out his political views, promoting the Turkist ideology from the standpoint of education. All of the above four works were written in 1913, and were published one after another immediately following the Balkan War. In a sense, *The*

⁴⁰⁰

<http://kansudan.blogspot.com.tr/2013/04/rosa-luxemburg-ve-turk-spartakistler.html>
(Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴⁰¹ Ethem Nejat, *Yiğit Türkler* [The Heroic Turks] (Istanbul: Çiftçi Kütüphanesi, 1329 [1913]).

⁴⁰² Ethem Nejat, *Çiftlik Müdürü* [The Farm Overseer] (Istanbul: Yeni Turan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]).

⁴⁰³ Faruk Öztürk draws attention to the resemblances between Nejat's project and Owen's projects called "Villages of Cooperation" and "Plan," which he tried to realize in the town of New Lanark. Faruk Öztürk, "Türk Düşüncesinde Bir Ütopya: 'Mesut Köy'" [A Utopia in Turkish Thought: the 'Happy Village'], *Bilim ve Ütopya* [Science and Utopia] 187 (January 2010): 49-50.

⁴⁰⁴ Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods] (Istanbul: Yeni Turan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]). There exists a Latin-script edition of Nejat's book: Ethem Nejat, *Türklük Nedir ve Terbiye Yolları* [What is Turkishness? Educational Methods], ed. Faruk Öztürk (Istanbul: Kızıl Elma Yayıncılık, 2001).

Heroic Turks and *The Farm Overseer* are works which aim to flesh out the principles set forth in the non-fictional texts discussed above, through a process of literary montage, in order to express a utopian vision of the future. Below, we will examine these works, in order to reveal the content of Nejat's utopia.

The Farm Overseer

Nejat's *The Farm Overseer*, written in 1913, is the first book in a series entitled *Terbiyevî Hikâyeler Külliyyatı* [A Collection of Instructive Tales]. The events in the book take place in Konya in the years between 1349 and 1355 in the Rumi calendar – i.e., roughly between 1933 and 1940. The author is thus narrating events occurring 20-30 years after the date of composition.

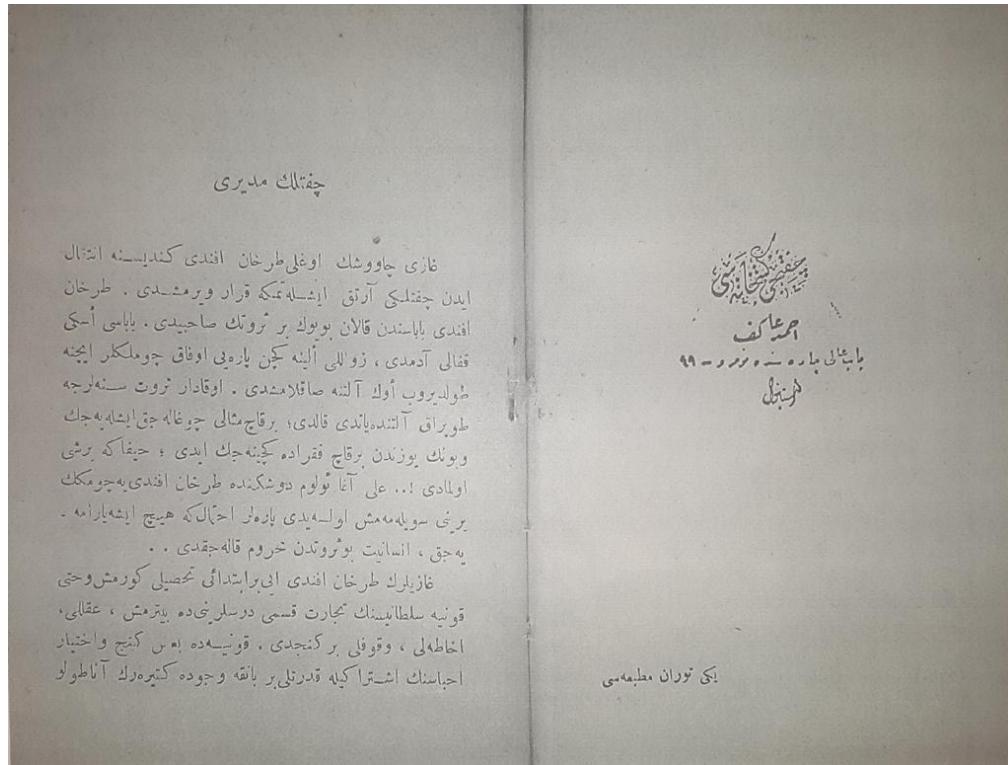


Illustration 31: The first page of *The Farm Overseer*⁴⁰⁵

The main character, Turhan Efendi, inherits a large fortune from his father, as well as a farm of 500 hectares; he decides to take on the management of this farm. Although he has only received a primary school education, Turhan Efendi is an entrepreneur who has even founded a bank in Konya. Desiring to emulate the lords and rich people he has seen on a visit to England, he wishes to work during the daytime, and to lead a rural life on his farm in the evening. To that end, he decides to find an overseer for the farm,

⁴⁰⁵ Private collection (E.K.)

writing a letter to the “Executive Office for Employment,”⁴⁰⁶ and putting ads in the newspapers. Nothing comes of these efforts; for the past five years, everyone has flocked around these experts, and they now administer all plots of land. Finally, Turhan Efendi receives an application in response to an ad he has placed in the largest agricultural journal of its day, *Toprak* [The Land],⁴⁰⁷ which has a circulation of 300,000. (6-7) The applicant for the position is Bayezit Ferit, a young graduate of an agricultural college.

This text has been conceived as an exchange of letters between Bayezit Ferit and his friend Tokuz Akif. The latter, the son of an author and journalist, is the manager of a journal called *Çiftlik* [The Farm]; as for Bayezit Ferit, he has been partly named after Osman Ferit [Uyguç], the closest friend and colleague of Ethem Nejat. The fathers of these two protagonists are friends with one another; in other words, the author has imagined Tokuz and Bayezit Ferit as the children of himself and his friend. In this sense, the text follows the “ideal youth / ideal child” line of utopian literature.

Bayezit Ferit’s journey to Konya provides clues – brief though they may be – about what Anatolia will be like in the future. For instance, in the “Great Turan Hotel” where he stays upon arriving in Konya, the entire staff – from the most menial positions up through the top management – is Turkish; everyone also speaks a number of foreign languages. (12) Moreover, as will be seen below, transportation and logistical infrastructure play a very important role in the author’s vision of the future in *The Heroic Turks*. Here too – as in nearly every text considered in this study – we are treated to a vision of the Bosphorus Bridge, known in this case as the “Sarayburnu-Üsküdar Bridge.” (9) In addition, there is a high-speed train known as the “Anatolian Fast Train”⁴⁰⁸, which not only traverses Anatolia, but also travels along the Persian Gulf all the way to India. Air transportation has also become very practical; people can board planes from stops in front of their own houses, just like bus stops. (21) At the same time – unlike the bare Anatolian countryside of the past – not a single centimeter of land lies fallow in the areas where the train passes through; crops have been planted everywhere. People’s physique has improved, as well: now, the fields are worked by tall, well-built young Turkish women, with red cheeks and healthy-looking faces. (10)

At this point, we are given a brief account of this future history. The starting-point for this process of “awakening” was the Balkan War:

The liveliness and joyfulness which pleased us all undoubtedly betokened a great national awakening. As you know, the Balkan War increased in us the desires and ambitions that are found a nation

⁴⁰⁶ The *İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu* [Labor Exchange] was founded in Turkey in 1946; Nejat envisions its existence in 1913.

⁴⁰⁷ This can be taken as an instance of “wishful thinking” on the author’s part concerning his own journal *Toprak*, which he began publishing in 1913.

⁴⁰⁸ The realization of this dream has not been as successful as that of the Bosphorus Bridge. High-speed train projects have only recently come to life in hubs in the nearer parts of Western Anatolia, such as Konya, Eskişehir, and Ankara.

wishing to survive; these national goals and ambitions were based on a belief that Turkey will only advance through agriculture and economics. Our youths have become farmers; enrollment in our agricultural colleges is full; and students are pouring into agricultural colleges in Europe. What's more, you know that in his own day my father was the lead writer for the newspaper "....."; they had a strong, wholesome influence on young people's emerging love of agriculture. The awakening which began thirty years ago filled the villages and farms of Anatolia with young scientifically-minded farmers. At first, the villagers were taken aback by the new machines. These Turkish villagers are quite youthful-minded and progressive by nature; when they saw everything at first hand and understood how easy it was to use – and received invaluable guidance from these youths – they happily accepted the new farm tools and machines.⁴⁰⁹ (11)

Bayezit Ferit comes to an agreement with Turhan Efendi, and is given the job; with the aid of books he has people send him from America, he carries out a splendid five-year project. Bayezit Ferit sells his old imported tools and buys local products. He also constructs workers' dormitories with Turkish-style architecture; houses in the neighboring villages will later be built according to the same plans. He gets on well with the neighboring villagers, and forms a partnership with them; he has transportation carried out by locomotives instead of animals; and he purchases some tractors. His most radical move is bringing electricity to the farm; this causes all the work to be mechanized, maximizing output and thus profit. Moreover, this does not lead to a decrease in employment, but an increase. Now, instead of merely practicing primitive grain cultivation, his farm has progressed to agriculture-based industrialization. In addition, Bayezit Ferit sets up a school so that the children of farmers can learn. The school instills the following principle in its students: "Life is lived for the sake of the nation. People have come into this world in order to serve and sacrifice themselves for the nation – and for no other reason."⁴¹⁰ Alongside their love of agriculture, the students are brought up as little soldiers, with daily shooting drills. (33)

After the infrastructure has thus been put in place, a transformation can be observed in many areas. Bayezit Ferit takes up insect cultivation. He plants a vine of red grapes, aiming to open a wine factory; he opens a scientific dairy, as well. He

⁴⁰⁹ "Hepimizi sevindiren zindelik, şenlik şüphesiz ki, büyük milli intibahın yadigârıdır. Biliyorsunuz ki Balkan Harbi yaşamak isteyen bir millette hasıl olan arzuları, emelleri bizde yükseltti; milli emeller, gayeler arkasında, dendi ki: Bu yurt ancak ziraatı, iktisadiyatı sayesinde yükselir. Gençler çiftçi oldular, ziraat mektepleri doldu, Avrupa ziraat mekteplerine talebeler yağdı. Hatta bilirsin ki benim babam o vakit '...' gazetesinde sermuaharrirdi; onların gençler arasında ziraat aşkının doğmasında büyük, faziletli bir tesiri oldu. Otuz sene evvel başlayan intibah Anadolu köylerini, çiftliklerini mütefennin çiftçi gençlerle doldurdu. Köylüler makineleri hayretlerle karşıladılar. Fıtraten pek genç ve terakkiperver olan Türk köylüleri kolaylığı yakından görünce, anlayınca ve gençlerin pek kıymetli irşatlarına mazhar olunca yeni çiftçi alet ve makinelerini memnuniyetle kabul ettiler."

⁴¹⁰ "Hayat vatan içindir. İnsanlar vatana hizmet ve fedakârlık eylemek için dünyaya gelmişlerdir, başka bir şey için değil."

expands and reorganizes his vegetable gardens. The resulting products are transported in refrigerated vehicles to other cities, where they are sold; they are even exported abroad. He also becomes involved in bee-keeping, and starts a honey business. Within five years, the farm becomes a sizeable operation.

In observing the advances made on the farm, we also witness an overall picture of agriculture-based development in Turkey thirty years into the future. First of all, society's perception of the farming profession – formerly held in disdain – has changed; it has become a popular career choice. A friend of the narrator's works as a manager on a farm in Austria, while other friends of his purchase plots of land in Yemen, setting up an agricultural colony there. Moreover, the Turks have made great advances in the production of agricultural machines, which they also export; all the innovations in this field have been fully utilized. (17, 23) Along with Tokuz's books and his model laboratory, his newspaper *Çiftçi* [The Farmer] – thanks to the wealth of information which it provides – becomes a source of intellectual capital for these advances. (20)

Thus, the future imagined by Nejat is a quite bright and secure. (34) Children study subjects like gardening, canning, dairy production, machine production, electrics, farming, and bee-keeping. When they become properly trained, they will be able to carry out these tasks in a more professional manner, allowing society to develop more systematically.

The Heroic Turks

The Heroic Turks is the second book in the series known as *A Collection of Instructive Tales*, immediately following *The Farm Overseer*. The text consists of three sections giving details about Nejat's vision of the future; the first of these sections focuses on an event called "Heroes' Day," which could be likened to a kind of Turkish Olympiad. The event takes place in the city known as "The Golden Tent," understood to be the capital of the future Turkish empire. This crowded, magnificent city is located in the middle of Anatolia; nothing like it can be found in America, the Far East, or anywhere else, and its brilliant monuments are a reflection of Turkey's brilliant future. (3)

The author puts particular emphasis on the city's logistical capabilities. Electric railways operate from The Golden Tent to the Persian Gulf; to Erzurum and the Black Sea; to Istanbul, the Balkans, and Izmir; to the great Silver Dock in the Gulf of Iskenderun; and to Damascus, the Hejaz, and Yemen. Electric trams and airplanes constitute an indispensable part of the transportation system; other elements in this perfectly functioning system include "air trains,"⁴¹¹ "swinging vehicles which slide down a cable,"⁴¹² trams, cars, balloons, underground roads, and "sliding pavements."⁴¹³ (4-5)

⁴¹¹ Unless the author is referring to trains which run on top of viaducts, he presumably means trains which travel through the air like blimps.

⁴¹² I.e., cable cars.

The “millions” of visitors who come for the games are full of excitement as they tour the city, which is full of mosques with lofty domes; great imposing buildings; schools built in the Turkish architectural style; the great dome of the University,⁴¹⁴ surrounded by smaller “baby” domes; assembly-places with wide eaves, decorated with Turkish arches; and physical education centers. (5)

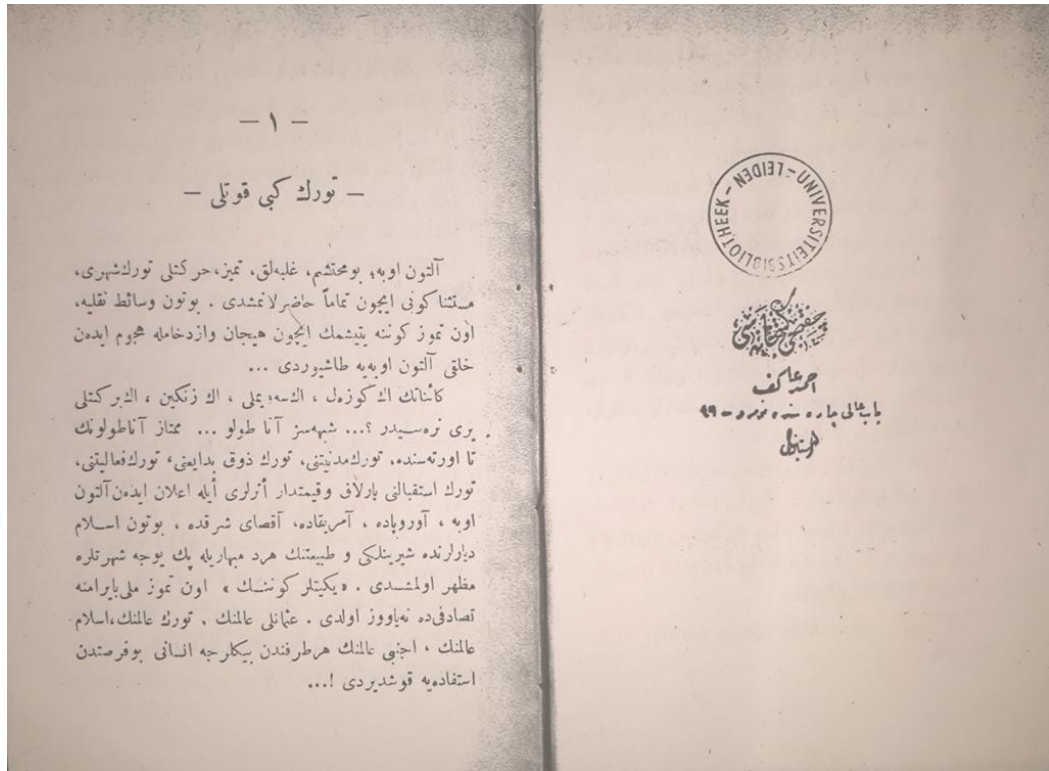


Illustration 32: The first page of *The Heroic Turks*⁴¹⁵

Everyone in this marvellous city is excited about two events: National Day⁴¹⁶ on July 10th, and “Heroes’ Day,” which occurs at the same time this year. A band known as the “Turkish Brass Band” adds to the excitement. This band, which very much resembles the classical *Mecher* band, does not perform Western music, but features only classical Turkish instruments such as the *zurna* [clarinet], *ney* [flute], *kaval* [shepherd’s pipe], *boru* [bugle], *zil* [bells], *kudüm* [small twin drums], *nekkâre* [small twin drums, similar

⁴¹³ I.e., moving walkways.

⁴¹⁴ As of 2014, Istanbul possessed 49 universities, apart from military academies and vocational colleges. It is interesting that almost all of the texts in the present study feature an ideal city with only one university (with the exception of *Ruşeni’s Dream* in which there are two), and that the notion of there being more than one has never occurred to the authors. A university is apparently understood as an institution of which there can only be one per city (like a governor’s office or city hall).

⁴¹⁵ Private collection (E.K.)

⁴¹⁶ In 1909, the Constitutional Revolution of July 10th [July 23rd], 1908 began to be celebrated as the Ottoman Empire’s sole national holiday. After the establishment of the Republic, it continued to be celebrated until its abolition in May 1935. The author predicts that – notwithstanding the Balkan Catastrophe – this day will still be celebrated in the future as the country’s biggest national holiday.

to the *kudüm*], and *davul* [large drum]; it performs songs which stir up nationalist feelings. Indeed, the author states that the national anthem evokes sentiments of martial valor, patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice. (7)

The sporting events at these games are different from those found at normal Olympic games. In the horse-race known as the “Sultan’s Course,” Turkish, English, American, and Arab jockeys participate alongside eight Ottoman princes. While only the Heroic Turks take part in the ten-hour-long endurance race, the footrace is host to an age-old rivalry between university students from Istanbul and those from The Golden Tent. In the Turkish-style wrestling event, the dominance of wrestlers from Turkey is unchallenged. The races involving bicycles, motorcycles, sail-powered bicycles, and flying bicycles⁴¹⁷ are also very entertaining. Another event consists of a battle in which the contestants – equipped with slings and catapults – pelt each other with rocks. This contest – in which 15 athletes are injured – attracts much attention, and is recorded on film in order to be shown in Europe. The contest which receives the most attention, however, is the jereed⁴¹⁸ match. The love between Günseli and Oğuz, who compete fiercely in this contest, will constitute the main topic of the second and third parts of the text.

Before addressing these second and third parts, however, it will be useful to discuss the organization known as the “Heroic Turks” – after which the text is named – in more detail. The Heroic Turks compete in the games along with members of the organization known as the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*].⁴¹⁹ Unlike the Turkish Might, which actually existed, the Heroic Turks are an invention of the author.⁴²⁰ The latter

⁴¹⁷ A vehicle which is operated by turning pedals, and which rises half a meter to two meters above the ground.

⁴¹⁸ A traditional Turkish javelin game played outdoors on horseback. For the history and description of this game, see “Turkish Jereed (Javelin)”, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN.35103/the-game-of-jereed.html> (accessed 27.11.2014).

⁴¹⁹ Following the Balkan Catastrophe, the Union and Progress Party decided to implement the doctrine set forth in the 1883 book *Das Volk in Waffen* [The Nation in Arms, translated into Turkish as *Millet-i Müsellaha* (trans. Mehmet Tahir, İstanbul: Ebuzziya Matbaası, 1884)], written by Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz (known as “Goltz Paşa”). To that end, the Union and Progress Party had various paramilitary organizations set up in March of 1913; one of these was the *Türk Gücü Cemiyeti* [Turkish Might Society], among whose founders was Ethem Nejat. The Turkish Might and similar organizations aimed to prepare the younger generations for war, to make physical education more widespread, and to bring about the militarization of education. For more information on such organizations, see Sanem Yamak Ateş, *Asker Evlatlar Yetiştirmek: II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi’nde Beden Terbiyesi, Askeri Talim ve Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri* [Raising a Generation of Soldiers: Physical Education, Military Drills, and Paramilitary Youth Organizations in the Second Constitutional Period] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012). For more on how these policies were reflected in the Republican period, see Yiğit Akın, *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet’te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor* [A Robust, Resolute Generation: Physical Education and Sports in the Early Republic] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), and Demet Lüksülü, *Türkiye’de Gençlik Miti (1980 Sonrası Türkiye Gençliği)* [The Myth of Youth in Turkey (Turkish Youth in the Post-1980 Era)] (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009).

⁴²⁰ The journal *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland] reported that an association known as the *Yiğit Türkler Ocağı* [Hearth of the Heroic Turks] was founded in Konya in 1916 for the purpose of promoting physical education. Mehmet Salih Erkek states that this association probably took its name from Nejat’s story. See Mehmet Salih Erkek, *Bir Meşrutiyet Aydını: Ethem Nejat 1887-1921* [An Intellectual of the Constitutional Period: Ethem Nejat, 1887-1921] (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2012), 67.

can be understood to be a paramilitary youth organization: “The Heroic Turks are an association devoted to physical education and military training, with a branch in every part of the Turkish world.” (12) The text mentions different branches of the organization in different cities. One can get an idea of how the author conceives the borders of the Turkish world when one considers that the Heroic Turks have branches not only in Istanbul, Izmir, Erzurum, Diyarbakır, Trabzon, and other Anatolian cities, but also in Azerbaijan, Bukhara, Kazan, Mongolia, Siberia, and the Crimea. It seems that the Balkan War is once more the great rupture that shapes the future course of events in this book. In the happy future of *The Heroic Turks*, cities which were lost during the war, such as Salonica, Edirne, and Manastır (Bitola), have been reclaimed, and are now named *Hür Yurt* [Free Homeland], *Koca Emel* [Great Ambition], and *Kızıl Tepe* [Red Hill], respectively. (12)

28,000 Heroic Turks from all of these branches attend the competitions, being divided into battalions. In the Heroic Turks’ Preparatory Battalion, made up of children aged 12 to 17, there are no puny, listless children, such as used to be found in Istanbul; the children are all tall and broad-chested. Those between the age of 17 and military age make up the Youth Battalion – a veritable battalion of giants. The Lads’ Battalion, consisting of those who have completed their military service, is made up of young men who are slightly older in age, but still very robust. Moreover, both the Turkish Might and the Heroic Turks have women’s branches. The girls in these branches do not laze about like harem girls behind a screen; each one of them is like a soldier. (13-15) One of these girls is Günseli.

The education received by Günseli and Oğuz in the second part of the text provides clues as to the author’s notion of an ideal system of education; in fact, this is one of the most original parts of the entire work. Here, Nejat’s vision is not limited to the existing advanced state of education found in the West during this period. Rather, in accordance with the author’s vision, Oğuz’s father wants to raise his son to be strong and powerful, with a desire for revenge. This is his “ideal”; he believes that it will not be achieved through wishes alone, but only if his child is inculcated with a desire for revenge through systematic training.

While Oğuz’s intellectual training is being carried out in this manner, his physical education continues under his mother’s supervision. Oğuz does not go to school until the age of 12 or 13, and only reads books for two hours a day. The rest of his time is spent plowing the fields, using a harvester, driving a cart, rowing, fishing and hunting birds, doing woodworking, playing the *kaval*, and singing. Moreover, a few times a year he travels within Turkey and abroad, visiting factories, mines, and centers of science and learning. (20)

His father later sends him to an open-air school where he is trained as a farmer. (In referring to this school as the “happy school,” the author is no doubt alluding to his own “Happy Village” project.) The chief values inculcated in this mixed-sex school are those of fatherland, nation, work, and honor.

Günseli's education is based on similar principles. Her father, through eugenic techniques, has turned cattle weighing 100-150 kilograms into 1000-kilogram bulls over three generations; he believes that the same methods will prove beneficial to human beings, adopting this Social Darwinist approach in his daughter's upbringing. His goal is to produce vigorous offspring, full of a desire for revenge, within a few generations.

Accordingly, Günseli is raised in the countryside. She loves to shoot birds with her double-barreled rifle, to fly around in her plane, and to swim in the sea. The teachers chosen by her father do not assign her many books; she only likes to read books on recent Turkish history. The sections of those books describing Turkey's decline are quite upsetting to Günseli, and make her very sad; this in turn gives rise to a desire for revenge on her part. (22) Interestingly, the author presents an alternative method of revenge carried out by Günseli: she sometimes quells the fires of vengeance by going deep into the forest and killing animals with her double-barreled rifle; similarly, she sometimes "stands in front of the corn-granulator and spends hours feeding stalks of corn into the teeth of the machine"; "in this way," the author writes, "she takes her revenge..."⁴²¹ (23) Atypically, passages like these suggest the possibility of satisfying one's desire for revenge, not by savagely killing one's enemies, but by contributing to national progress.

Günseli goes to the same school as Oğuz, her true goal being to learn dairy production and home economics; alongside these subjects, she has an opportunity to learn horseback riding, hunting, jereed, rowing, and sailing. She is, moreover, quite good at all of these, and often competes against Oğuz. After the competition recounted in the first section of the work, the two fall in love with each other, and get married.

The third section of the book takes place a few years later. The couple now has a son named Turgut and a daughter named Nilüfer. A war breaks out in this section, giving an opportunity for Oğuz and Günseli to display the training they have received. The enemy is not, as one might expect, the Balkan States, but rather a power which – it is implied – is their patron: Russia, the "great, murderous enemy." War breaks out when the Russians turn the land of Turan into a bloodbath, cruelly oppressing the Turks. Günseli and Oğuz thus have a chance to satisfy their longing for revenge, one which they have harbored since childhood.

First of all, they make large monetary contributions to the war effort. The Turkish Might and the Heroic Turks are already structured like individual armies – thus, it is a simple matter for each to be transformed into an actual fighting force. Oğuz and Günseli both serve in these armies; in the end, Oğuz gives his life in order to capture a strategically critical location. At that point, the war is won, and the Turks are saved and freed from the Russians. Upon hearing that Oğuz has died in this manner, his

⁴²¹ "mısır taneleyen makinenin başına geçerek makinenin dişlerine mısır koçanlarını tevdi etmekle saatlerle çalışır... İntikam böyle de alınır..."

father is pleased that his son has attained his “ideal”; Günseli is likewise happy that her husband has become a model of heroism for young people. (29-31)

In 1918, the Ministry of Education sent Nejat to Germany to do research; there, he met the Social Democrats and Spartacists, as a result of whose influence he adopted a socialist worldview. As we have seen, Nejat had previously been an intellectual who tended more towards Turkism and idealism. The subjects on which Nejat focused the most during this period were the need for a national ideal, reform in education, and agriculture-based development projects. Of the works referred to in this thesis, the book *What is Turkishness? Educational Methods* and the “Happy Village” project lay out the principles Nejat adopted on these subjects, while the works *The Farm Overseer* and *The Heroic Turks* choose to illustrate these principles by means of literature, expressing their utopian vision in this manner. It is significant that these four works were published in the same year, i.e., in 1913, the year of the Balkan Catastrophe. Indeed, the deep scars left by the agonizing consequences of the Balkan War are apparent in Nejat’s vision. For this reason, these works feature elements like an attempt at nationalist social engineering, the need for a guide, a desire for revenge, and the militarization of society. Nonetheless, these entirely unknown stories, in embodying the ideas to which Nejat dedicated his life, represent a highly original approach.

5.6. Celal Nuri in the Context of Westernism

The focus of this chapter will be Celal Nuri [İleri]'s work and his ideological stance with regard to Westernization. However, since he is a member of the movement known as Westernism, a brief discussion of this movement will be useful in order to contextualize Celal Nuri's writings.



Illustration 33: Celal Nuri İleri⁴²²

Concepts like “the West” and “Westernization” are among the key elements in a comprehensive Ottoman Turkish modernization project which occurred during the 19th and 20th centuries. All of the ideological approaches that emerged during this period contained an attempt to come to terms with such concepts. Throughout this period, different attitudes towards these concepts were reflected in the fields of politics, society, culture, and literature. Several texts which we examined earlier – the “Green Homeland” project of the authors of the *Servet-i Fünun* movement, as well as Ali Kemal's *Fetret* – need to be considered in this context.

At the end of the Second Constitutional period, the movement advocating Westernization came to be known as *Garpçılık* [Westernization], and the representatives of this movement as *Garpçılar* [The Westernizers].⁴²³ What made the

⁴²² <http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/koleksiyon/celal-nuri-ileri-photo-resna-65293528> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴²³ Şükrü Hanioğlu, “Batıcılık” [Westernism], *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Turkey from the *Tanzimat* to the Republic], v.5 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1382. For more on Westernism, see *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 3: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*

Garpçılar's stance different from that of previous eras was their advocacy of a more systematic, comprehensive Westernization, one which included the areas of morality and culture; this was quite unlike the selective, synthetic approach which had favored borrowing science/technology from the West, while preserving Eastern ("our") religion/morality/traditions. Accordingly, the *Garpçılar*'s main target was Islam. This phenomenon of targeting the Islamic religion had also become familiar to the public to a large extent, through Abdullah Cevdet's translation into Turkish of Reinhard Dozy's work *Voornaamste Godsdiensten: Het Islamisme* [The Main Religions: Islamism], with its critical and antagonistic approach towards Islam.⁴²⁴ The *Garpçılar* sought to jettison the aspects of Islam which hindered progress, and to create an ethics which was independent of Islam.

During this period, three names in particular stand out as the leaders of this movement: Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ, 1869-1932], Kılıçzade Hakkı [Kılıçoğlu, 1872-1960], and Celal Nuri [İleri, 1881-1938]. These intellectuals produced works laying out their own views, sometimes in different and sometimes in the same organs of the press. However, as an instance of a shared ideological platform, the journal *İctihat* – which Abdullah Cevdet published in various cities, with interruptions, from 1904 to 1932 – deserves special mention.

Even before the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, Abdullah Cevdet⁴²⁵ was already producing works which reflected his future-oriented outlook. In Cevdet's fantasy (again, in the form of a dream) entitled *Mahkeme-i Kübra* [The Great Court],⁴²⁶ Abdülhamid II is judged before historical personalities such as Caliph Omar and Sultan Selim I; the author's goal in writing this work was to show the right path to people by displaying the faults of Abdülhamid's repressive regime. His *Uyanınız! Uyanınız!* [Awaken! Awaken!]⁴²⁷ deals with the theme of awakening, one which has been frequently encountered in this thesis. Another prominent member of the *Garpçılar*, Kılıçzade Hakkı, produced numerous works in support of the movement. Hakkı often made the argument that Islam had been incorrectly interpreted, and that this was the main reason for Turkey's backwardness. In particular, his essays and short stories (e.g. "Dinsizler" [The Faithless Ones] and "Yunus Hoca" [Yunus the Teacher])

[Political Through in Modern Turkey, Volume 3: Modernization and Westernism] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002); Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Garbcılar: Their Attitudes toward Religion and Their Impact on the Official Ideology of the Turkish Republic," *Studia Islamica*, No. 86 (1997), 133-158.

⁴²⁴ Reinhart Dozy, *De Voornaamste Godsdiensten: Het Islamisme* [The Main Religions: Islamism] (Haarlem, 1863). Abdullah Cevdet translated this book into Turkish from its French edition (*L'essai sur L'Histoire de L'Islamisme* [An Essay on the History of Islam], trans. Victor Chauvin (Paris, 1879)).

⁴²⁵ For a study of Abdullah Cevdet, see Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* [A Political Thinker: Doctor Abdullah Cevdet and His Era] (Istanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981).

⁴²⁶ This book was first printed in lithograph in Paris in 1896; it was later re-published in Cairo in 1908. For the fascinating tale of adventure surrounding this banned book, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalar*, 106-110.

⁴²⁷ Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ], *Uyanınız! Uyanınız!* [Awaken! Awaken!] (Cairo: Matbaa-i İctihat, 1907).

in his book *İtikadât-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harp*⁴²⁸ [A Declaration of War upon Obsolete Beliefs], which was published during the Balkan War, support this viewpoint of his.

Hakkı's letter to Celal Nuri, which was published in *İctihat* under the title "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku" [A Very Vigilant Sleep],⁴²⁹ can be read as a statement of the *Garpçılar*'s Westernization program concerning the state administration, religion, women, education, economy, national defense and the like. Stressing the importance of this text, Hanioglu states that the majority of the ideas it lays out were realized during the Republican period, and that it therefore served as a road-map for the reformers of the Turkish Republic.⁴³⁰ This text, too, has been composed in the form of a dream, thus being linked to the classical tradition of the dream narrative which we have seen employed in many other texts. Another important aspect of this text from the standpoint of the present study is that it was published in February-March 1913 – i.e., while the Balkan War was raging, and the catastrophe of that war was still being experienced. Hakkı himself was of Balkan origin, having been born in the Serbian city of Niš, and the marks left by the Balkan Catastrophe are quite conspicuous in this work. Hakkı's program of modernization contains measures which were quite radical in their own time. Having been greatly influenced by the feeling of defeat brought about by the Balkan War, his program expresses the need for a wide-scale mobilization of society, in order to take revenge on the country's enemies.

Now we can focus on the main subject of this chapter, namely Celal Nuri and his work. Like many of the authors dealt with in the present study, Nuri was of Balkan origins; his father, Mustafa Nuri Bey, was from Crete, and was a member of the Ottoman Senate. Nuri's mother, Nefise Hanım, was from Albania, the daughter of Abidin Paşa, who had once served as Minister of Foreign Affairs.⁴³¹ Thus, as we will see, Nuri's sensitivity to the Balkan Catastrophe can be explained, to a certain extent, by his family origins. Nuri was a Member of Parliament in the last Ottoman Chamber of Deputies; he subsequently lent his support to the National Struggle, and was a deputy in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for its first four terms.

However, it would be more accurate to term Nuri a journalist, author, and intellectual, rather than a politician. In his relatively short life, Nuri was a highly productive author, publishing around 50 books and 2444 articles.⁴³² He began his career as an author after 1908, publishing the majority of his books during and after the

⁴²⁸ Kılıçzade Hakkı, *İtikadât-ı Batılaya İlan-ı Harp* [A Declaration of War upon Obsolete Beliefs] (Istanbul, Sancakçıyan Matbaası, 1329 [1913]).

⁴²⁹ [I.H.], "Pek Uyanık Bir Uyku" [A Very Vigilant Sleep], *İctihat* [Jurisprudence] v. 3, no: 55, 57 (19 Kânunusani 1329 [February 1st, 1913], 7 Mart 1329 [March 20th, 1913]), 1226-1228, 1261-1264. An English translation of the entire text can be found in the Appendix of Şükrü Hanioglu's article "Garpçılar" [The Westernizers]. Hanioglu, "Garpçılar," 150-158.

⁴³⁰ Hanioglu, "Garpçılar," 141.

⁴³¹ Necmi Uyanık, "Batıcı Bir Aydın Olarak Celal Nuri İleri ve Yenileşme Sürecinde Fikir Hareketlerine Bakışı" [Celal Nuri İleri as a Westernizing Intellectual, and His Outlook on Intellectual Movements in the Modernization Process], *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* [Selçuk University Journal of Turkish Studies] 1 (2004): 231-232.

⁴³² Uyanık, "Batıcı Bir Aydın," 237.

Balkan War. As a member of the *Garpcılar*, Nuri stressed the need for Westernization in order to achieve Turkey's salvation; he also believed that Islam in its then-existing form was the reason for the country's backwardness.⁴³³ In his works *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye* [A History of Ottoman Setbacks]⁴³⁴ and *İttihad-ı İslam* [The Unity of Islam]⁴³⁵ as well as numerous articles of his, Celal Nuri displayed an effort to shape the future by learning from the present, especially from the catastrophic Balkan defeat.



Illustration 34: Mehmet Celal Nuri Bey İleri⁴³⁶

In 1913, the year of the Balkan Catastrophe, Nuri produced another work, one that was quite comprehensive in scope. This three-volume book was entitled *Tarih-i İstikbal* [A History of the Future];⁴³⁷ as its name implies, it is a collection of Nuri's views on the future of Turkey in the aftermath of the Balkan Catastrophe. The core material of this chapter, "The Scenes and Pictures of the Future", appeared in this book. So, let us briefly examine the contents of this book.

⁴³³ For a study analyzing Nuri's approach on these issues, see Ş. Tufan Buzpınar, "Celal Nuri's Concepts of Westernization and Religion," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (March 2007), 247-258.

⁴³⁴ Celal Nuri [İleri], *Tarih-i Tedenniyat-ı Osmaniye* [A History of Ottoman Setbacks] (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331 [1913]).

⁴³⁵ Celal Nuri [İleri], *İttihad-ı İslam: İslam'ın Mazisi, Hali, İstikbali* [The Unity of Islam: the Past, Present, and Future of Islam] (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331 [1913]). For a thesis on this book, see Halime Der, "Celal Nuri'nin 'İttihad-ı İslam' Adlı Eserinin Tahlil ve Değerlendirilmesi" [An Analysis and Evaluation of Celal Nuri's *İttihad-ı İslam*], Unpublished Master's Thesis, Fırat University, 2007.

⁴³⁶ http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/63/Mehmet_Celâl_Nuri_Bey_İleri.jpg (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴³⁷ Celal Nuri [İleri], *Tarih-i İstikbal* [A History of the Future], 3 v. (Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi, 1331-1332 [1913-1914]).

The first volume bears the title “Mesail-i Fikriye” [Intellectual Questions], the second volume “Mesail-i Siyasiye” [Political Questions], and the third volume “Mesail-i İctimaiye” [Social Questions].⁴³⁸ In each volume, Nuri discusses the future of various concepts, phenomena, and institutions.

These volumes, which gather together pieces from different genres, contain highly interesting introductory sections, each of which has been composed as a kind of fantasy. In the first, the author falls asleep on the night of 8 Ağustos 1329 [August 21st, 1913] while preparing to write his book; in his dream, he travels seven thousand years into the past, to Ancient Egypt. There, he meets the prophet of Pharaoh Tuthmosis, named Titmes, and asks him about the fate of his country. Titmes stresses the relationship between the past and the future, saying that without knowing the past, it is impossible to know the future, either. He states that if the narrator can acquire a compass which hangs from the neck of a statue of an Egyptian goddess, he will be able to obtain knowledge of both the past and the future. As the narrator tries to reach the compass, he wakes up. In this introductory section, Nuri is clearly emphasizing a kind of historical determinism.

The introduction to the second volume takes place during the time of the book’s composition, and is focused on the Balkan War. The author is extremely saddened by the events which have occurred:

Those bloody events, those heart-rending defeats, that misery which had taken over all of Libya and Rumelia, that trepidation which had infected people’s minds, aspirations, consciences, had all unnerved me; they had left me no chance even to take in these things, let alone reflect on them. The night passed ever so slowly, with ever so much torment.⁴³⁹ (7)

In such a state, the narrator passes out, and finds himself in his father’s homeland of Crete, where he himself spent part of his childhood. Crete has become a total ruin. From the tribes of the Danube, which the narrator flies by, all the way to the Fezzan in Libya, the entire empire is in a similar condition. In Rumelia, he enters the courtyard of a small mosque; it is full of the bones of martyrs, and the inside of the mosque has been defiled by the “unbelievers.” The narrator is so outraged by this state of affairs that he even questions his belief in God. In his sadness, he climbs Mt. Olympos, the mythical home of the Greek gods, where he encounters the muse Clio, described here as the “fairy of history and time.” The narrator begs her to show him the situation of the Turks in “future history.” Clio then shows him the events which will come to pass in the future. A glorious Turkish army passes through the Balkans and arrives at Shipka,

⁴³⁸ For the reception of this book during its own time, see Özgül, *Siyasi Rüyalarda*, 161-162.

⁴³⁹ “O kanlı hadîsat, dilhıraş hezimetler, bütün Trablus ve Rumeli’ye istila eden perişanî, zihinlere, emellere, vicdanlara sâri olan keşmekeş muvazene-i asabımı bozmuş, bende tefekküre değil, tahassüse bile mecal bırakmamıştı. Gece yavaş yavaş, eziyetli eziyetli geçiyordu.”

while another wing goes towards Kosovo. As the enemies are dispersing with shouts and screams, just as at the conquest of Istanbul, the Turks bravely take their revenge. The Greek army has been completely destroyed on the shores of the Vardar, and Salonica has been taken. Finally, Olympos is conquered as well, and

Clio, the fairy of time, could not longer maintain her indifference in the face of this awe-inspiring tableau. Agitatedly, she surrendered herself, along with all the spoils of the future, into the victorious hands of the Turkish officer.⁴⁴⁰ (15)

In short, the introduction to the second volume aims at instilling hope into Nuri's readers, despite all these unfortunate events.

The introduction to the third volume takes the reader to a different culture. The narrator, who is feeling quite unhappy, once more passes out, and finds himself speaking with the Indian goddess Izeos, the mother of Krishna. With her help, the narrator travels in time, desiring that India's past might be his own country's future. A Brahmin priest whom he meets asks him to beg Vishnu to set Europe aflame: after all the evils which it has caused, Europe must be destroyed. There is no other way for a humanitarian civilization, and a perpetual peace, to come about.

The piece at the end of the third volume constitutes an interesting example of some of the themes dealt with in this study. Let us now proceed to an examination of this piece.

“The Scenes and Pictures of the Future”

As we have seen in previous chapters, a common feature of post-Balkan War literary works about the future is their tendency to envision state-centered utopias. They all imagined their ideal social orders around a powerful state organization. One exception – perhaps the sole exception – to this tendency can be found in this piece called “İstikbal Sahne ve Levhaları: Dünyadan Ahirete, Ahiretten Cihan-ı İstikbale, Latife-i Edebiye” [The Scenes and Pictures of the Future: from this World to the World to Come, from the World to Come to the World of the Future – a Literary Jest].⁴⁴¹

Rather than a full-fledged literary vision of the future, Nuri's work – as can be understood from the piece's sub-headings – is a very entertaining little fantasy. Nonetheless, it is a valuable work which offers abundant clues as to the imagination of a Turkish intellectual in 1913, an imagination which is not limited to the pressing issues of the day.

⁴⁴⁰ “Peri-i zaman Klio bu levha-i mehabetin karşısında artık muhafaza-i lakaydı edemiyordu. Bir galeyan ile kendisini bütün ganim-i âti ile Türk zabitanın yed-i galibiyetine teslim etti.”

⁴⁴¹ Celal Nuri, “İstikbal Sahne ve Levhaları: Dünyadan Ahirete, Ahiretten Cihan-ı İstikbale, Latife-i Edebiye” [The Scenes and Pictures of the Future: from this World to the World to Come, from the World to Come to the World of the Future – a Literary Jest] in *Tarih-i İstikbal*, v. 3: 148-164.

The piece begins with the death of its narrator. The Angels of Death – who, in accordance with Islamic belief, question those who have just died at their gravesite – arrive to find a departed soul who behaves in a manner to which they are quite unaccustomed. The narrator declares that because God is “all-knowing,” there is no need for them to question him; moreover, since he, the narrator, is already dead, he is not swayed by threats. The angels are taken aback, and leave.

The narrator finds the gate to the World to Come, and goes inside. He finds the World to Come to be as disorderly as the Ottoman state, for there is no one on duty there. Eventually, he finds someone on duty at the gate of Paradise, who greets the narrator in French with the words, “*Bonsoir Monsieur! Comment ça va?*” The narrator is angered on hearing this language of the infidels used by the devout gatekeeper of the Islamic Paradise; however, the gatekeeper does not take this personally, but asks the narrator all about the boulevards of Paris.

Overcoming the bureaucratic obstacles, the narrator is temporarily able to enter Paradise. Afterwards, thanks to a letter of recommendation from his religiously observant grandmother, he is able to settle there permanently. However, he feels unhappy there from the very start. First he becomes bored by the monotony of the place. The fact that no one dies in Paradise, and that everyone’s wishes come true without any difficulty, is very tedious. For instance, the walls of the room where he stays are made of tapioca pudding; the narrator thinks it would be nice if they also included a little *tavukgöğsü* [a Turkish pudding made from chicken breast], at which the walls immediately turn into *tavukgöğsü*. Then he complains about the disorderliness and lack of management in Paradise. Although Nuri writes memoranda and even books on this topic, nothing changes. By contrast, the narrator has heard that the Bulgarian and English paradises are very orderly. Interestingly, even in Paradise people are segregated according to nationality; furthermore, the presence of the Bulgarians and the English in Paradise is a sign that the author pays little heed to Islamic sensitivities.

Unable to cope with these difficulties anymore, the narrator obtains permission to go back to the world; he returns there with the help of a guide, by entering into the latter’s dream. The world has undergone drastic changes. The guide’s clothes are stuck to his body; moreover, all of the hairs on his body have been shaved off or plucked, including his eyebrows and eyelashes. People’s bodies have become slimmer, yet stronger. Intelligence and nerve function have greatly improved.

When the narrator asks his guide about the Austro-Hungarian question, he receives no answer; to his guide, such names belong to the distant past, like those of the Assyrians and the Romans. The narrator thus realizes that he has arrived in the hundred and fifty-second century. He and his guide prepare a two-day tour program, the first stop on which is the largest city in the world: Future City, Australia. They board a vehicle which catches a wave of “ether,” instantly taking them to Australia, thousands of kilometers away. In Future City, human beings are treated like machines. When the narrator requests some fresh air, a waiter attaches a hose to his stomach, and gives him an infusion of nitrogen; he also puts liquid drops on his tongue which sharpen his

intellect. Even so, the air is extremely hot. At that point, the narrator and his guide travel nearly at light speed to the North Pole, where fresh air can still be found. The Polar region is full of factories, dockyards, and cities.

At this point, we learn the history of the period leading up to this time. States ceased to exist in the twenty-second century; later, in the twenty-fifth century, the growing interconnectedness among human beings caused all languages to become one. By the twenty-seventh century, it had become impossible to tell apart men and women. The institutions of family and marriage were also done away with; however, women were held responsible for giving birth. The world was now run by a single government, on a communistic basis. Medicine became capable of treating brain and nerve disorders, thus eliminating crime, murder, immorality, and alcoholism. With advances in food technology, hunger and poverty disappeared, and people's stomachs and intestines became smaller. Most diseases were eliminated; in any case, with immunization of newborns, children no longer became ill. Because transportation had become so fast, telegraphs, telephones, and the postal system were all abolished. Money and capital had already ceased to exist by the twenty-first century. Finally, a radical solution was found to the problem of population growth: from the hundredth century onward, whenever the population became too large, cities were established at the bottom of the ocean.

The narrator and his guide then travel to the University of the Equator, in Chad. Here, thanks to an artificial wind, the air is ice-cold. A professor of history gives a lecture in a classroom in which historical events are projected onto a screen, listened to by 1500 students reclining on their backs. This lecture is simultaneously broadcast to all the universities in the world, via a device called the "cinemaphototelephonoviograph."

Although marveling at this future society, the narrator expresses his displeasure at the end of the text, finding this world uncongenial. In his opinion, what is missing in this future world is beauty.

This piece is valuable in providing a true alternative to other works of the same genre. Here, it is possible to see a different sort of speculation at play concerning the distant future, far removed from the pressing issues of the time; examples of this kind of text are so few as to be virtually non-existent. In the book titled *The History of the Future* in which this piece is included, Celal Nuri discusses in detail the Balkan War, its consequences and the ways to be followed for salvation. In "The Scenes and Pictures of the Future", however, he prefers to depict a far fetched vision of an ideal social order.

5.7. İbrahim Hilmi: The Scribe of the Balkan Catastrophe

This chapter will focus on the publisher and author Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan (1879-1963), one of the most renowned figures in the history of Ottoman Turkish publishing. Çığıracan himself wrote many books in the fields of politics, education, and culture. Here we will discuss a short narrative titled “Twenty Years Later” which imagines the glorious future following the Balkan defeat, as well as the book in which this piece was included, i.e., *Turkey, Awaken*.



Illustration 35: İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan (right) and novelist Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar⁴⁴²

Like many of the individuals considered in the present study, Çığıracan was an immigrant from the Balkans. He was born in the Romanian city of Tulcea, and his family moved to Istanbul in 1883. Çığıracan was quite mindful of the political and social problems of the Balkans. As a publisher, he was instrumental in creating a new discourse following the Balkan Catastrophe, a discourse which constitutes the subject of this thesis.⁴⁴³

After the start of the Balkan War, Çığıracan started to publish a series entitled “Kitaphane-i İntibah” [The Library of Awakening]; he later published 18 books in this series, some of which are dealt with in the present study. The series aimed to raise a general awareness about the reasons for Turkey’s defeat, and to propose ways to save the collapsing empire.

⁴⁴² <http://www.sanatkıtabevi.com.tr/tr/?sku=32182> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

⁴⁴³ Mention should be made of a source from which I have greatly benefited in writing this chapter. Başak Ocak’s book *Bir Yayıncının Portresi: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan* [Portrait of a Publisher: Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracan] (Istanbul: Müteferrika Yayınları, 2003), which is based on the author’s doctoral thesis, is a very well-written monograph which also fills an important gap on this subject. Unfortunately, data on the history of publishing is extremely limited in Turkey; this has had a negative effect on scholarly works in the humanities and social sciences. Ocak’s study of this important publisher constitutes an invaluable resource in this field.

Six of these 18 works were written by Çığıracan himself: *Zavallı Millet* [Wretched Nation], *Milletin Hataları* [The Nation's Errors], *Milletin Kusurları* [The Nation's Faults], *Maarifimiz ve Servet-i İlmiyemiz* [Our Learning and the Wealth of Our Knowledge], *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken], and *Avrupalılaşmak* [Europeanization]. The first five of these books were published at the end of 1912 or in 1913; in other words, they were written right in the midst of the Balkan War, and reflect the atmosphere of that war. What they all share in common is a call to “awaken”:

Let us awaken! Let us wake up a people that has been asleep for centuries. Let us demonstrate our societal, national, and moral errors. By constantly fearing one another, by constantly flattering one another, we have fallen into these catastrophes today. However, it is possible to prevent these catastrophes, and to save this building which is about to collapse from destruction.⁴⁴⁴

Let us provide an outline of the topics which Çığıracan addresses in these books. *Wretched Nation: the Causes of Our Catastrophes* was written in November of 1912, during the initial shock of the Balkan War, and sold 45,000 copies (an extraordinary number for that era).⁴⁴⁵ The book sees the government as responsible for said catastrophes, while the nation itself is without fault. While the nation may be self-sacrificing, the incompetence and corruption of the state administration have brought about these catastrophes.

By contrast, the second book, *The Nation's Errors: the Cause of Our Catastrophes*, focuses on society's mistakes, calling attention to problems like passivity and laziness, and suggesting solutions to these problems. The third book, *The Nation's Faults: the Causes of Our Catastrophes*, is a continuation of the previous one, with a particular focus on economic issues and poverty.

Our Learning and the Wealth of Our Knowledge, as its name implies, deals with the issue of education. In his discussion of education – which he sees as one of the most important ways of achieving universal salvation – the author addresses the backwardness of the Ottomans, contrasting it with the educational systems of Western countries (and, incidentally, the Balkan states).⁴⁴⁶

The last book, *Europeanization*, published after the end of the Balkan War, takes a striking position on the issue of Westernization. In a period when nearly everyone was in search of a sort of “East-West synthesis,” Çığıracan adopts a more

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted from İbrahim Hilmi, *Milletin Hataları*, in Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 79: “Let us awaken! Let us wake up a people that has been asleep for centuries. Let us demonstrate our societal, national, and moral errors. By constantly fearing one another, by constantly flattering one another, we have fallen into these catastrophes today. However, it is possible to prevent these catastrophes, and to save this building which is about to collapse from destruction.”

⁴⁴⁵ Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 207.

⁴⁴⁶ Ocak, *Bir Yayıncının Portresi*, 209.

radical attitude, claiming that Westernization is the single, all-encompassing solution for every issue other than religion and nationality:

Let us neither be cross with Europe, nor hold our enemies responsible. Let us assume total responsibility ourselves. Let us understand our situation, and seek a bandage for our gangrenous wounds. To my mind, Europeanization is this bandage. Both my own experiences and my study and scrutiny of the matter have made me strongly convinced that Europeanization, Westernization – or, if you like, modernization – is our only salvation. I am absolutely positive that our Asian, Eastern way of life will not allow us to preserve our character or our independence, and that we will not be able to surpass the West by resurrecting an extinct civilization.⁴⁴⁷

However, the book which deserves a more detailed examination is the fifth book, *Turkey, Awaken*. This book includes the narrative “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later], which we will examine below, and which reflects the author’s vision of the future. *Turkey, Awaken* is entirely focused on the Balkan War, dealing with numerous themes such as awakening, the future, salvation, and revenge, and is composed in a different, sterner tone than the others. Despite this stern tone, a relatively optimistic atmosphere prevails in the book, a result of the popularity, and impressive sales, which “The Library of Awakening” enjoyed among its readers.⁴⁴⁸ Not conforming to any specific genre or format, the book was written in parts, in a style that could be called essayistic. It contains long excerpts from other books published around that time which the author liked, such as Ahmet Cevat’s *Kırmızı Siyah Kitap* [The Red and Black Book], Mehmet Ali Tevfik’s *Turanlının Defteri* [A Turanist’s Notebook], and Satı Bey’s *Vatan İçin* [For the Fatherland].

In the introduction, dated 22 Mayıs 1329 [June 4th, 1913], Çığıracan expresses the purpose of the book as follows:

In writing this work, I wished to enact a reform in the minds, in the sensibilities, of young students. By writing a work conducive to personal and national improvement, let me do away with the malady of hopelessness which is taking root in the minds of my fellow-citizens; by compelling these young hearts to experience the woes of disasters

⁴⁴⁷ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi, *Avrupalılaşmak* [Europeanization], ed. Osman Kafadar-Faruk Öztürk (Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1997), 22-23: “Biz ne Avrupa’ya küselim ne de düşmanlarımıza suç bulalım. Bütün suçu kendimizde bulalım. Anlayalım da, artık bu kangren olmuş yaralarımıza bir sargı arayalım. / Ben bu sargıyı Avrupalılaşmakta buluyorum. Gerek şahsi tecrübelerim, gerek araştırma ve incelemelerim Avrupalılaşma-Garplılaşma veya Yenileşmenin tek kurtuluş olacağına bende güçlü bir kanaat uyandırdı. Asyalı ve Doğulu hayatımızla ne kişiliğimizi ne de bağımsızlığımızı koruyamayacağımıza, sönmüş bir medeniyeti tekrar dirilterek Batı’ya üstün gelemeyeceğimizden kesinlikle eminim.”

⁴⁴⁸ Tüccarzade, *Avrupalılaşmak*, 5.

and catastrophes, let me inspire feelings of revenge, of resolution, and of purposefulness.⁴⁴⁹

Çığıracan ends the introduction with an address to the young, declaring, “March! With complete bravery and patience, march! Always march ahead! You are entirely in charge of your future!” Immediately following which, he discusses the Balkan Atrocities, the starting-point of the book. Depictions which we have encountered in many other texts are reprised here in virtually the same words: old women have their breasts cut off; girls have their chastity violated; elderly people have their eyes hollowed out and hung on strings; young women are forcibly converted to Christianity; bells are hung on the minarets of mosques; dervish lodges are turned into stables; the stones are removed from graves; etc. (12-22) It is contemptible, in the author’s view, to forget these atrocities, or not to harbor feelings of rancor against the enemy.

Subsequently, Çığıracan highlights the need for a “national goal,” namely, to take revenge on the four Balkan “bandits” who have assailed the Muslims’ honor and dignity and annihilated half a million people. The author foresees a new war with these enemies – especially the Bulgarians – within 15 years. At that point, they will be called to account for these atrocities. (30-34)

Yet the methods which the author proposes to attain this goal are quite diverse. We stated earlier that Çığıracan unambiguously advocates Europeanization. At the same time, however, he writes that it is necessary to establish a great Islamic Empire in order to take revenge on Turkey’s enemies. He also stresses the need for Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism. Yet it is unclear how these different approaches will be reconciled to one another as part of the same “national goal.”

After once more stressing the need for Europeanization and hard work, the author leaves his readers with a sense of hope, in the chapter entitled “Bugünkü Balkanlılar Yarınki Türkiye’den Korkmalıdırlar” [Today’s People of the Balkans Ought to Fear the Turkey of Tomorrow]. If educational and military reforms are made immediately, and if people work resolutely and patiently, it will be possible to wipe out the Balkan states in the future, and to take revenge on them. (75-77)

The chapters “Ümit Benim Kuvvetimdir” [Hope is My Strength] and “İstikbal!” [The Future!] attempt to instill feelings of optimism in younger readers. In the latter chapter, the author writes that even catastrophes can be a means and opportunity for awakening and making progress.

The author alludes to many scenes from Turkey’s “glorious past,” and portrays other scenes of Bulgarian atrocities, in order to rouse people to anger and animosity.

⁴⁴⁹ İbrahim Hilmi, *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken], (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329(r) [1913], 5: “Ben bu eseri yazmakla istedim ki genç mekteplilerin hissiyat ve dimağında bir inkılap yapayım. Terbiye-i şahsiye ve milliyelerine hadim bir eser yazarak vatandaşlarımın zihninde yerleşmekte olan ümitsizlik illetini kaldırayım ve bu genç kalplerde musibet ve felaketlerin acılarını yaşatarak intikam ve azim ve meram hislerini uyandırayım.”

Afterwards, he creates a vision of the future, depicting the end-result of all the issues he has discussed and the claims he has made, once they have become a reality.

“Twenty Years Later”

There is a chapter in this book entitled “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later].⁴⁵⁰ This short eight-page piece is highly significant in terms of showing what kind of solution was foreseen by an intellectual with first-hand experience of the recent trauma of the Balkan War, as well as what kind of reactions were produced by this trauma.

The text portrays Turkey in the year 1933; by this time, the country’s borders have come to include both Anatolia and Arabia. We see that the idea of a “national goal” – whose absence is frequently bemoaned in texts of this period – is widespread at this future date, “from the mightiest of sovereigns down to the smallest village child.” (241) This irredentist “goal” is to re-conquer the Balkan territories lost during the recent conflicts.

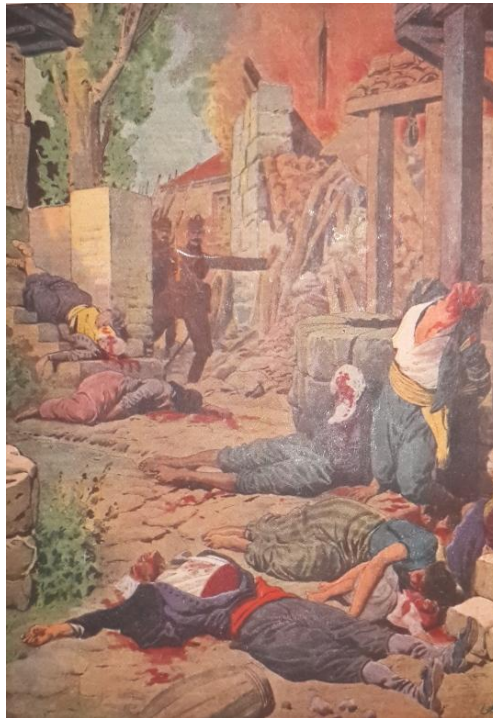


Illustration 36: An illustration from İbrahim Hilmi, *Türkiye Uyan*.⁴⁵¹

Although he does not mention an air force, the author commends the power of Turkey’s fleet and army; the education, discipline, and determination of their members; and their

⁴⁵⁰ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi [Çığırçan], “Yirmi Sene Sonra” [Twenty Years Later], in *Türkiye Uyan* [Turkey, Awaken] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı, 1329 [1913]), 241-249.

⁴⁵¹ Private collection (E.K.). Caption: “The brutal spectacle seen by the Ottoman army after its entry into Thrace!” [Osmanlı ordusunun Trakya'ya duhulünü müteakip gördüğü manzara-i vahşiyane!]

copious weaponry. This deadly force, made up of a million soldiers, is ready for action after a mobilization lasting a mere two weeks.

This kind of machine-like organization is not unique to the armed forces; on the contrary, the latter are the product of a society organized along the same lines. The country's transportation, communications, and logistical infrastructure are breathtaking.

Moreover, this development is not simply visible in material and technical matters, but also in the ideological order of society. As a result of the "psychological training" which has been practiced for years, religious, nationalistic, and patriotic sentiments are foremost in people's minds, and everyone yearns to die for these values; even women and the elderly make themselves busy in the service of this goal.

In the twenty years that have elapsed, not only Turkey, but the entire Islamic world has changed. The Islamic nations from Egypt to India, from Tatarstan to Java, are not stingy with financial and moral support; thousands of volunteers, and millions of lira, pour into Istanbul.

Meanwhile, Europe is terror-stricken by this stupendous Islamic awakening; it has long since come to regret its own deeds, and is no longer in a position to aid the Balkan nations, which are themselves trembling with fear. In any case, it is impossible for anyone to withstand this military campaign. For twenty years, a desire for revenge has been inculcated in schools throughout Turkey, with the support of the newspapers and other media; all of society cries out, "Revenge or death!" In addition to the material development that has been achieved, the awakening of the Islamic world, and the determination shown by society, the political order also presents a united front. Clearly, nothing will be able to stop this great power.

Suddenly, war breaks out, with deadly attacks culminating in a pitched battle involving 600,000 people.⁴⁵² Meanwhile, authors perform the duties that fall to them, as well.

One poet praises the soldiers, motivating them with frequent references to past victories, and stressing that the aim this time is not to defeat the country's enemies, but to annihilate them. The war ends with the Turkish fleet's destruction of the Greek navy; thereupon, the six Balkan nations cease to exist, and once more become subservient to the Turks.

After the war, the power of the Ottomans increases even further. All legal, religious, and commercial concessions made to foreigners and non-Muslims are rescinded, making Turkey the site of a great economic revival, educational campaign, and explosion in publications. Turkey also forges closer ties to the other Turkic nations, becoming a power which is looked on with envy by the whole world.

The salient features of this short text include the basic motif – found in many other texts as well – of a desire for "revenge" stemming from Turkey's losses in the Balkan War. This desire for revenge is clearly the main motivation for every societal

⁴⁵² The grandiose pitched battles which had become obsolete even by the time of the First World War – which would begin the following year – remain the author's preferred strategy in this text, in which he imagines a time twenty years into the future.

advance mentioned in the text, serving as the inspiration for a totalitarian social order; a pattern of development aiming at military power and wealth; an ideology which combines the notion of an “Islamic Union” with a racist nationalism; and a vision of the future which dreams of destroying or enslaving non-Muslims and non-Turks, especially the peoples of the Balkans. In other words, Çığıracan could not remain indifferent to the loss of the lands of his birth, as the result of such a devastating war. Both through the books he published as a publisher, and through those he wrote as an author, he attempted to help the country leave behind the shock and trauma created by the war.

5.8. A Vengeful Vision: Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – An Imaginary Ideal

A further example of the Turkist-Islamist utopias of this period consists of a work entitled *Ruşeni'nin Rüyası: Müslümanların "Megali İdeası" Gaye-i Hayaliyesi* [Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – An Imaginary Ideal].⁴⁵³ The book, by a Turkish member of parliament named Hasan Ruşeni [Barkın] (Chania, Crete, 1884-1953), is set 100 years in the future, and is in the form of a dream. The author claims to have written it in a "dark room" in Baghdad, between January 19th and January 20th, 1915.



Illustration 37: Hasan Ruşeni⁴⁵⁴

Before dealing with the aforementioned book, a brief discussion of the author's highly interesting life will help to better understand certain tendencies in the book. Normally, we would hardly be able to obtain any data concerning Hasan Ruşeni. Only thanks to a piece of his writing in a document discovered in the archives by the historian Cemil Koçak have we been able to obtain detailed information about the author's life.⁴⁵⁵ The document in question is a copy of a 1931 petition written to the Ministry of Defense by Ruşeni, who served in the army with the rank of *kolağası* [a rank in the Ottoman army between captain and major]. In the petition, Ruşeni also states that he has been a member of the *Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa* [Special Organization, i.e. the Ottoman intelligence service], and describes the top-secret duties he has performed since 1914.

⁴⁵³ Hasan Ruşeni, *Ruşeni'nin Rüyası: Müslümanların "Megali İdeası" Gaye-i Hayaliyesi* [Ruşeni's Dream: The Muslims' Megali Idea – A Fantastic Aim] (Tehran: Matbaa-i Fârus, 1331).

⁴⁵⁴ From the Album of the Fifth Term of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed August 10, 2014)

⁴⁵⁵ Cemil Koçak, "Mission Impossible: Teşkilâtı Mahsusacı Bir Subayın Öyküsü" [Mission Impossible: the Story of an Officer in the Special Organization], *Toplumsal Tarih* [Social History] 128 (August 2004): 26-33.

During the First World War, Ruşeni had gone to Turkistan, engaging in a campaign against the Russian army; he was also active in the National Struggle, and later became a member of parliament. In light of this information, it is evident that some elements which we will see in the book stem from the author's personal experiences. Examples include the suggestion of concentrating on the East in order to bring about Turkey's salvation, or the idea held by certain Young Turks of stirring up rebellion among Eastern peoples.

At this point, let us return to Ruşeni's book. Its title seems to be searching for an equivalent to the term "utopia," which did not yet exist in Turkish. In the title, Ruşeni uses both the Greek term *megali idea* ["big idea," referring to the Greek irredentist dream of reconquering former Byzantine lands] and the Ottoman Turkish expression *gaye-i hayaliye* [an imaginary ideal]. Like the terms *gaye-i emel* [a desirable aim] and *aksa-yı emel* [an ultimate goal], *gaye-i hayaliye* is one of the terms proposed or created in this very period in order to meet the needs of utopian thought.⁴⁵⁶ Accordingly, the author is aware of having created a systematic vision of the future for Turkey. Muslims are the specific community to which this utopia is addressed; reading Ruşeni's book, we later realize that Turkey is the leader of this Muslim community.

In the introduction to the book, entitled "A Few Words" (1-3), the author highlights three of the concepts on which I will focus in the present study. The first is an emphasis on revenge. According to the author, this dream is intended for a readership consisting of "hearts which beat with a love of Islam," "consciences simmering with an urge for revenge," and "youths who love struggling for a cause." Moreover, these youths are no longer "Ottoman" youths, but rather Turkish youths. Another point stressed in the introduction is a call to "pursue one's ambitions." Turkish youths should think expansively, should harbor lofty ambitions, and should plant whatever seeds they can; even if they themselves do not witness it, the seeds they plant will definitely flower one day. The last element which Ruşeni emphasizes is that of "awakening"; the place where this awakening will occur is no longer in the West. Here, the author is proposing a sort of Islamic activism. Following his country's loss of its European territories, he counsels youths to turn towards the East, to pursue the ideal of eastern unity, and to go to the East as "missionaries" to stir up the slumbering, oppressed peoples of the region. "To make ready for the future, we should proceed eastward, always eastward" is his rallying-cry. (3)

Under the leadership of the Turks, all of Asia and Africa have united, and become the world's biggest power. Ruşeni's book is nothing other than an aerial voyage made by a "flying ship" from one end of this Great Islamic Union to another. Therefore, as was explained in the "Utopia" chapter of the Introduction to this thesis, Ruşeni's work has been written in the form of a travelogue to a utopian country. As the narrator travels around this new country, we learn details about life there along with him. Istanbul, the capital of this union, is also its westernmost city following the loss of

⁴⁵⁶ For a discussion on the subject, see Section 3.2.10.

the Balkans; thus, the journey will end there. Accordingly, the starting-point for the voyage is in Java, the easternmost location in the Islamic world.

A Voyage through the Islamic Union, from Java to Istanbul

As Ruşeni's voyage starts in Indonesia, Dutch imperialism occupies a central place in this first part of the text. Just as the author had counseled in the introduction, we learn that a Young Turk came to Java following the First World War, to find that its people had given up all their rights – their entire lives – to “a few hundred bayonets belonging to a handful of Dutch people.” He then succeeded in rousing them with the words “Muslims, awaken...rise up!”⁴⁵⁷ Thus began a revolt which concluded with the Indonesians being freed from the Dutch yoke; within a hundred years, they have become a developed country, with factories and universities. The Dutch – who were once a colonial power here – have remained a mere fairy-tale ogre in people's memories. (4)

In the next stage of the journey, the flying ship goes to India. Here, we are treated to a similar story, but this time the country we encounter is more luxurious and more advanced, the richest in the Islamic world. However, none of these countries have reached Turkey's level of development. For this reason, Turkey and the Turks – who have led the way with their own awakening, liberation, and progress – are spoken of as “patrons.” (6) Moreover, not even the tiniest trace of English influence has remained. Along with its beautiful cities, innumerable canals, and extensive railways (9-10), India boasts magnificent palaces, universities, and operas; all are breathtaking. The Hindus have also been Muslim for 50 years now.

The Indian writer with whom the narrator converses also comments upon political developments. Even though the text takes place one hundred years later, his comments are overly concerned with the year of the book's composition, i.e. 1914. A world war will soon break out, says the Indian intellectual; Europe, America, and the Far East may form an alliance and harm the Islamic world. Therefore, one should stay on good terms with the Germans, and use their power to keep Europe away from Asia. (13)

The narrator's visit coincides with the marriage of the Emperor of India and the Turkish princess Turhan Sultan, thus testifying to Turkey's prestige in India. Turkish flags, songs, and marches are everywhere. The Turkish fleet brings the bride to the wedding, with some of the names of the ships reading like a “Hall of Fame” of Turkish nationalism: Oğuz Han, Cengiz [Genghis Khan], Timurlenk [Tamerlane], Ertuğrul, Sultan Osman, Sultan Orhan, Murat Hüdavendigâr, Yıldırım [“Thunderbolt”] Beyazıt, Çelebi Mehmet, Murad II, Mehmet the Conqueror, Beyazıt II, Selim the Grim, Suleiman the Magnificent, Selim III, Sultan Reşat, Namık Kemal, Mithat Paşa, Süavi, etc. The ship carrying the bride is named Kayı Han.

⁴⁵⁷ “Müslümanlar uyanınız. ... Kıyam ediniz!”

As the ship passes over the Turkish Empire, over the Pamirs, over Kashgar, over Afghanistan, we learn that the different ethnic groups living in the Turkish Empire (such as the Uzbeks, the Kirghiz, the Chechens, the Lezgians, the Tatars, the Turkmen, the Laz, and the Kurds) have now started to speak the pure Turkish of Turkey. As a result, all of these different ethnic groups have become assimilated to the Turkish identity. People have authentic Turkish names such as Oğuz, Turgut, Ertuğrul, Tekin, Aydın, and Gündoğdu. (30) The splendor of the Turkish Empire is described in the following terms: “uniting the spirits of Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and Suleiman the Magnificent, having the Caliph Umar rule over their offspring, and putting the Qur’an in his hands to legislate with.” (31)

The explicit or implicit comparison with Europe made at every point in the narrative also comes up in reference to the size of the country. The narrator is comforted by the sheer scale of the Turkish Empire; he spends days and nights traveling through places which he can call “his homeland.” By contrast, a similar voyage through a European’s homeland would take only three or four hours.

When the flying ship arrives in Africa, the narrator sees that this continent has progressed so far that it can be described as “the America of Islam.” The main problems faced by the continent are converting the remaining unbelievers – who are few and far between – to Islam, and reconquering Andalusia. (32)

Moreover, the narrator learns that Arabic is spoken everywhere in Africa, just as he found earlier that nothing but Turkish was spoken in the Turkish Empire. (In Delhi, by contrast, the narrator leafs through some Persian and Hindustani magazines in his hotel.) (11) It is clear that “linguistic unity” plays an important role in the narrator’s conception of a powerful state. Moreover, this fantasy can be interpreted as a criticism of the Ottoman Empire’s – and especially Istanbul’s – multilingual socio-cultural makeup.

Continuing on the journey, we see that the narrator’s – and author’s – Cretan origins have led special attention to be paid to Crete. Not only Crete, but all the Aegean Sea has been adorned with Turkish flags, Turkish fleets, a Turkish postal service – every spiritual and material aspect of Turkishness. Here, there are no remnants of the Greeks or their civilization. (34-35)

The History of the “Dream”

An Indian intellectual whom the narrator meets explains how things reached this state of affairs. Although the re-promulgation of the Constitution in 1908 represented a beacon of hope for the salvation of Turkey, by rousing the nation and getting rid of the oppressive Caliph, it soon became apparent that this beacon of hope was delusory. The events that took place in Yemen, Albania, and Macedonia extinguished people’s hopes, and the subsequent wars in Libya and the Balkans brought the nation to its knees. (26) Turkey’s armies were withdrawn first from Africa and then from Europe. At this point, the text reiterates a general trend by disparaging the Balkan states, claiming that they

are nothing other than “three or four vagabonds that have sprung up in the provinces of Turkey,” and that they are led by British Foreign Minister Grey.

We subsequently delve into “future history,” i.e., events occurring after the date the work was written. After the loss suffered by Turkey in the Balkan War, and the effective collapse of the state, a clamor for revenge begins to be heard all over the East, and the Turks begin to confound the occupiers’ plans.

The turning point is the call for holy war during the First World War. Now the Turks will throw off their base indolence and follow in the footsteps of their ancestors, rousing the entire Islamic world to action.

First a United Islamic Arab Republic comes into being in Africa, turning the entire continent into an “Islamic America.” Next, a Turkish Empire is founded, stretching all the way to the Pamir Mountains; this is followed by an Indian Empire. Along with the aforementioned trio, the Islamic union is rounded off by Java, Kashgar, and the kingdoms of Afghanistan and Iran.⁴⁵⁸ (28-29)

However, since this political entity is predicated on Islam, it is necessary to shore up its religious underpinnings as well. “the great Caliphate and mighty Turkey” have achieved the security of the Islamic world by selecting princes and princesses suitable for Islamic states, at the Congress of the Islamic World held every year in Mecca. (29) Moreover, the Turks establish a university in Medina; by abolishing all religious orders and sects, they bring about a revival of true Islam. It is clear that when it comes to the wish for the “unity” of Islam, the existence of sects and religious orders are a serious annoyance. In *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, Mustafa Nazım had also suggested the abolishment of sects (not only in Islam, moreover, but also in Christianity and Buddhism).⁴⁵⁹ Interestingly, Kılıçzade Hakkı, too, suggested the same thing in “A Very Vigilant Sleep.”⁴⁶⁰

Istanbul

Finally, the flying ship arrives at Istanbul, the capital. The last stop on the journey, this Istanbul 100 years into the future is unquestionably the place which receives the most detailed description in *Ruşeni’s Dream*.

⁴⁵⁸ It is significant that these imaginary states are all kingdoms. There is no room for democracy or democratic institutions in the future envisioned by the author.

⁴⁵⁹ Mustafa Nazım, *Rüyada Terakki*, 246.

⁴⁶⁰ Kılıçzade Hakkı, “A Very Vigilant Sleep,” in Hanioglu, “Garpçılar,” 157: “The leaders of various sects who have certain views should unite their opinions and goals at a sincere gathering organized by them and a completely new program should be adopted through the application of *ijtihād*. This program should be circulated and publicized in the Ottoman and Islamic lands by a religious decree of the Caliph of the Muslims. From that moment on, sectarian strife among sects will be eliminated in the Muslim community.” [Mezahib-i muhtelifenin söz sahipleri akdedecekleri samimî bir içtimada tevhid-i fikr-ü-maksud ederek yeniden biliçtihad tamamıyla yeni bir meslek kabul edilecek ve işbu mezhep umum memalik-i Osmaniye ve İslâmiyeye, Halife-i İslâm Hazretlerinin emr-i şerifleriyle tamim ve ilân edilip ba’dema Müslimler arasında mezhep şikakı ref edilerek ma’na-yı makuluyia gâye-i umumî olan İttihad-ı İslâm kaziyesinin husulü teşrî etmiş olacaktır.]

The city has changed a great deal; as the narrator puts it, none of its trademark sights remain apart from a few mosques. With the inclusion of the villages of Maltepe, Kavaklar, and Salahaddin Eyyubi (formerly Ayastefanos),⁴⁶¹ Istanbul has become an enormous city capable of accommodating a huge population. (37) These were villages on the eastern, northern, and western borders of Istanbul province; thus, the city described by the author is one which is severely over-developed. We should recall that the text is imagining a time one hundred years in the future – i.e., the present age. Today, this dream has become a reality in the worst sense. Although such over-development is the source of nearly all the problems currently faced by Istanbul, such was the obsession with size in Ruşeni's day that the author describes it with longing.

The population has reached 10 million people.⁴⁶² (44) The entire city is full of minarets, palaces, universities, factories, and hotels. The streets are fifty meters wide; elevated trains flit about "like big jets of fire" from Çamlıca to Nişantaşı, from Beyazıt to Beyoğlu, and back and forth across the Bosphorus from hill to hill; funicular lines also operate on every hillside. In addition, electric trams whizz by on every street and in every underground tunnel. (38)

The Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara, and the Golden Horn are full of ships. Numerous bridges have been built on the Golden Horn. The seaside parts of the city are all a-glitter with electric billboards "which constantly change color and pattern," advertising Turkish chocolates and Turkish fabrics. (39)

The centuries-old bridge fantasy crops up once more in this text; instead of just a single bridge, there are three.⁴⁶³ "Three suspension bridges, connecting Sarayburnu to Üsküdar, Üsküdar to Beşiktaş, and the Turkish Market (Galata) to İlyasi Square (Eminönü), the likes of which have never been seen, symbolize the Caliphate's iron cincture, which cannot be undone." ⁴⁶⁴

Of these, the Marmara Bridge – i.e., the bridge connecting Sarayburnu to Üsküdar – is of particular significance. This three-level suspension bridge is not only accessible to traffic, but is also the commercial headquarters of the Islamic world. Along with hundreds of trading houses, the monumental Islamic Stock Exchange and Islamic Market are located on this bridge as well. (40) The Islamic Stock Exchange is especially important; in addition to its architectural splendor, it is the basis of the

⁴⁶¹ It is often the case in Turkey that governments in power frequently change place-names in accordance with their own ideologies. Needless to say, a village with a Greek name would be unthinkable in Istanbul, the capital of the Islamic Union. It seems that the author, to compensate for this, has decided to name the village after Salahaddin Eyyubi [Saladin], who fought against the Crusader armies.

⁴⁶² The author of *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization* had foreseen a population of 10 million in Istanbul, four centuries into the future. (214) Presumably Hasan Ruşeni was more realistic in his estimate.

⁴⁶³ The fixation with bridges over the Bosphorus, a constant item on Turkey's agenda, is once more a pressing issue today, due to the construction of a third bridge despite much criticism. Given that this third bridge is under construction, it is a curious coincidence that the author's vision of contemporary Istanbul predicts three bridges.

⁴⁶⁴ "Sarayburnu'nu Üsküdar'a, Üsküdar'ı Beşiktaş'a, Türk Pazarı'nı (Galata) İlyasi Meydanı'na (Eminönü) bağlayan üç bî-misl asma köprü hilafetin çözülmez demir kuşağını temsil" eder."

caliphate's and the empire's economic might. As for the Islamic Market, particular emphasis is laid on the fact that non-Muslims are not allowed there.

Right in the middle of the harbor, amidst the three bridges, there is a hundred-meter-high statue of Mehmet the Conqueror.⁴⁶⁵ The statue's hands rest on its sword; a crown upon its head has searchlights which send beams all over the city. While this might horrify people, from the author's point of view these beams make Istanbul into a rising sun on the horizon, so to speak. On Sultan Selim Hill, there is also a 100-meter-high statue of Selim the Grim,⁴⁶⁶ holding a Qur'an in his right hand and sword in his left. Below the iron plaza where the statue of Selim is found, there is a cemetery – to which one descends on a golden staircase – with the graves of people who strove to awaken the Islamic world and bring about its ascendancy. (48) This picture is completed by a giant flag of the Caliphate (made entirely out of lights) at Sarayburnu. (43) Other breathtaking structures include museums, universities, the Islamic General Council, and the Great Islamic Opera House.

Naturally, the changes which have occurred in Beyoğlu – predominantly inhabited by non-Muslims and foreigners in the author's day – are quite interesting. The district now has streets which are 50 meters wide,⁴⁶⁷ full of Turkish markets, Turkish hotels, and Turkish buildings. Everywhere you go, everything is Turkish-owned; there are Turkish merchants and signs in Turkish. The author states that no trace of the "enemy stain" (i.e., the "stain" of non-Muslims) is left anywhere in the city. Istanbul's distinctive architecture has changed, as well, with Greek, Armenian, and Jewish houses now vanished. The buildings have all been constructed in an Oriental architectural style. (45)

⁴⁶⁵ Among the work's centennial fantasies about Istanbul, the Bosphorus Bridge fantasy is one of the most well-established, as is the 100-meter-high statue of Mehmet the Conqueror. The statue in this book is an early example of a wish that has cropped up in nearly every decade over the past century. Later, in Atatürk's time in the 1920s and 1930s, there were plans to build giant statues of the Conqueror on the island occupied by the Maiden's Tower, and in front of Rumelihisarı [the Fortress of Rumelia]; however, these plans never materialized. Still later, in the 1940s, there were suggestions of planting a statue of the Conqueror in Eminönü, Beyazıt Square, Dolmabahçe, or even in the square between the Sultanahmet Mosque and Hagia Sophia; however, these too never came to fruition. A statue campaign in 1965 was likewise unsuccessful. In 1967, an association was set up and a contest was held in order to accomplish this endeavor, again with no result. This never-ending saga has continued for so long that Melih Cevdet Anday ridiculed this obsession in highly ironic language in his 1974 novel *Aylaklar* [The Layabouts]. The latest unsuccessful endeavor is a project prepared by the present municipality to erect "a statue of Mehmet the Conqueror that will resemble the Statue of Liberty in New York." For an article on this topic, see Engin Kılıç, "Fatih ve Dikilemeyen Heykelleri" [Mehmet the Conqueror and His Statues Which Could Not Be Built], *İstanbul*, no. 62 (January 2008): 128-131.

⁴⁶⁶ Even though Hasan Ruşeni dreams of an Islamic empire, he does not refrain from adorning the capital with statues. His fantasy is significant when one takes into account the Islamic prohibition on statues. When one also considers other fantasies of his (like opera buildings), the emphasis on the modernist aspect of this Islamic state is quite striking.

⁴⁶⁷ This dream could be said to have become a reality in the giant Tarlabası Boulevard, which was created by the municipality in Beyoğlu in the 1980s by razing houses and neighborhoods, most of which belonged to non-Muslims and featured original architecture.

But the greatest marvels are in “Istanbul,” i.e. the old historical peninsula.⁴⁶⁸ To get there from Beyoğlu, people use something called the “Metropolitan Underwater Line.”⁴⁶⁹ The author states that all the “manners and faces” of the Byzantine Empire (i.e., the remnants of its people, the non-Muslims) have been erased; now, lifeless monuments like Hagia Sophia, the Obelisk, the Byzantine Palace, and the city walls are all that remains of the empire; significantly, Ruşeni has not envisioned the demolishing of these, as well. The districts of the historical peninsula now consist of neighborhoods with various types of architecture: Indian, Arab, Persian, Chinese, Javanese, and Afghan. The new city center apparently lies between the areas of Fatih and Sultan Selim; the avenue joining these two districts is 100 meters wide, and is flanked by two first-rate universities, one on either side.

The “Zoo of the Patriarchs”

The discourse of hatred which prevails throughout this text reaches its zenith in the next section; the final stop on the tour is the district of Fener. Although the narrator cannot make the district completely abandon its former character, he does note that the old buildings and unwashed faces which he used to see there are now gone. As for the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it has been turned into a zoo. The guide tells what happened here:

Sir, in its day, there was once a church building here, in fact a whole neighborhood which was corroding our fatherland, corrupting our morals, and ruining our entire life. The community got rid of this place and made it into a garden. Later, they filled it with wild, dangerous animals, to remind people of what its old inhabitants had been like. But they secretly left the church building untouched in the middle of the garden, in order to impart a big lesson in history.⁴⁷⁰ (49-50)

Everywhere in the park, there are cages with monkeys, foxes, wolves, pigs, jackals, bears, and other animals. But the most important part of the zoo consists of the old church inside the Patriarchate:

Everywhere in the building, one saw things from previous centuries: great big lamps, pictures deriding the Turkish people, blue-and-white flags, precious carpets, ornate crosses, great black costumes, long

⁴⁶⁸ In contrast to today’s usage, “Istanbul” only referred to the Old City (lying within the Byzantine walls) at the time this text was written.

⁴⁶⁹ This presumably refers to a metro running under the sea. In another curious coincidence, the Marmaray project, which has opened a century after this text was written, has made it possible to travel beneath the Bosphorus by metro.

⁴⁷⁰ “Efendim! Vaktiyle burada, vatanımızı kemiren, ahlâkımızı bozan, hayatımızı ifna eden bir mahalle ile bir kilise dairesi var idi. Millet bu mahalleyi kaldırdı bahçe yaptı. Sonra, eski sükkânına alâmet olmak üzere vahşî ve muzır hayvanlarla doldurdu. Yalnız ahfada büyük bir ders-i tarih vermek için kilise dairesini haliyle bahçenin ortasında bıraktı.”

staves, numerous tables, old chairs and large seats. As soon as I entered, a chill came over me: the building was filled from wall to wall with glass display cases full of snakes, centipedes, and scorpions. (50-51)

Right in the middle, inside a display case, there is a very precious seat: it is the seat where the Patriarch sat in his day. Now a viper lies on top of it. With the author's hatred of Christianity, Greeks, and the Patriarchate having thus reached its peak, the work comes to an end.

Ruşeni's Dream, as is clear from the above examples, can be regarded as a highly militaristic Turkist-Islamist statist utopia, marked by a strong ideological tendency, namely a synthesis of the Islamic doctrine of the *dar al-harb* [the "house of war," i.e. countries in which Islam is not widespread] together with an irredentist nationalism and xenophobia. A pronounced discourse of hatred is present both in the introduction and in the body of the work itself. The text features many of the concepts dwelt on in this study, including hatred, revenge, xenophobic nationalism, and progress towards an ideal.

5.9. Dreams of a National Economy: *The Army of Labor*

In this chapter we will examine a novel published in 1332 [1916], three years after the end of the Balkan War, but taking the Balkan War itself (and not the First World War, which was then in progress) as the starting point of the rush of development for which it yearns. We stated earlier that – aside from *The New Turan* – almost none of the works mentioned in this study are known, canonical works. Certain studies do mention the names of some of these texts; however, the present study is probably the first to examine the work known as *İş Ordusu* [The Army of Labor].⁴⁷¹

In contrast to the lack of knowledge surrounding this text, its author is quite an important figure. Although an Istanbulite by birth, Kazım Nami [Duru, 1875-1967] spent his childhood in the Balkan territories of the Ottoman Empire, where his father was stationed at the time. He was educated at the Military Middle School in Salonica (Thessaloniki), and then at the Military High School in Manastır (Bitola), subsequently serving as an officer until his resignation in 1910. Kazım Nami began his educational and pedagogical activities while in the army, and continued to pursue them afterwards; as a renowned educationalist, he also played an important part in shaping educational policies in the early years of the Republic.



Illustration 38: Kazım Nami Duru⁴⁷²

The Army of Labor takes place between 1911 and 1915. The novel is a story of awakening and consciousness-raising in the aftermath of the destruction caused by the

⁴⁷¹ Kâzım Nami [Duru], *İş Ordusu: Kurtuluş Bayramı Armağanı* [The Army of Labor: The Gift of the Day of Liberation] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı 1332 (1916)).

⁴⁷² From the Album of the Fifth Term of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/TBMM_Album/Cilt1/index.html (Accessed August 10, 2014)

Balkan War; it presents a model of development under the rubric of Turkist ideology⁴⁷³ as well as the National Economic Project. The novel has autobiographical features here and there; its hero, Turgut, is based on a person named Turgut whom the author wished to emulate as a child for having chosen the soldier's profession. Below, I will attempt to lay out some of the novel's basic characteristics as regards the Balkan War and the novel's vision of the future.

Turgut's father Arif Bey, who will play a critical role in his son's life, is an educated, enlightened individual, with the position of Director of Pious Foundations. Arif Bey takes a great interest in the newfound movement known as Turkism; he is proud of his Turkish heritage, and keeps up with Turkist publications, subscribing to the journals *Türk Yurdu* [The Turkish Homeland] and *Halka Doğru* [Towards the People], and reading the works of Necip Asım, as well as Tahir Bey of Bursa.⁴⁷⁴ (12) According to Turgut's father, the shame of the Balkan tragedy does not belong to the Turkish race. The Turks were merely deceived, and will regain their ascendancy in the near future. (13) He wishes for his son to be brought up well, and has promised him to Türkan, his neighbor's beautiful blond-haired daughter.



Illustration 39: A Greek Postcard Picturing the Torpedoing of the *Feth-i Bülend*⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ The cover of the book makes it clear that it was sold at the Türk Yurdu Kitaphanesi [Turkish Homeland Bookstore]; moreover, the fact that its epigraph cites the following quatrain from Ziya Gökalp's poem "İlahi" [Hymn] announces the work's Turkist tendencies right from the very start: "Mighty God! Revive your old wolves/Let the rampart be split with a blacksmith's hammer/To reclaim our dear homelands/May they lead us once more out of the valley of Ergenekon." ["Yüce Tanrı! Dirilt eski kurtları/Bir demirci çekiciyle sed yarsın/Geri almak için aziz yurtları/Bizi yine Ergene'den çıkarsın."]

⁴⁷⁴ The aforementioned figures took part in the Turkist movement along with the author, and wrote articles for the same journals.

⁴⁷⁵ On the night of October 18th, 1912, the *Feth-i Bülend* was sunk by Greek torpedo boat No. 11, commanded by Lt. Nikolaos Votsis. <http://memetmechmet.blogspot.com.tr/2013/01/1912-2012100-ylnda-selanikin-kaybedilis.html> (Accessed August 10, 2014)

Turgut graduates from military academy as an engineering officer; in 1911, during the Libyan War, he is assigned to Salonica. Before that war is over, the Balkan War breaks out, during which an Ottoman ship called the *Feth-i Bülend* [Great Victory] is sunk by a Greek torpedo; even worse, Salonica is handed over to the Greeks without firing a shot. Turgut is devastated by all of this news. (8) He is taken to Greece as a captive of the Greek army. The surrender of Salonica without a fight, as well as the cheerful attitude of some of his fellow officers while being taken into captivity, has caused Turgut to lose his respect for the Turkish army. An army in the hands of officers so devoid of morality or honor, he believes, is naturally doomed to defeat.

Returning back home from captivity in such an emotional state, Turgut is to be deeply affected by an encounter with someone he meets later: the blacksmith Hasan, whose shop is located near Turgut's house. While he may appear to be a simple artisan, Master Hasan's ideas and ideals are highly advanced. Although he is an excellent blacksmith, money is not his chief concern. He is a devout Turkist, and this ideology determines the choices he makes. His belief in the justice, the majesty, and the bravery of the Turks is heart-felt. He even blames the Balkan Turks who have migrated out of the Balkans during the war, an attitude which one would be unlikely to encounter in many other texts:

Just think of these refugees who say, 'The enemy is coming!' and abandon their villages, their fields, their households, their goods, their property, fleeing on a cart pulled by a pair of oxen or buffalo. Have none of them said, 'This place is mine: I was born here and will die here,' and stayed in the village to meet the enemy – if they haven't got a gun, then with a scythe – in an effort to defend their village? Everyone has forgotten God's command to wage holy war; everyone has forgotten Turkish heroism and honor. They have not clung to their own homeland, their goods, their property; it is as though the places they have inhabited for centuries were not theirs...as though they were a sojourner about to take off to somewhere else instead. People say that these refugees, fleeing out of fear for their lives, have played a big part in the defeat of our soldiers. There is no doubt that this is true."⁴⁷⁶ (27-28)

Hasan's personal conviction, which is of critical importance to this novel, is as follows: countries can be subjugated by the sword, but they cannot be retained by the sword. For this, one needs iron. That is, only by working with tools made of iron, by plying the soil

⁴⁷⁶ "Düşman geliyor diye köylerini, tarlalarını, ev barklarını, mallarını, mülklerini bırakarak, bir çift öküz veya manda koşulu arabalara binerek kaçmağa başlayan muhacirleri bir düşün. Hiçbirisi "Bu yer benimdir, burada doğdum, burada öleceğim deyip de köyde kalmış, düşmanı silahı yoksa tırpanıyla karşılamış, köyünün müdafaasına çalışmak istemiş mi? Herkes Allah'ın cihat emrini, Türklük yiğitliğini, namusunu unutmuş. Sanki o yüzlerce yıllardan beri yerleştikleri yerler onların değilmiş, orada başka yere kaçacak bir konukmuş gibi yerine, yurduna, malına, mülküne sarılmamış. Askerimizin bozgunluğuna bu ölüm korkusuyla kaçan muhacirlerin çok tesiri oldu, diyorlar. Öyle olduğuna ne şüphe."

and extracting the treasures it contains in order to make a profit, can one become the owner of that soil and that nation. For this reason, Hasan prefers to make plows for Turkish villagers rather than tools which will earn him a higher profit. In this way, he prevents non-Muslim blacksmiths from robbing Turkish villagers and using their money for their own national causes. (29-32)

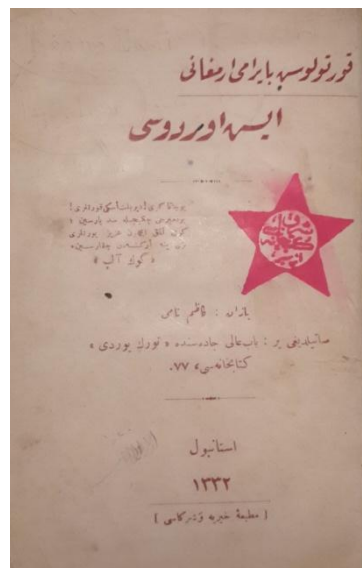


Illustration 40: The inner cover of *The Army of Labor*⁴⁷⁷

Deeply influenced by these ideas, Turgut goes home and reads the epic of Ergenekon, and suddenly experiences a revelation. He decides to abandon the soldier's profession – of which he is now weary – and build an iron factory, with Master Hasan as its foreman. Turgut's father will support this decision of his, both morally and financially.

The author also uses the topic of marriage to reinforce the fact that Turkey's national ideal takes precedence over everything else. When Turgut decides to leave the military, Türkan opposes this plan. She says that she loves Turgut because he is an officer, and that if he resigns, she will not marry him. Although Turgut is greatly saddened by this, he ends up leaving Türkan, whom he loves very much, in favor of the "ideal of Turkishness," which he loves even more. (58) After separating from Türkan, Turgut will marry the daughter of Hasan the Blacksmith. The brief appearance of this young woman in the novel gives us an inkling of what the author's ideal Turkish woman looks like: unlike the superficially-minded Türkan, her only preoccupation is with Turkishness, and her greatest ambition is to marry someone like Turgut, who devotes himself to this cause. Moreover, this episode also provides us with a clue about the place of religion in this ideal of Turkishness. In contrast to Türkan, whom Turgut cannot see (even though they are engaged) after she puts on a *çarşaf* [a black, full-length gown covering the hair and part of the face], Hasan's daughter wants to meet

⁴⁷⁷ Private collection (E.K.)

with Turgut, and says that it is not appropriate for them to marry before Turgut has seen her. What is more, this young Turkish woman is bold and confident. She speaks with men “in a manner befitting a Turkish woman, without any false bashfulness,” and speaks her opinions with conviction. (59) Thus, in the author’s view, women’s place in society goes beyond what has been allotted to them by the precepts of Islam.

A Success Story

Turgut’s radical decision represents the starting point of the project at the heart of the novel. Learning his trade by working in an iron factory in Germany for six months, Turgut purchases a plot of land in Konya with the financial support of his father. First he has a Turkish architect draw up a blueprint for the project, which is in the Turkish architectural style; then, with Turkish laborers in his employ, he builds a large ironworks, which he calls the “Turkish Ironworkers’ House.” The factory goes into operation after a big opening ceremony; needless to say, the workers in the factory are Turkish blacksmiths from Konya and the surrounding area.

In a short time, the factory becomes a true success story. (53) Orders start pouring in, first from Konya, and then from the surrounding provinces. Turgut increases the size of the factory. Naturally, this causes imports to go down; European companies, and the “comprador bourgeoisie” who sell their products, are not pleased with this situation. They attempt to make a deal with Turgut and to purchase the factory; when this does not work, they start to compete strenuously, and lower their prices a great deal.

Turgut’s counter-ploy is not commercial, but ideological. He puts an advertisement in the newspapers, reminding readers of the Averoff Incident,⁴⁷⁸ which had great repercussions during the Balkan War and afterwards; he also points out that money paid to foreigners will fund enemy fleets, but that any profit he makes will stay in Turkey; finally, he announces that hereafter he will donate five percent of his profits to the Ottoman fleet. (55) By this stratagem, Turgut wins a decisive victory in the war of competition.

An Industrial Army, not a Military One

In the next stage, we see how Turgut’s individual success story and his attempt to find a substitute for imports are transformed into a springboard for national development. Arslan Bey, the head of the Sivas *Türk Ocağı* [“Turkish Hearth,” a national association founded with the aim of fostering Turkey’s economic, social, and cultural development], hears of Turgut’s success, and asks him to set up an

⁴⁷⁸ The allegation that the Greeks had purchased a ship named the *Averoff* (launched in 1910) with money paid by an individual of the same name (an ethnic Greek with Ottoman citizenship) caused a boycott campaign against Greek tradesmen in Turkey in 1913, and played an important role in the rise of xenophobic nationalism. For the decisive role this warship played in the Balkan War, see Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, 64-66; for a detailed account of the Boycott of 1913, see Toprak, *Milli İktisat*, 107-111.

Ironworkers' House in Sivas as well. The Sivas branch of the Ironworkers' House opens, once more with entirely Turkish personnel. Subsequently, a member of the Ankara branch of the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*]⁴⁷⁹ makes a similar request. An Ironworkers' House is set up there too. Meanwhile, demands start to pour in from Izmir, Bursa, and Erzurum, requiring a change in strategy. (55-56)

Turgut reaches two conclusions. First, he should not be content merely to build Ironworkers' Houses everywhere; iron is not the only thing that is needed. Second, Turks cannot do tasks on their own, but will only succeed if they band together as an organization, for Turks have a martial, communal mentality. This mentality is what always ensured their success in the past; when it began to break down, the collapse of the nation became inevitable. The sectors of the economy abandoned by Turks have become full of non-Muslims; as the latter have grown wealthy, they have given more financial support to their own national causes.

Accordingly, the solution is to set up an "army of labor." The rest of the story consists of a detailed blueprint for this organization, couched in programmatic language. Under this corporatist program (which is virtually a carbon copy of the National Economic Program of the Union and Progress Party⁴⁸⁰) production and trade, from the villages to the cities, will be organized within a disciplined hierarchical structure, within the network of the "Turkish hearths." At every stage, from the time a crop emerges from the soil until it becomes a finished product, it will pass through the hands of the Turkish hearths. The Turkish hearths will also be a center for social welfare and solidarity, providing support to those who are ill or aged.

This organization will doubtless bring about the integration of the Turks; after it spreads all over the country, Muslim Turks will be able to take over the industry and trade which are currently in the hands of non-Muslims. Furthermore, an import-export balance will be established, and citizens will be enriched – as will the state, through the taxes it collects. Thus, the country will become more powerful. (63)

At the end of the novel, Turgut goes to Istanbul and visits a Turkish Hearth, presenting his project to its members. When the project is accepted, the heads of the Turkish Hearths all over the country are summoned; a large assembly is created, thus laying the foundation for the "Turkish Army of Labor."

In the end, the author takes his narrative right up to the threshold of utopia, but no further. It would perhaps be possible to call this text a utopia had it described the developments that took place immediately following this point in the story. However, the author simply draws a road map which he believes will lead to utopia, and then ends the work. In this sense, *The Army of Labor* can be seen as a recipe for the development of the Turkish nation, rather than a utopian vision. We can end our analysis by recalling certain prominent elements in the text which bear upon this point.

⁴⁷⁹ For an explanation about the Turkish Might [*Türk Gücü*], see footnote 418.

⁴⁸⁰ For a detailed study on this topic, see Toprak, *Milli İktisat*.

First of all, one should note the frequent, strong emphasis on the rupture caused by the Balkan War, and on the central role which the latter plays in this process of development. At the opening ceremony of his Konya factory, Turgut makes a long speech in which he provides a brief history of Turkey, explaining how the country began to decline. This decline began with needless conflicts which depleted the Turks' energy, and worsened as a result of their taste for drink, lustful habits, and lack of regard for learning. As the country was thus deteriorating, Turkey's "inner enemies" – i.e., the non-Muslims – began to exploit the Turks, and the Europeans to whom they appealed for help only dragged them into a pit of debt. (47) This process concluded with the Balkan catastrophe:

Just as we forgot our Turkishness, so, too, our ties to religion began to slacken. They, on the other hand, attempted to become even stronger by adhering even more closely to their Patriarchate. Thus, over time, we have reached such a state that in the last Balkan War, hundreds of thousands of your brothers perished at the hands of enemies attacking from within and without. No trace remains of their existence. Our women and our maidens endured assaults on their honor. The bellies of pregnant women were cut open and the babies were impaled on bayonets. Our mosques were turned into churches. Bells were hung upon our minarets. Great Rumelia – every inch of which reeks with the blood of a different martyr of ours – has been taken away from us.⁴⁸¹
(48)

In this passage, one can see all the motifs typically employed in the creation of a trauma narrative: rape of women, attacks upon holy places, etc.

The second point to be made concerns the need for a guide. Taken as a whole, the symbolism of this story is obvious. The novel is an analogy of the Ergenekon Epic alluded to in the epigraph, and explicitly referred to in the body of the text. The Ergenekon Epic is an important text in the "invented history" of Turkish nationalism. This story is mentioned in some sources as the Mongolians' creation myth; with some modifications, it was turned into a Turkish epic in Ziya Gökalp's 1913 poem "Ergenekon."⁴⁸² In this new version there are some additions, such as the "Grey Wolf." According to the legend, the Turks, fleeing from the enemy, took refuge in the mountain-ringed valley of Ergenekon, where they remained for four hundred years, during which their population increased. When the valley could no longer

⁴⁸¹ "Biz Türklüğümüzü unuttuğumuz gibi din bağlarımız da gevşedi. Onlar, patrikhanelerine daha ziyade bağlanarak daha ziyade kuvvetlenmeye çalıştılar. İşte gide gide öyle bir hale geldik ki son Balkan Muharebesi'nde Rumeli'de içeriden dışarıdan hücum eden düşmanlar önünde yüz binlerce kardeşiniz mahvoldu. Ne yerleri ne yurtları kaldı. Kadınlarımızın, kızlarımızın ırzlarına geçildi. Gebelerin karınları yarılarak çocukları süngülere geçirildi, camilerimiz kiliseye çevrildi; minarelerine çanlar takıldı. Her karış toprağında birkaç şehidimizin kanı tüten koca Rumeli elimizden gitti."

⁴⁸² Mehmed Ziya [Ziya Gökalp], "Ergenekon," *Türk Duygusu* [Turkish Sentiment], no. 1 (May 8th, 1913), 7-10.

accommodate their growing population, a blacksmith melted the iron on the mountains and thus cleared a path for them. A grey wolf named Asena showed the Turks the way out, thus allowing them to exit the valley and be saved.

After the Balkan War, the Turks – just as in the aforementioned epic – fell into difficult straits, and became trapped. Duru states that the way out of these difficult straits will not be through war; the proper remedy is an economic mobilization campaign.

— Father, we have fallen into another “Ergenekon”; we need a “Grey Wolf,” don’t we?

— Indeed, my son, indeed. God willing, you will become the “Grey Wolf.”⁴⁸³ (40)

Thus, here too, Hasan the Blacksmith will provide a way out by melting the iron and making agricultural tools; Turgut, the “Grey Wolf,” with his pioneering strategy of economic development, will guide the people out of the economic trap into which they have fallen, and towards salvation.

Finally, one should add that this is a text in which the ideology of Turkism can be seen in its purest form. This is reflected in the language of the text, as well. A member of the *Yeni Lisan* [New Language] movement – which aimed at simplifying the language and freeing it of words with foreign roots – Duru produced a text in accordance with the goals of this movement, keeping words of non-Turkish origin to a minimum, and writing a work which can be easily read even today. Furthermore, his novel does not possess a fanatical approach to Islam as far as the issue of women is concerned. Westernization is also treated as something which should be avoided. By contrast, the ideologies of Turkishness and Turkism, which can be encountered throughout *The Army of Labor*, represent the focal point of this text.

⁴⁸³ “— Babacığım, yine “Ergenekon”a düştük; bir “Bozkurt” lazım değil mi ya? / — Doğru, oğlum, doğru, inşallah o “Bozkurt” sen olursun.”

5.10. From Defeat to the Dream of Turan: Aydemir

Aydemir was the name of a novel by a female author, printed in Istanbul during wartime. It enchanted me as soon as I started to read it. The book recounted the life of its hero, named Aydemir. (...) This novel was a fantasy, a product of a young woman's imagination, with no relation to reality... (...) On the front, I always kept it on my person, taking it out of my knapsack and reading it whenever I had the chance. Each time I read it, it gave me a fresh delight. (...) Reading this book, I sometimes closed my eyes, and imagined myself in the deserts of Turan, on its roads, in its towns and villages, giving hope and consolation to the people thronging around me. I believed that I had finally found my path. (...) Later, I too would take my own place on this path. I would use the name of this novel myself, and I too would become an Aydemir. Yes, an Aydemir...⁴⁸⁴

There is no doubt that the noteworthy 1918 novel *Aydemir*,⁴⁸⁵ by Müfide Ferit Tek (1892-1971), deeply influenced the writer and economist Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (the author of the above lines), in addition to many other people. Indeed, prominent names of the period such as Ömer Seyfettin and Mehmet Fuat Köprülü wrote articles brimming with praise for Tek's novel.⁴⁸⁶

For a young Muslim Turkish woman, Müfide Ferit Tek received quite an extraordinary education. Tek went to Tripolitania, where her father was stationed, and – as there was no Turkish school available – attended the St. Joseph Convent School. Her father later sent her to Paris, where she studied at the Versailles Lycée, with the support of Ahmet Rıza, one of the leading Young Turks. A significant event in the author's life occurred in 1907, when – at the age of 15 – she married the famous Turkist intellectual Ahmet Ferit Tek, who arguably was influential in shaping his wife's nationalist

⁴⁸⁴ This passage, which dates back to the time when Şevket Süreyya Aydemir was fighting on the Caucasus Front in the First World War, features in the author's memoirs, entitled *Suyu Arayan Adam* [The Man in Search of Water]. The author did in fact choose the surname "Aydemir" upon the passage of the Law on Surnames in 1934. Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Suyu Arayan Adam* [The Man in Search of Water], 10th ed. (Istanbul: Remzi, 1997), 127-129.: "Aydemir, harp içinde İstanbul'da basılan bir romanın ismiydi Bir kadının kaleminden çıkmıştı. Beni daha ilk okuduğum gün büyüledi. Aydemir, hayatı bu kitapta anlatılan bir kahramandı. (...) Bu roman bir fantazydi. Genç bir kadın muhayyilesinin hiçbir realiteyle ilgisi olmayan bir mahsulü... (...) Onu cephe elimden bırakamıyordum. [V]akit buldukça onu çantamdan çıkarırdım. Okurdum. Her defasında bana yeni bir şevk verirdi. (...) Bu kitabı okurken bazen gözlerimi kapardım. Kendimi Turan'ın çöllerinde, yollarında, köylerinde, kasabalarında, etrafıma koşan insanlara ümit ve teselli dağıtırken görürdüm. (...) Artık yolumu bulduğumu sanıyordum. (...) Bu yolda bir süre sonra, ben de yerimi alacaktım. Onun adını kendime ad edinecek, ben de bir Aydemir olacaktım. Evet, bir Aydemir..."

⁴⁸⁵ The following edition will be used in the present study: Müfide Ferit Tek, *Aydemir* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2002).

⁴⁸⁶ In contrast to the attention it received upon publication, *Aydemir* – after its first edition in 1918 – was never republished until 2002. The Conclusion will address the probable causes for this "consignment to oblivion," a situation also faced by other works dealt with in the present study.

tendencies. Later, when her husband was sent to France on diplomatic duty, Tek accompanied him and graduated from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques in Paris. She also wrote her second novel, the 1924 work *Pervaneler* [The Moths], during this period. As we have mentioned, Tek was educated entirely at foreign schools; her second novel takes a stance which is severely opposed to such foreign educational institutions. *The Moths*⁴⁸⁷ is about Robert College in Istanbul (referred to as “Byzantine College”), which it strongly criticizes. Just as moths fly into a flame and are scorched, Muslim Turkish students – the author implies – are losing their identities at this school, making everyone’s life all the worse. “National education” occupies a prominent position in the author’s nationalist outlook.



Illustration 41: Müfide Ferit Tek⁴⁸⁸

Tek’s husband fought as a soldier in the Balkan War in 1912, later being sent into exile after a falling-out with the Union and Progress Party. She herself joined her husband in exile in Sinop and Bilecik between 1913 and 1918; indeed, her novel contains references to Sinop. *Aydemir* was written during this period, i.e., at a time when the effects of the Balkan War were still fresh in everyone’s mind.⁴⁸⁹ When one considers that Turkish nationalist literature emerged right around this time, *Aydemir* can clearly be regarded as a seminal work in this field. Indeed, Murat Belge has drawn attention to the novel’s pioneering status and utopian character, writing as follows: “The first ‘Turanist’ novel in the Turkish novelistic tradition – *The New Turan*, by Halide Edip

⁴⁸⁷ See Müfide Ferit Tek, *Pervaneler* [The Moths] (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2002).

⁴⁸⁸ <http://kaknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745>

⁴⁸⁹ Recep Duymaz, who wrote the introduction to the recent edition of the novel, states that Tek wrote *Aydemir* at the age of 24 (i.e., around 1915-1916). Recep Duymaz, “Aydemir Üzerine” [Concerning *Aydemir*], in Müfide Ferit Tek, *Aydemir*, 8.

Adivar (Tek's senior by 10 years) – had previously been published in 1912. *Aydemir* was the second such novel. Both novels were composed in the 'utopian' style."⁴⁹⁰

To provide a general overview of the plot of *Aydemir*: the story takes place immediately after the 1908 Revolution, before the start of the First World War, and centers on the love between the characters Aydemir and Hazin. Aydemir is an ideal character, both in terms of appearance and also, in particular, in terms of his beliefs. Hazin is pressured by her father into marrying an officer, despite the fact that Aydemir is the one she loves. As for Aydemir, his ideals take precedence over his love for any human being in any case; thus, although he loves Hazin, he leaves her and travels to "Turan" (i.e., Central Asia) in order to promote Turkish unity. Indeed, even though Hazin's husband dies soon afterwards (having been wounded in the Tripoli War), leaving nothing to prevent the two from marrying, Aydemir does not return to Hazin. In his view, the individual love he feels for Hazin will stand in the way of his efforts on behalf of the Turkish race. In a way that is reminiscent of the classical masnavis such as *Layla and Majnun* and *Mantiq Ut-Tayr* [The Conference of the Birds], Aydemir dies in Central Asia before the two can reunite.

Before discussing Aydemir's exploits in Central Asia, it will be useful to examine his understanding of nationalism. The novel begins in the optimistic atmosphere of the first days following the re-promulgation of the Constitution. We even encounter this optimism in a series of remarks made by a visitor, ones which are explicit enough that we could almost term this passage a "Constitutional Utopia." According to this visitor, the Constitution,

with its wealth of ideas, its military and economic might, will pave the way for an outstanding, brilliant Ottoman Empire for us within five years. All the lands which it conquered through its greatness and majesty – Crete, Egypt, Tunisia, Bosnia-Herzegovina – will be reclaimed. Foreign power, foreign exports, foreign oppression will no longer exist in our country. Fifty percent of our villagers will study. Fifty percent will work. Turkey will become a veritable rose-garden of talent. Liberty and independence, especially economic independence, independence in internal and external trade...⁴⁹¹ (33)

Here we see an example of teleological history; Aydemir, however, does not agree with this optimistic fantasy. In his opinion, the Constitution will not turn other ethnicities

⁴⁹⁰ Murat Belge, "Müfide Ferit Tek'in 'Aydemir' Romanı,"

<http://kknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745> (Accessed 15.08.2014): "Daha önce, Türk romanının ilk 'Turancı' romanını, Müfide Hanım'dan on yaş büyük olan Halide Edip, 1912'de yayımlamıştı: *Yeni Turan*. Aydemir ikincidir. İki roman da 'ütopya' tarzında yazılmıştır."

⁴⁹¹ "bize beş altı seneye kadar fikir marifeti, harp ve iktisat kudretiyle müstesna ve parlak bir Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hazırlayacak. Onun şevket ve haşmeti ile bütün zaptedilmiş memleketler, Girit, Mısır, Tunus, Bosna-Hersek geri alınacak. Memleketimizde ecnebi eli, ecnebi ihracatı, ecnebi istibdadı kalmayacak. Köylünün yüzde ellisi okuyacak. Yüzde ellisi çalışacak. Vatan bir marifet gül bahçesi olacak. Hürriyet ve serbestlik, bilhassa iktisadî serbestlik, iç ve dış ticaretle serbestlik..."

into Ottomans; on the contrary, while the Turks, and Turkishness itself, remain asleep, their nationalities will be strengthened, inducing them to attack the Ottoman Empire and set up separate states. (30) Therefore, he is resolutely opposed to Ottomanism. The notion that it could be dangerous to create a nationalist current within the Ottoman Empire, and that this could serve as a precedent for other ethnic groups, is not taken seriously by Aydemir; in his view, all people – aside from the Turks – are serving their own national interests in any case. (30)

Aydemir's basic project is to travel to Turkistan ("Turan"), promoting the status of the Turks living there, and later establishing a Turkish Union. (14) His decision to begin this project in Turkistan rather than Anatolia is a conscious choice. The Turks of Anatolia, while they may be living in misery, are at least free. The way to their salvation lies in being freed from poverty. The author takes an essentialist approach to national identity; the core of such a national identity, she believes, already exists, and will emerge of its own accord when the right framework (in terms of education and other issues) is provided:

When a villager acquires wealth, you can be sure that he will seek a doctor of his own accord, will demand a school of his own accord, will learn his rights and duties in this school, will acknowledge his own nationality, will come to know his own country, and will become the sort of Turk we wish him to be!...⁴⁹² (15)

Tek adopts the standard attitude concerning the role of intellectuals in creating a sense of national loyalty. The crucial step is for the nation to become aware of this sense of loyalty. Afterwards, it will guide its intellectuals, and "advances in thought by Istanbul intellectuals will once more result from this national awakening."⁴⁹³ (15) It is the state's task to initiate this process.

However, the Turks of Turkistan are enslaved to the Russians. Russia is doing all it can to assimilate and Russify these people. Therefore, the project needs to begin there. The author prioritizes the role of religion in people's sense of identity, stressing that Islam is the strongest armor possessed by Russia's Muslims.

According to Aydemir, Genghis Khan and Atilla were not content merely to be Turks, but opposed all those who thought them savage and uncivilized. They were "geniuses of a civilization based on strength and heroism." Tek also has Aydemir turn other historical and mythological figures, e.g. Odin, into Turks:

The Turkish nation has not only produced conquerors and heroes, but even superhuman beings. Odin, for example – that idol of strength, heroism, intelligence, and knowledge, worshipped by a faith, a pagan

⁴⁹² "Köylü, servet sahibi olunca o, emin olunuz kendiliğinden doktor arayacak, kendiliğinden mektep isteyecek, mektepte hak ve vazifesini öğrenecek, milliyetini tanıyacak, vatanını anlayacak ve istediğimiz gibi bir Türk olacak!..."

⁴⁹³ "İstanbul münevverlerinin fikir ilerlemeleri de yine milletin bu itibahından doğacaktır."

religion, which has persisted until today. Odin was a Turkish chieftain who made raids from the coasts of the Black Sea all the way to the land of the Finns.⁴⁹⁴ (17)

According to Tek, the Buddha was another “famous Turk”:⁴⁹⁵

The Buddha, yes, the Buddha...he too was a Turk...As you were ridiculing “bravery” just now, did you never consider the possibility that this compassionate civilization might also be Turkish? Do not think that it owes anything to Christianity. Jesus and his compassion are nothing other than an imitation of Buddhist doctrine, one which diverges from it, and will never be able to equal it.⁴⁹⁶ (18)

Awakening the heirs of a nation with such a glorious past, and instilling in them a wish for a “free, independent, strong, happy future,” ought to be the duty of every intellectual. (18) In order to succeed in this endeavor, people will benefit from art and literature, just as this book has tried to benefit them.

Although Tek has a racist outlook, she does not promote an aggressive nationalism; for instance, her form of nationalism is not Social Darwinist in nature, as we have seen in the case of other authors. Nor does she categorically reject humanism. She does not dismiss the question, “Does the Buddha not command people to work on behalf of all humanity?”, merely stating that the present level of civilization makes this impossible.

Nevertheless, her underlying principle is that the nation is composed of a single, pure race. Cosmopolitanism, therefore, is not something to be desired. This is particularly true of Istanbul; Aydemir states that “it is impossible to be an Istanbulite and also a child of the nation.” (41) The still-existing traces of Byzantine civilization in Istanbul make Aydemir uneasy:

He jumped onto the departing train, sticking his head out the window, and falling into a reverie as he watched the scenery fly by before him. Every time he used to pass by this place, he would search in vain for any trace of Turkish habitation, which had existed here for five

⁴⁹⁴ “Hem Türklük yalnız cihangirler, kahramanlar değil, insanüstüler de yetiştirmiş bir millettir. Meselâ Odin! Bugüne kadar baki bir dinin, tabiatperestliğin kuvvet, şecaat, zekâ ve irfan mabudu Odin! O, Karadeniz sahillerinden Fin iline akın etmiş bir Türk Beyi idi.”

⁴⁹⁵ The publishing house responsible for re-publishing *Aydemir* has added a comments section at the end of the novel. Although clearly proud to be publishing Tek’s novel, the publishers have added an embarrassed note here (at the end of the sub-section concerning the Buddha) in which – while not wishing to openly discredit Tek – they state: “The claim that the Buddha was Turkish is implausible.” (129)

⁴⁹⁶ “(...) Buda, evet, Buda... O da Türk idi... Demin cesaretle istihza ederken şefkat-medeniyetinin de Türk olabileceğine ihtimal vermiyordunuz değil mi? Bu medeniyeti Hristiyanlığa vermeyiniz. Hristiyanlığın İsa’sı ve şefkati Buda akidesinin biraz değişen, fakat asla ona yetişemeyen bir taklidinden başka bir şey değildir.”

centuries. Even the names of the neighborhoods seemed to be making light of Turkish supremacy. (...) Everything suggested the immortal, omnipresent spirit of the enemy; at every step, it seemed as though the conquered ruled over the conqueror. Aydemir was stricken with grief and turned aside his head in order not to see any more. Once more, his love for his great, unbounded, infinite nation made his bosom swell with pride. His heart, as though unable to endure such a great love, was pained.⁴⁹⁷ (36)

Aydemir will travel to Turkistan – i.e., Khiva, Bukhara, and Kashgar, as well as Samarkand, which he regards as the main center of the region. His plan is to rouse the Turks and establish a Turkish Hearth everywhere he goes, thus creating a network of these organizations. When the time comes, this national network will lead to the development of all ethnically Turkish lands. (40)

As Aydemir is busy with these tasks, Hazin also sets up a school in Istanbul, in accordance with her beloved's vision. (57) The program of study will chiefly consist of history and philosophy; students will be inculcated with patriotic sentiment, a love of humanity, a duty to serve society, an eagerness to work, and a yearning for intense sacrifice. The school's aim is to produce idealists; the graduates of the school will immediately become Aydemir's students.

The Balkan War and Turkism

As Aydemir is sowing the seeds of Turkism in Turan, the country which he has left behind experiences an event which gives credence to his beliefs: the Balkan War. The novel attributes an especially important role to this war (79-81), presenting it as the most crucial turning-point in raising people's awareness of Turkism. The catastrophe of having the Bulgarians nearly at the gates of Istanbul has become a severe trauma in everyone's mind. Tek gives voice to this trauma by means of concepts like sorrow, pain, outcry, catastrophe, loss of belief in God, hopelessness, and fear. Added to these is the shame produced by the flight of soldiers in battle; dishonorable conduct on the part of officers; the loss of national prestige; the destruction of the country's sanctity; and the violation of ancestral gravesites.

Here the author expresses the sense of despondency felt during this period, by using a number of motifs which we will encounter throughout this text. In this bleak atmosphere, the Turks feel a deep sense of hopelessness, continually seeking "a glimmer of hope, a star to show us the way to the future." They eventually realize that

⁴⁹⁷ "Kalkan trene atladı. Başını pencereden çıkardı. Önünden kaçan manzarayı seyre daldı. Buradan her geçişte gözleri beyhude yere beş asırlık Türk hayatının bir eserini arardı. Mahallelerinin isimleri bile sanki Türk hâkimiyeti ile istihza ediyordu. (...) [H]er şey düşmanın ölmeyen, unutulmayan ruhunu söylüyordu. Her adımda mağlubun galibe hükmettiği gözüküyordu. Demir, meyas içini çekti ve görmemek için başını çevirdi. Bir kere daha göğsü azîm, hudutsuz, sınırsız milliyet muhabbetiyle şişti. Kalbi sanki bu kadar büyük bir aşka tahammül edemeyecek gibi sızladı."

what they are looking for is not to be found without, but within, i.e., in the depths of their souls. What they find is the “sun of the nation” long worshipped by Aydemir. In explaining how this came to be, the author states that people have possessed a national identity since time immemorial, but this identity has lain dormant; the Balkan War has been the means by which people have become aware of it. Uneducated people

had never really forgotten it in any case...their minds did not know it existed, but they felt it without knowing it...Had they not innately and unconsciously concealed this ambition for centuries – through a force as strong as it was involuntary – in their blood, and in the ignorance of their souls? This force which gave them life, which linked them to their ancestors, preserved this ambition inside them.⁴⁹⁸ (80-81)

By contrast, even if the intellectual class has not remained so innocent, it too will have to adapt itself to this awakening. Therefore, the dream of Turan will become possible once the nationalism which is about to flourish in Turkistan (thanks to the seeds planted by Aydemir) has been united with the nationalism which will emerge in Turkey after the Balkan War.

A Nationalist Savior

Ah, who will save us?

This cry was let forth from the bosom of every Turk. A hope which, like a marvelous unknown remedy awaited by Hasan, was simple, yet extraordinary; too far off to be seen, but close enough to be expected at every moment!⁴⁹⁹ (66)

This work is a typical example of the motif of the “savior/guide,” one of the themes which were introduced in Part Three, and which frequently and consistently recur in many of the texts examined in this thesis. Aydemir takes on the function of a pioneer, a leader, and a guide in the liberation of the Turks and all the Turkic peoples. Interestingly, the author adds a spiritual dimension to this function, with certain passages in the book representing nationalism as a kind of religion. For instance, when Aydemir is in Central Asia – where he has gone to pursue his Turkist aim – he receives word of the death of Hazin’s husband; he then desires to be reunited with her. However, the moment he feels this love for an individual human, he is beset by the thought that he has forsaken his ideal and “committed a sin.” (72-74)

⁴⁹⁸ “onu zaten hiç unutmamıştı. . Dimağıyla bilmiyordu; fakat bilmeden hissediyordu... O, bu emeli asırlardan beri meçhul ve fitrî bir halde, iradesiz olduğu gibi cebri bir kuvvetle kanında ve ruhunun meçhuliyetinde saklamamış mıydı? Onu yaşatan, onu ecdadına bağlayan kuvvet, bu emeli de onda korumuştur.”

⁴⁹⁹ “- Ah bizi kim kurtaracak? / Bu, bütün Türklerin göğsünden kopup gelen bir feryattı. Hasanın beklediği fevkalade ve meçhul bir deva gibi basit, lâkin harikulade, gözükmeyecek kadar uzak, fakat her an beklenilecek kadar yakın bir ümit!”

Thus, Tek's novel imparts a spiritual, religious dimension to its main character. Right at the beginning of the novel, this is effectively confirmed by a comment which a visitor (with Hazin's approval) makes concerning Aydemir: "Aydemir Bey resembles a hermit, an apostle – a man from another world." (27) However, this spirituality is not limited to a specific religion. For instance, Hazin identifies Aydemir with the Buddha; like the latter, he too has set out in search of happiness by sacrificing everything he has for humanity. (55)

In addition, the manner of Aydemir's departure for Turkistan is evocative of a Mahdi or Messiah; he leaves proclaiming the slogan, "I have come to bring good tidings to the poor, liberty to slaves, consolation to the broken-hearted, and freedom to the oppressed." (64) The Turks of Turkistan perceive Aydemir in precisely the same way. The people there talk of how Aydemir finds work for the unemployed; teaches the illiterate to read; gives money to the poor, bread to the hungry, books to those who lack them, and knowledge to the ignorant; and, most of all, brings tidings of the imminent day of liberation. (66)

The Ottomans knew that the Sultanate would one day come and save them. Did not their books say so?...[Aydemir] waited at people's bedsides – even those of his enemies – procuring a remedy for their illnesses. He opened his door even to those who wished to kill him. His door was unlocked in any case, and his bread was there for whoever wanted it. In order to aid the poor, he would lie outside shivering in the cold of winter. He knew all languages, all branches of knowledge, and was the first to discover everything.⁵⁰⁰ (67)

But the most powerful reference is to Jesus. At the very start of the text, while Aydemir is in Turkistan, Hazin attempts to promote his views in Istanbul. As Aydemir pours out his views on paper, he compares himself to St. John, the author of one of the Gospels. (56) Moreover, he states that the people of Turkistan have "followed them like a flock of sheep which has found its shepherd." (84)

After lighting the fire of nationalism in all the cities of Turkistan, Aydemir makes his way to the most important city in the region, Samarkand. At this point, he has a premonition of his impending death, just like Jesus. Samarkand will be the place where Aydemir's dream of the future – which he terms "a future unity of the race" (81) – will materialize, the place where his utopia will become flesh and blood. Religion is also evoked more frequently in this part of the novel:

⁵⁰⁰ "(...) Osmanlılar saltanatının bir gün gelip kendilerini kurtaracağını biliyorlardı. Kitaplar da bunu yazmıyorlar mıydı? O, düşmanı bile olsa, başı ucunda bekleyip şifa bulduruyormuş. Kendini öldürmek isteyene bile evini açıyormuş. Zaten kapısı kilitsiz, ekmeği açık dururmuş. Fakirlere yardım edebilmek için kışın titreyerek soğukta yatarmış. Bütün lisanları, bütün ilimleri bilir ve her şeyi evvelden keşfedermiş."

Like all prophets known to humanity, he too was an artist paving the way for an Age of Felicity in dark times, who was doomed only to be able to see the greatness of his ambition in his own imagination. Aydemir felt the same torments felt by all those prophets. Like them, too, Aydemir was a believer who knew that he might die without bringing to life the great vision of his deity, which he had seen and worshipped; he might die only having preached to people, without making them believe.⁵⁰¹ (82)

20 graduates of Aydemir's school – each one a missionary, so to speak – will go to various cities in Turan to work as teachers. (106) In Samarkand, Aydemir has supporters, in addition to his 12 followers (his “apostles”) such as Ahmet and Şakir, as well as enemies like Ömer the Teacher. An interesting situation emerges with the start of the First World War. The Turks of Turkistan are expected to fight in the Russian army, against the Ottomans. When the Turks ask him how they can fight against the armies of the Caliphate, which has declared a holy war, Aydemir gives an unexpected answer. Holy war, he says, is for free people; a revolt against the Russians will only mean death for the Turks of Turkistan. Therefore, he advises them to avoid such a revolt, and to join the Russian forces. (109) However, they do not listen to him, and rise up in revolt. The main encouragement for this revolt comes from Ömer the Teacher, the villain of the novel, who is certain the Russians will think that Aydemir is responsible. However, Ömer himself is arrested, and is sentenced to be hanged. His wife comes and implores Aydemir to save him. Aydemir takes pity on the woman and her children, and the novel reaches its climax with a great act of magnanimity on his part. In order to save his chief enemy, Aydemir turns himself in as the supposed instigator of the revolt, and is sentenced to death. (113-116) After his death, he becomes a legend.

As a novel, *Aydemir* does not depict a utopia of its own; rather, it can be considered a work which presents a blueprint for the racist-Turanist-nationalist utopia which was being developed during that period, one which it fictionalizes and idealizes. Moreover, aside from the novel's mainstream racism, which enjoys more widespread support, it is significant in exhibiting a variety of racism which Murat Belge has characterized as “cultural” and “female” in nature.⁵⁰² Violence plays little part in Tek's approach. In the novel, a worker dreams of the Turks' becoming stronger and crushing the Russians; by way of answer, Aydemir states that the Turks should not desire this outcome. Their aim should not be for the oppressed and the oppressors to change place, but to do away with oppression entirely. In Belge's view, the obscurity into which

⁵⁰¹ “Bütün insaniyet resulleri gibi o da karanlıklarda bir saadet devri hazırlayan ve emelinin büyüklüğünü yalnız hayalinde görmeye mahkum bir sanatkarı. Demir, bütün o resullerin azaplarını da duyuyordu. Onlar gibi mabudunun büyük hayalini gördükten, ona ibadet ettikten sonra gördüğünü yaşatamadan, yalnız telkin ederek belki inandırmadan öleceğini bilen bir mutekit [idi].”

⁵⁰² Belge, “Müfide Ferit Tek'in ‘Aydemir’ Romanı,” <http://kaknus.com.tr/new/index.php?q=en/node/745> (Accessed 15.08.2014)

Aydemir later fell is linked to the predominance of a different variety of racism, more suffused with violence and aggression than Tek's.⁵⁰³

Finally, one should underline the role which Tek attributes to historiography in the realization of her nationalist ideal. Even when Hazin's sister Nevin jokingly compares Aydemir (who is about to leave for Turkistan) to Homer at the start of the novel, Aydemir is pleased by the comparison. "What I wish for," he says, "is nothing other than this: to resurrect Turkishness through art and love." (19) While in Samarkand, too, he normally goes every evening to a homely little cafe frequented by working folk, and reads a simple history of the Turkish people to them, written in the style of a fairy tale. This reading, rather than wearying them, arouses their curiosity, thus familiarizing them with the concept of the nation, and helping them become aware of their own existence as a race. (89) In other words, according to Tek, the key to nationalist indoctrination lies in the glorious history of the Turks, and in works which extol this history. Indeed, this very novel was written in order to serve such a purpose, and, to an extent, was successful in doing so in its day.

⁵⁰³ Belge, "Müfide Ferit."

5.11. The Third Wave of Utopian Writing: The Republican Period

Part 4 dealt with the utopian works written before the Balkan War while Part 5 analyzed the utopias produced during and right after the Balkan War, and these works was the core of this study. Before we conclude, it will be useful to include a brief discussion of utopias written after the Balkan War period, i.e., those of the Republican era. This will help us to obtain a somewhat more wide-ranging perspective on Turkish utopian literature; to see how the rupture caused by the Balkan War effected visions of the future in the long term, and to observe the resulting continuities and discontinuities; and to be able to perform a more effective comparison by taking into account the process of creating a new identity which was inherited by the Republic.

As stated above, there were three waves, so to speak, in the utopian movement in Turkish literature, all three of which followed in the wake of great socio-political transformations in the country. The first occurred in the 1860s, or the Young Ottoman period. During this era, the modernization process ceased to be limited to military affairs, and began to spread to the field of culture, causing considerable birth-pangs in the process; additionally, demands for a Constitutional regime became more vociferous during the same period. The long and repressive regime of Abülhamid II, who had first proclaimed the Constitution and then repealed it soon afterwards, saw the emergence of the Young Turk opposition. The Revolution of 1908, which occurred under the leadership of the Young Turks, had revived people's hopes for the future; however, the subsequent catastrophe of the Balkan War brought the country to the brink of destruction. It was within this setting that attempts to seek Turkey's salvation brought about the second wave of utopian literature, which has been dealt with in this thesis.

The third wave, which has not been considered in the present study,⁵⁰⁴ began after 1930, during the Republican period. Before we start analyzing them, a brief historical background would be helpful. As is well known, it was not through consensus that the new state regime founded after Turkey's victory in the National Struggle became a Republic. The 1920s were a difficult period for this new state. The transformational process which began in 1924 with the abolition of the Caliphate encountered a certain amount of resistance, which was silenced with increasingly severe policies. In 1924, the opposition gathered together under the rubric of the *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* [Progressive Republican Party]. Afterwards, the Şeyh Sait Rebellion in 1925 led to the following successive measures by the government: the proclamation of the *Takrir-i Sükûn Kanunu* [Law for the Establishment of Peace]; the re-establishment of the *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri* [Independence Tribunals]; and the closing of the Progressive Republican Party itself. Later, following an assassination attempt on Atatürk in İzmir in 1926, there was a manhunt for former members of the Progressive Republican Party and the Union and

⁵⁰⁴ For a detailed study of the Turkish Republican utopias, see Engin Kılıç, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi."

Progress Party; at that point, it was no longer possible for any opposition movement to remain in existence. This repressive environment – together with the destructive effects of the worldwide Economic Crisis of 1929 – caused societal discontent to reach its peak.

The regime then embarked on an experiment with controlled opposition, having the *Serbest Fırka* [Free Party] set up in 1930. However, this party soon became uncontrollable, threatening to turn into a general movement of opposition to the regime. It was shut down, and Turkey began the process of constructing a totalitarian, single-party regime. The party apparatus and the state bureaucracy were united (as had been done by the German Nazi Party), and the legal framework was prepared for rule by a single individual.

It was under these conditions that the Kemalist order enacted its reforms, in line with the principles it had adopted. The Kemalist approach wanted to control religiosity,⁵⁰⁵ cast the Ottoman past in a negative light, and put a premium on national identity as well as on a Westernizing, Jacobin process of modernization. In order for this approach to achieve hegemony, it needed artistic support as well. Thus, what I have referred to as the “third wave” of utopian literature coincides precisely with this period. Starting in 1930, we see that the production of utopian works picks up speed once more. Giving a few specific examples of these works will provide some clues about the nature of this “third wave.”

The first example we will mention is Ahmet Ağaoğlu’s 1930 work *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* [In the Country of Free People].⁵⁰⁶ One of the leading figures in the Turkist movement, Ağaoğlu became famous as a liberal Westernizer. At the same time, Ağaoğlu was one of the founders of the Free Party, which achieved prominence for its liberal opposition to the CHP; *In the Country of Free People* was written and published during this very period. Therefore, one would expect a criticism of the existing order in this book, as well as an endorsement of the notion of an ideal country in which political and economic liberalism hold sway. However, this is not the case; on the contrary, Ağaoğlu’s book espouses a vision which largely shares the ideological and political principles of the hegemonic ruling discourse.

Ağaoğlu praises the level of development in this imaginary country, as well as its ideal social order. There are, of course, political parties in this country; however, there is never any political conflict. The prevailing doctrines are ones like nationalism, the guidance of the people by intellectuals, solidarism, Westernism, positivism, and a rejection of the past. In other words, the societal order closely resembles Kemalism. In fact, on this note – at the cost of marring the narrative by destroying its image as an

⁵⁰⁵ For an analysis about the use, control and instrumentalization of Islam by the new Republican regime, see Erik Jan Zürcher, “The Importance of Being Secular: Islam in the Service of the National and Pre-National State,” in: C. Kerslake, K. Öktem and P. Robins (ed.), *Turkey’s Engagement with Modernity. Conflict and Change in the Twentieth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010), 55-68.

⁵⁰⁶ Ahmet Ağaoğlu, *Serbest İnsanlar Ülkesinde* [In the Country of Free People] (İstanbul: Sanayii Nefise Matbaası, 1930).

“imaginary country” – Ağaoğlu states that the goal of those who guide this free country is “the realization of the wishes and desires of the Genius who established the Republic of Turkey.” The author’s main thesis is that in 1930, moral degeneration began to be seen among the ruling cadres in Turkey (who faced no opposition) and that this led to the corruption of the regime. In other words, the book aims to legitimize the existence of the Free Party, of which Ağaoğlu was himself a founder.

Another relevant work is the 1933 novel *Semavi İhtiras* [Celestial Desire]⁵⁰⁷ by Rafi Necdet Kestelli, who described himself as a socialist. Kestelli’s novel depicts a powerful, happy, prosperous Turkey in 1953. Turkey is now the heart of Europe: there have been great advances in technology, with airplanes becoming so commonplace that they are used in daily sports activities by high school girls. Large passenger planes, with built-in swimming pools, are used to stage opera performances. Telephones have become “telescopes” as well. The hero of the novel, a Nobel laureate named Nejat, is the director of the Turkish Girls’ College, which provides education in English. Turkey’s salvation depends on an out-and-out process of Westernization. Undoubtedly, spirituality should be a priority as well; however, there is no room for religion in this understanding of spirituality. There is a complete rejection of the past. The era of Abdülhamid had produced oppression and ignorance; the members of the Union and Progress Party thought primarily of their own gain, thus perpetuating this darkness.

However, in the period starting with the founding of the Republic and stretching into the future, the country modernized, science became dominant, a meritocratic system came into effect, and reactionary thinking came to an end. There are now two parties in Parliament: the “socialist republicans” and the “conservative nationalists.” However, there is no strife between the two, but rather a harmonious, constructive dialogue. In this work as well, rather than presenting an alternative order, Kestelli is evidently implying that the Kemalist republic was itself the realization of a utopia, and that if society continues to apply Kemalist principles patiently and consistently, the future will look very bright.

In contrast to these two almost unknown texts, the third work we will consider is quite well known, indeed is one of the few works which come to mind when speaking of Turkish utopian literature. The 1934 novel *Ankara*,⁵⁰⁸ by the author and politician Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, who was a member of the Kemalist cadres, consists of three parts. In the first two parts, there is a critical treatment of the National Struggle and the period that followed. In the author’s opinion, the Kemalist revolution and reforms became corrupted, and never truly took root among the people, with the West being imitated in a superficial manner. The third part contains the author’s own vision of an ideal future, which could be described as statist, corporatist, and nationalist-Westernist in character, and which was in harmony with the official ideology of the 1930s.

⁵⁰⁷ Raif Necdet [Kestelli], *Semavi İhtiras* [Celestial Desire] (İstanbul: Yeni Şark Kütüphanesi, 1933).

⁵⁰⁸ Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 5. bs. (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996).

This Turkey of the future has emerged as the result of a miraculous transformation, whose details are not totally clear. A protectionist economic doctrine holds sway, while profiteering and speculation have disappeared. Workers' problems have ceased to exist, too, as they have all become "state officials." That said, there is no mention of any improvement in their standards of living. Nonetheless, once workers were proclaimed state officials, they became aware of the great service they were rendering their nation and society by this honorable position, and thus became happy as well. The villagers, too, have been saved from the inhuman conditions described both in this novel and in Karaosmanoğlu's *Yaban* [The Stranger]. Organized into cooperatives, the villagers' earnings and living standards have improved. Corporatist models of organization find their equivalent in this novel, in the form of these village cooperatives, as well as community centers and institutions like the Social Liability Organization.

All these things are followed by a great spurt of development. By 1942, productivity is increasing "30 times" every year. The country's network of railroads and highways has been completed. Turkey has been divided into various regions of production: Central Anatolia is a center of craftsmanship and animal husbandry, while the East has become a paradise for cattle-rearing. As for Western Anatolia, advanced agricultural techniques are practiced in this region, turning it into the Turkish equivalent of Provence.

This Turkey of the future is ruled by a single-party regime, as was the case at the time of the novel's composition. Twenty years after the founding of the Republic, Atatürk is still President, and İnönü is still Prime Minister. In this novel – in a manner recalling attempts in the 1930s to enshrine Kemalism as a religion in place of Islam – we see Atatürk turned into a divine figure, while a positivist world-view is promoted in place of Islamic dogmas like chance and fate. The press, the cinema, the theater, and literature now have the duty of endorsing state doctrines. Reactionism, cosmopolitan snobbery, and all movements contrary to national aims have come to an end.

In preserving Turkey's national identity, Karaosmanoğlu recommends a formula which he terms "nationalist Turkish Westernism," which will fulfill the country's modernization needs, and which will be brought about with the aid of linguistic and historical organizations. Moreover, in creating this strong Turkey the leadership and guidance of enlightened cadres have made it possible to include the people, as well, in this process of transformation. In short, as a novel, *Ankara* once more portrays the existing system and ideology as an ideal, endeavoring to make everyone see things in the same way.

In the 1940 story "Yurda Dönüş" [The Return Home]⁵⁰⁹ by author and politician Memduh Şevket Esendal, we find a very interesting vision of the future, even if it too does not challenge the fundamental principles of the regime. All throughout his life,

⁵⁰⁹ Memduh Şevket Esendal, "Yurda Dönüş," [The Return Home] in *Gödeli Mehmet* (İstanbul: Bilgi, 1988), ss. 149–189.

Esendal advocated a solidarist-corporatist model of social organization, and a culture based on rustic values. In this story, he turns this outlook into a dream of the future, depicting a Turkey which has become a giant village, where all people live in harmony, being connected to the land, to their professional associations, and to their local region.

The narrator, who has been absent from Turkey for 15 or 20 years, returns to find a country which is very different from the one he remembers. Turkey is now covered from top to toe in vineyards, gardens, fields, and forests. In the middle of these fields and gardens, there are houses, nearly all of which are single-storey. As the narrative progresses, we learn that almost all of the country looks like this. We learn that this change in Turkey's appearance is due to changes in its economic and social order, which has been a great success, and has made life cheaper and easier. Cooperatives and professional associations are the underpinnings of this new order. Farmers, doctors, textile workers, and cheese-makers all have their own organizations, without which it is impossible to practice these trades.

Esendal's story reflects the philosophy of "villagism" which was promoted by the CHP government during the 1930s and 40s. Esendal advocates corporatism, solidarity, and villagism in a quite comprehensive and consistent manner. He is antagonistic towards industry and industrial civilization; his faith in the eventual collapse of the latter (which he refers to as "vertical civilization") is complete. In its place, he believes that in laying the groundwork for the country's future, a "horizontal," agriculture-based conception of civilization should become the norm. Even if Esendal's vision of the future is different, this story still does not depart from the ideological framework created by Kemalism; rather, it represents the viewpoint of a faction within that camp.

A largely similar situation prevails in another, later work, namely the 1963 novel *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy]⁵¹⁰ by Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1897-1976). Aydemir's novel follows in the footsteps of Mizancı Murat's *Is It New Or Is It Nonsense?*,⁵¹¹ which we considered earlier. *If the Earth Awakens* tells the story of a poor village which grows wealthy by carrying out a miraculous program of development under the leadership of a teacher who is stationed there. This idealistic teacher succeeds in repairing the school, which was previously in a dilapidated state. Next, he drains the swamp adjacent to the village, engaging in high-tech agricultural activities on the resulting plot of land. The villagers set up cooperatives, which allow them to make a great deal of money through these efforts; they crown their successes by building a brand-new, modern village. Aydemir stresses that the model which has been implemented in this small village can also be implemented all throughout Turkey. This model does not abolish private property. Rather, under the leadership of the state, it makes society more orderly, and then makes use of society's labor within the

⁵¹⁰ Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, *Toprak Uyanırsa: Ekmeksizköy Öğretmeninin Hatıraları* [If the Earth Awakens: Memoirs of a Teacher in Ekmeksizköy] (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi 1963).

⁵¹¹ See Chapter 4.5.

framework of a planned economy. Moreover, it is agriculturally-based, with a focus on cooperatives. Certain preconditions must exist in order to realize this model, including a need for social order; guidance of society by the intellectual class; and a belief that development can only be achieved through statist, villagist policies.

As a result, *If the Earth Awakens* – though written at a later date – contains a vision of society which has many similarities with utopias written in the 1930s and 40s. Aydemir was active as an intellectual during the creation of a single-party regime in the 1930s; three decades later, he does not seem to have changed his position very much. Aydemir takes a dim view of political pluralism and societal differences; he foresees the modernization of society through disciplined strategy and planning of a statist, Jacobin character, under the leadership of a reformist cadre organized under the aegis of the state.

Apparently, works belonging to this third wave of utopian literature do not contain many visions which might constitute an alternative to Kemalism. In fact, in Şaziye Berin's 1933 utopian novel *Baybiçe* [The Lady],⁵¹² which is set in the year 1973, Atatürk is still alive and serving as President. The national hero is "like a God in charge of the nation which he created from scratch."⁵¹³ During celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Republic, a young girl prostrates herself in front of a statue of Atatürk, calling this the "dance of the Republic."

Clearly, this work was written in the intellectual climate of 1933. However, we should point out that works written in this vein continue to be produced. For example, İlhan Mimaroglu's *Yokistan Tasarısı* [A Plan for Nowhereland],⁵¹⁴ written as recently as 1997, shows that such tendencies exist even today. Mimaroglu's book, which he has described as "the best of all utopias to date," foresees a society in which workers will be state officials, just as in *Ankara*. Additionally, the author describes electoral democracy as "handicapped" and as "a narcotic game," longing for a totalitarian regime with a long list of prohibitions.⁵¹⁵

Without a doubt, other kinds of utopian texts have also been produced. For instance, Ertuğrul Aladağ's 2000 novel *1908: Birlikte İlerleyebilseydik* [If Only We Had Been Able to Make Progress after 1908]⁵¹⁶ is based on the scenario of "if only the 1908 Revolution had been successful," showing what a happy, prosperous country Turkey would have become if all those wars, deportations, and ethnic cleansings had not taken place. In addition, many works have been produced, and continue to be produced, which feature alternative visions concerning Turkey or the world. However, what I wish to stress is that the process of creating a new identity which began with the rupture of the Balkan War – though it entered a new phase with the founding of the

⁵¹² Şaziye Berin, *Baybiçe* (İstanbul: Marif Vekâleti, 1933).

⁵¹³ Berin, *Baybiçe*, 24: "Yeniden yarattığı vatanın başında bir Allah gibi"

⁵¹⁴ İlhan Mimaroglu, *Yokistan Tasarısı* [A Plan for Nowhereland] (İstanbul: Pan, 1997).

⁵¹⁵ Mimaroglu, *Yokistan*, 41.

⁵¹⁶ Ertuğrul Aladağ, *1908: Birlikte İlerleyebilseydik* [If Only We Had Been Able to Make Progress after 1908] (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2000).

Republic – has perpetuated its existence, and has continued to reproduce itself, for a long time. The main difference between post-Balkan War utopian works and the ones written after the foundation of the Republic is that the former ones sought for an alternative social and political order to the present reality whereas the Kemalist utopias are focused on the further development and consolidation of the Kemalist Republic.

5.12. Evaluation

At this point, it will be helpful to take a closer look at Part Five and make a brief evaluation of the works analyzed here, just as we did at the end of the Part Four. The projections of the future provided by these works are –when compared with the earlier utopian works- much more full-fledged depictions of the “new Turkey.” Despite the differences in their ideological inclinations, all of the writers of this post-Balkan-War weave the major elements of the trauma narrative which involves the theme of a vengeful urge to rise from the ashes as a nation imagined as an ethnically and religiously homogenous whole.

The first common feature of these works, in terms of their form, is that the “dream” continues to be a popular choice in this period as well. Many works, (*A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, “Thirty Years Later”, “Colloquy under the Pines”, “Scenes and Pictures of the Future” and *Ruşeni’s Dream*) uses the dream form in this or that way.

But of course the most significant characteristic they all share is that the Balkan catastrophe is their common subject (either the main topic or an important point of reference). All these works –except the Republican ones- were written in a six-year-period during and after the Balkan War, therefore the social and political context in which they were produced was the same and that deeply influenced their tone. In that respect, most of the concepts we discussed in Chapter 3.2 as elements of the trauma narrative of the Balkan War (shame, need for a guide, awakening, hatred, revenge, need for a national ideal, etc) are their common themes. It is here that utopian works are directly linked with the trauma narrative: This thesis argues that the traumatic narrative of the Balkan War was constitutive of the utopian projections of the national awakening as reflected in these works.

From an ideological perspective, we see the fall of Ottomanism and the rise of other ideologies, particularly Turkism and Islamism. Especially Turkism in its various forms seems to be a common ideological orientation for all these works (with the exception of Celal Nuri’s work). In connection with this, another outcome of the Balkan defeat is that ideological positions are sharpened, xenophobia, need for a homogeneous society, and all sorts of radicalism gain favour.

Another common feature among these works is that none of them yearns for a democratic regime. On the contrary, almost all of them longs for an authoritarian, totalitarian regime (again, with the exception of Celal Nuri). In that sense, it is also not surprising that the utopian works of the Republican period do not condemn the authoritarian regime in the 1920s and 1930s.

All these works also wish to have a rich and powerful state as in the case of earlier utopian works. The reflection of this wealth and power is seen particularly in transportation. Automobiles, trains and airplanes are easily accessible in their ideal future. We frequently encounter a love of buildings, roads and bridges (especially over

the Bosphorus). And a dense population is seen as a prerequisite of being a flourished, prospered country.

All the same, they differ from each other in various aspects. Since it is written before the dire consequences of the War are witnessed, *The New Turan* looks for a solution in a way that incorporates ethnic and religious minorities, although it still reflects an arrogant approach towards them. This novel is also unique for foregrounding a feminist attitude and for suggesting to follow the American model for development. *A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization*, on the other hand, comes into prominence with its meticulously detailed social and political order and original, inspiring technological designs. It is also the one that most consistently champions an Islamic order. We can call “Thirty Years Later” the most prescient one, because all the topics this small and condensed piece discusses are still topics of hot debate in Turkey today. Yahya Kemal’s “Colloquy under the Pines” shares the Turco-Islamist approach of many other texts but differs from them in form. It is constructed as a “what if ...” scenario in a counter-historical fashion, and this makes it unique among the others. Ethem Nejat’s works are literary representations of his political projects he developed after the Balkan War. Similarly, *The Army of Labor* aims at depicting an ideal future in which the principles of the National Economy is strictly applied. Celal Nuri’s piece is one of the most distinct ones, for it goes beyond all the boundaries of race, religion or geography. The remaining ones advocate various variants of nationalism and racism. Among them, *Ruşeni’s Dream* is the most aggressive example of hate discourse.

The table below provides a graphic categorization of the works in terms of the themes and topics they cover:

| | <i>The New Turan</i> | <i>A Dream of Progress and Islamic Civilization</i> | <i>"Thirty Years Later"</i> | <i>"Colloquy under the Pines"</i> | <i>The Heroic Turks and The Farm Overseer</i> | <i>"The Scenes and Pictures of the Future"</i> | <i>"Twenty Years Later"</i> | <i>Ruseni's Dream</i> | <i>The Army of Labor</i> | <i>Aydemir</i> |
|--|----------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| A Clearly Stated Attribution of a Misson to Literature | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + |
| Imperial Blindness | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | - |
| Shock and Shame | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Hope for a Savior or Leader | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Awakening | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Never Forget | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Hatred | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Rancor and Revenge | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Envyng the Enemy | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + |
| Need for a National Ideal | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Dream Form | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| Subject: Balkan Catastrophe | - | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - |
| Ottomanism | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Islamism | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - |
| Turkism | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Totalitarian tendencies | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | + | + |
| Longing for a wealthy and powerful state | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |