No man's land: gender and sexuality in erotic narratives of the Late Ottoman Empire

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Colophon

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Introduction

No Man's Land is the quintessential image of the void between two frontlines. For those who bore witness to the First World War (1914-1918), it suggested the experience of marginality, liminality, and the betwixt-and-betweenness that had lasting implications for their lives after the War (Leed 1979: 14-15). Sandra M. Gilbert points out how the First World War also had implications for twentieth-century literature. She writes,

> [f]rom Lawrence's paralyzed Clifford Chatterley to Hemingway's sadly emasculated Jake Barnes to Eliot's mysteriously sterile Fisher King, moreover, the gloomily bruised modernist anti-heroes churned out by the war suffer specifically from sexual wounds, as if, having traveled literally or figuratively through No Man's Land, all have become not just No Men, nobodies, but *not* men, *un*men. That twentieth-century Everyman, the faceless cipher, their authors seem to suggest, is not just publicly powerless, he is privately impotent. [emphasis in the original] (1983: 423)

The Ottoman Empire, as one of the participants in the First World War, brought back its own experience of No Man's Land. In fact, the feelings of powerlessness and impotence came into existence in the Ottoman Empire before the War, and they can be traced back to the eighteenth century when the weakening position of the Empire in world politics began to be felt. Later, these feelings intensified during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and resonated in literature as well. It was not a coincidence then that the Ottoman Turkish novel, which emerged in the second half of the nineteenth

century, often revolved around the feelings of powerlessness and impotence. These feelings were deeply expressed by the fictional male protagonists who had not even been to No Man's Land in the First World War, but belonged to a land in which they were exposed to the burdens of being "*not* men, *un*men" due to the decline of the Ottoman Empire as well as to losing wars and territories [emphasis in the original]. To put it another way, apart from the Empire's publicly overt powerlessness in world politics, the feeling of impotence permeated Ottoman Turkish fiction.

This feeling of impotence was also central stage in erotic literature of that period. An enormous number of erotic narratives, most of which were unconventional and which differed from traditional Ottoman Turkish erotic works, were written and published between 1908 and 1928 in the period from the proclamation of the Second Constitution until the early years of the Turkish Republic when they were banned. My contention is that twentieth-century erotic narratives became the No Man's Land of Ottoman Turkish fiction in several ways. To begin with, these narratives fell outside of the traditional canon and became marginalised. This situation has prevailed to the present day. There is literature on twentieth-century erotic narratives, however it is limited in scope. In addition to their marginalisation, these narratives contained liminalities of desire that were situated betwixt-and-between modern discourses on gender and sexuality on the one hand, and sexual practices and roles prior to modern construction of sexuality on the other. Moreover, the period these narratives were written in – from the proclamation of the Second Constitution until the early years of the Turkish Republic – constituted a political liminality that was a transition from the Empire to the nation-state. This dissertation scrutinises the newly emerging discourses regarding gender and sexuality in twentieth-century erotic narratives, a field that has suffered from a lack of study and which deserves

greater scholarly attention. It aims to answer the following questions: To what extent did the historical, societal context and twentieth-century erotic narratives interact to produce new discourses on gender and sexuality? More specifically, in what ways are representations of masculinities connected to the transition to modernity and the decline of the Empire? What purposes do the reifications of male bodies serve regarding the formation of masculine subjectivities in these narratives? How do the different readings of popular erotic narratives inform our understanding of the Ottoman Empire? Bearing these questions in mind, this dissertation is intended to read Ottoman Turkish erotic narratives of the twentieth century as literary constructions of gender and sexuality with a particular focus on, but not limited to, masculinity.

Zafer Toprak, a pioneer scholar who first drew attention to these narratives, indicates that along with the proclamation of the Second Constitution, "freedom" advanced on almost every front in society (2017: 25). Early twentieth-century erotic narratives became a sort of expression of freedom, and they were unique to such a "chaotic" period (Toprak 2017: 28-29). However, this does not mean that erotic works were found only in twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish literature. They also existed in literature before the period I am discussing. In his article "Print Capitalism and Women's Sexual Agency in the Late Ottoman Empire", İrvin Cemil Schick notes, "from sex manual, through court poetry, to shadow theatre, erotic expression was always present in Ottoman society". Yet, the way eroticism was expressed took a different turn in the twentieth century (2011: 212).[1]

Prior to the twentieth century, among works in prose, *bâhnâme*s (books of libido/intercourse), for instance, were medical and erotic texts, many of which were partially or entirely translated from Arabic or Persian

[1] For an extensive overview of sexuality in Turkish literature see Konur Ertop. *Türk Edebiyatında Seks*. İstanbul: Seçme Kitaplar Yayınevi, 1977.

texts (Schick 2004: 83-84). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, *bâhnâme*s were transformed into books for sexual positions (Bardakçı 1993: 57). Some other prose works were, to a great extent, homoerotic such as *Dâf'ü'l-gumûm ve Râfi'ü'l-humûm* (Expeller of Sorrows and Remover of Worries, 1483-1511) and *Dellaknâme-i Dilküşâ* (Joy-giving Book of the Masseur, 1686) (Schick 2004: 84-85).[2] Moreover, imagery and vocabulary in classical poetry also contained sensuality and sexual themes especially in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Schick 2004: 86).[3] There were also *şehrengîz* examples that described beautiful boys of a certain city. Besides, Enderunlu Fazıl Bey's *Hubânnâme* (Book of [Male] Beauties) and *Zenânnâme* (Book of Women) illustrated features of men and women of various nations. In a similar vein, *hammâmiye* or *hammamnâme* (book of bath) exclusively described beautiful boys and young men (Schick 2004: 89-90). Furthermore, folk poetry, dominated by *âşık* (minstrel) poetry, and shadow theatre largely contained erotic themes as well (Schick 2004: 90-94).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a great number of books and articles concerning gender and sexuality were published by privately owned publishing houses. They criticised arranged marriages and polygyny, and upheld monogamous and companionate unions. The significance of living a healthy and satisfying sexual life for women as well as for men was emphasised, while extramarital sexual intimacy was depicted as being fun and worth trying (Schick 2011: 215). Nevertheless, this did not hold for the canon novel, which frequently annihilated sexuality and womanhood, standardised sexual forms and gender, and placed emphasis on

[2] See Selim S. Kuru. "Sex in the Text: Deli Birader's *Dâf'ü'l-gumûm ve Râfi'ü'l-humûm* and the Ottoman Literary Canon." *Middle Eastern Literatures,* 10.2 (2007): 157-174, Selim S. Kuru. "*A Sixteenth Century Scholar: Deli Birader and His Dâf'ü'l-gumûm ve râfi'ü'l-humûm*." Harvard University, 2000.

[3] See Kemal Silay. *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court: Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1994.

women's fertility and their mothering role. This was because of the regulatory state-produced discourses on gender and sexuality, which noticeably developed during the emergence of nationalism in the last years of the Ottoman Empire as well as the early years of the Turkish Republic. Even when women were represented sexually, sexuality was depicted as 'harmful' and 'evil'. As Deniz Kandiyoti writes, "[…] emancipating and literally unveiling women required compensatory symbolism and a new veil – that of sexual repression" (1988: 47). Thus, sexuality was used as a discursive tool for delineating the boundaries of the cultural exclusion or inclusion of women, and overlaid with a moralistic tone by the authors.

Nevertheless, twentieth-century erotic narratives did not conform to the moralistic tone of the canonised literature. Schick informs us that erotic narratives led to intense debates when they were published; they were accused of being 'mischievous' in intent. On the one hand, the emergence and development of erotic narratives was frequently identified with the decline of the Empire. This decline was not only the result of political failures, but was also believed to be caused by newly emerging social norms and public morality. On the other hand, the emergence of these narratives was regarded as being the cause of social 'breakdowns', and was blamed for the rise of prostitution and other societal "ills". No matter which came first, the erotic narratives or the 'moral decline', these narratives represent the new notions of gender and sexuality that appeared in the late Ottoman Empire (2011: 211-212).

In order to excite readers, publishing houses saw no harm in putting daring cover pictures on these narratives (Toprak 2017: 27). They were often published with a subtitle "*milli roman*" (national novel) or "*milli hikaye*" (national story). Schick considers this subtitle apt, as the growth of the printing press during the Second Constitutional period helped to promote

Turkish national consciousness – as an example of Benedict Anderson's "print capitalism" – and channelled the diffusion of new discourses on gender and sexuality in society. Schick further writes, "[t]he global context in which print capitalism flourished in the Ottoman Empire was that of modernity" (2011: 202-203). Benjamin C. Fortna speaks of the relation between literacy and modernity that functioned on different levels, the individual, groups of individuals – religious, social, economic, familial, cultural, political –, and society as a whole with regard to Anderson's "imagined community" (2011: 2, 5). The rise in literacy provided new social and economic opportunities, reorganised political and cultural influences, and redesigned the interaction between state and society (Fortna 2010: 563). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, competitive publishing houses created content and promoted its distribution with only one goal in mind: profit (Schick 2011: 216). In fact, the production of erotic narratives was a concerted dialogue between the author and the reader; the author was subjected to and then wrote in line with the reader's expectation. Narratives were written quickly and provided their authors' daily bread (Toprak 2017: 28, 30). These narratives were published using pseudonyms or just initials as well as anonymously. Many popular and/or canon authors of the period such as "Şövalye" Hasan Bahri (Özdeniz) (dates unknown), Avanzâde Mehmed Süleyman (1871-1922), Mehmed Rauf (1875-1931), Selahaddin Enis (Atabeyoğlu) (1892-1942), Selami İzzet (Sedes) (1896-1964), wrote such works (Schick 2004: 95, 97).

It is my contention that there are two reasons why twentieth-century narratives were marginalised. The first reason is generic. Erotic literature has almost never been part of any literary canon, but has been regarded as part of the subculture, perhaps apart from the writings of Marquis de Sade. Ottoman Turkish erotic narratives of the twentieth century were not embedded in the

literary canon either. However, numberless erotic stories and novellas, which, Toprak argues, did not have literary value, were in demand, so much so that they surpassed the canonised literature in sales (2017: 30, 26). Toprak considers these narratives a revolt against the canonised literature (2017: 29). He names them *müstehcen avam edebiyatı* (obscene popular literature) and states that some of the narratives could even be counted as "pornographic" – using modern criteria (2017: 31).

The way Toprak distinguishes obscene literature from pornography evokes Steven Marcus' comparison of pornography to literature in his famous work *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* in which he comes to the conclusion that unlike literature that has "a multiplicity of intentions", pornography is preoccupied with gratification (1966: 278). In her essay "The Pornographic Imagination", Susan Sontag, on the other hand, opposes the rigid idea that pornography and literature are "antithetical" (1969: 44). She writes,

> [r]elatively uncommon as they may be, there are writings which it seems reasonable to call pornographic – assuming that the stale label has any use at all – which, at the same time, cannot be refused accreditation as serious literature. (1969: 36)

It is rather difficult, if not impossible, to designate the limits and definitions of sexual material and determine to what extent its content obstructs the literariness of a certain work. This dissertation is neither concerned with such definitions nor the literariness of these works. The definitions of "erotic", "pornographic", and "obscene" are historically and culturally contingent, and further depend on individual judgement. In his essay "Pornography and Obscenity", D.H. Lawrence, for instance, underlines the way in which

pornography and obscenity very much depend on one's personal view; as he famously puts it "[w]hat is pornography to one man is the laughter of genius to another" (1929: 5). Along the same line, Alain Robbe-Grillet writes, "[p]ornography is the eroticism of others" (*La pornographie, c'est l'érotisme des autres*) (Charney 1981: 1). Nevertheless, there is broad consensus on the emergence of pornography, which came to be a discrete category only after the development of print culture and the increase in literacy in the nineteenth century. Lynn Hunt states that the regulation of printed works became significant for categorising whether a work is pornographic or not (1993: 19). In her discussion on the female nude in paintings, Lynda Nead remarks that the regulation of pornography is not solely about controlling the sexual materials, but also about regulating audiences of these materials (1992: 3). Thus, the context of the consumption of sexual material as well as its consumer also becomes important vis-à-vis its content.

Regarding "obscenity", Nead points to the covert, suggestive nature of "obscenity" when she writes that the etymology of "obscene" may be an alteration of "scena" in Latin meaning "beyond representation" (1992: 25). In her doctoral dissertation, Düriye Fatma Türe also uses the name *müstehcen avam edebiyatı* as Toprak when analysing erotic fiction published in the 1920s in Turkey. In addition to the Western definition of the word obscene, Türe concentrates on the Arabic sense of the word "*müstehcen*", meaning "immodest" or "shameless". This word is related to "*hücnet*", which can be translated as "bawdy" or "obscene". Ultimately, similar to Nead, Türe justifies her choice for "obscene" due to suggestive linguistic references that hint at sexual relations as opposed to "pornography", which describes sexual relations with the intent to arouse the reader (2007: 201).

In *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England*, Ian Frederick Moulton points out that "erotic writing", as an analytical tool, has

the advantage over "pornography" because it is "relatively free of moral judgement". He is not concerned with categories but uses "erotic writing" to bring together a variety of texts that are concerned with sex, though the texts are not necessarily "sexy" (2000: 6). Moreover, Murat Bardakçı underlines the difference between works that contain sexual elements and works that are only about sexuality (1993: 10). As Schick puts it, "the mere presence of a sexual dimension does not qualify a literary work as erotic […]" (2004: 81). I suggest reading the narratives within the scope of this dissertation as literary works, ones that represent new discourses on gender and sexuality that became available in the late Ottoman society. Hence, I refer to the corpus of these works as "popular erotic literature" precisely because the word "obscene" connotes the 'unrepresentability' of discourses on gender and sexuality that permeated Ottoman society.

Before the printing press, Ottoman erotic manuscripts were limited and reached only a restricted number of people. Orally transmitted erotica reached a broader audience. But their content changed during oral transmission. The printing press fixed and stabilised erotic literature and made it accessible to a broader audience. However, erotic narratives also became more open to government intervention, and secular or religious authorities restrained them at times (Schick 2011: 211). In the United Kingdom, Lord Campbell introduced his Obscene Publications Bill to the House of Lords in 1857. The legislation proposed preventing the exposure of obscenity to the public to provide and preserve public hygiene and morals, since the effects of pornography influenced public social life in general and everyday individuals in particular (Nead 1992: 99). Similar concerns about erotic narratives were raised in the late Ottoman society. Although there was political censorship in the Second Constitutional period, it did not interfere with popular erotic literature too much (Toprak 2017: 27). Also in the very

early years of the Turkish Republic, the government did not have the time to pay attention to popular erotic literature, because the rapid social and cultural transformations were its top priorities (Toprak 2017: 29). Ultimately, the general assembly of the Republican People's Party in 1927 was the turning point for these sorts of publications, publications that reflected "the dirtiest and the most intriguing" phases of life under the name of "*milli roman*" (Toprak 1987: 26). *Maarif Vekaleti* (the Board of Education) drafted a law in order to prohibit these "publications undermining the morale of youth". The draft of the law was based on a law that was used in Germany. Its purview was to protect children under the age of eighteen. The law went into effect as *Küçükleri Muzır Neşriyattan Koruma Kanunu* (the Law of Protection of Minors Against Obscene Publications) on the 7th of July 1927 by being published in the official gazette (Toprak 2017: 36). Popular erotic literature gradually disappeared from the market.

The publication of these erotic works was halted around the same time as the reform of the alphabet in the Turkish language – in the early years of the Turkish Republic (1928).[4] This is the second, and more specific, reason for the marginalisation and exclusion of these works from the literary canon. Jale Parla remarks that the abolition of the Arabo-Persian alphabet and the adoption of the Latin alphabet made the Ottoman past inaccessible to those born after 1925. She further states that the alphabet reform would have failed in breaking ties with the past, if it had not been followed by the language reform of 1936, the purpose of which was to cleanse the Ottoman vocabulary and syntax from Turkish (2008: 28). After the alphabet reform, only certain literary works were Latinised and became accessible to those who were not schooled in Ottoman Turkish. The deliberate choice to Latinise

[4] See Geoffrey Lewis. *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

some works rather than others led to the formation of the Ottoman Turkish literary canon, which mostly took shape under the influence of the early Republican politics and the desired construction of national identity. Kemalist nationalists worked with determination to break Turkey's cultural ties with its Ottoman past through the exclusion of certain publications from the canon. In this way, the Turkish state used language reforms to systematically limit access to the Ottoman past.

Nergis Ertürk writes, "the language reforms did succeed in producing what in effect was an amnesiac majority of modern Turkish speakers and writers" (2011: 103).[5] Both Erich Auerbach and Jacques Derrida sorrowfully refer to the linguistic and cultural amnesia that occurred in Turkey due to these reforms. Auerbach wrote a letter to Walter Benjamin from Istanbul on the 3rd of January 1937:

> No one under 25 can any longer understand any sort of religious, literary, or philosophical text more than ten years old and . . . the specific properties of the language are rapidly decaying. (Ertürk 2011: 103)

Derrida's letter of the 10th of May 1997 – also written in Istanbul exactly sixty years after Auerbach's letter – contains similar remarks about the alphabet reform. He finds the alphabet changes "traumatic" and further writes,

[5] For Ottoman and Turkish literary modernity, see also Nergis Ertürk. "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's 'Hasret', Benjamin's Melancholy." *PMLA,* 123.1 (2008): 41-56.

> I only think of that, I mean of her, of it, of the letter. In this case, of that of the Turks, of the transliteration that befell them, striking them full in their history, of their lost letters, of the alphabet they were forced so brutally to change, a short time ago, from one day to the next […] But perhaps this *coup de la lettre*, this chance or blow is struck against us every time something happens: one has not only to undress but to leave, to set out again naked, change bodies, convert the flesh of the words, of signs, of every manifestation, while pretending to stay the same and to remain master of one's own language. […] I am therefore trying to take upon myself, and with me, as it were in me, to comprehend or relieve what, I imagine, here in Turkey, to have been an extermination of the letter, a voyage one never comes back from. [emphasis in the original] (2004: 9, 11, 15)

Derrida regards the alphabet reform of 1928 as an interruption in history for the peoples of the Turkish Republic. One consequence of this reform – which he describes as "a voyage one never comes back from" – is that the Ottoman past became inaccessible. Here, the loss of letters, the so-called "*coup de la lettre*", signifies the loss of the comprehensive collective memory of the Ottoman Empire [emphasis in the original].

Andreas Huyssen evokes the Freudian relationship between memory and forgetting, when he says that "memory is but another form of forgetting, and forgetting a form of hidden memory" (2000: 27). Memory is by definition selective. That is to say, the formation of the Ottoman Turkish literary canon in which twentieth-century popular erotic narratives did not take part was a result of a selection concerning the construction of the collective memory of the Ottoman Empire. This selection was, of course, compatible with the interests of the Turkish Republic. Schick writes,

> [c]ertainly, the republican regime also aimed at reconstructing gender, but it wished to do so on its own terms, from above; the liberal relativism that erotic literature entailed would have been considered a threat to the revolutionary puritanism ushered in by the new order. (2004: 97)

On the other hand, it is their opponents, the Islamist elites and intellectuals who nurture those ties with the Ottoman past as part of their identity practices in current Turkish politics. Given the fact that the current politics in Turkey persists and takes pride in the Ottoman Empire, the neglected position of erotic works poses a dilemma. Ignoring erotic works in discussions about the Ottoman Empire results in an image of the Empire that mostly embodies its Islamic morality and conservative cultural values. In both ways, the works in question have been lost to the comprehensive collective memory of the Ottoman Empire, which has been reconstructed by different political historiographies depending on the self-interest of the existing power.

As mentioned above, I contend that twentieth-century popular erotic narratives can be considered the No Man's Land of Ottoman Turkish fiction, since they have not had their due attention up to the present. In addition to their marginalisation then and now, these narratives were produced in a politically and sexually liminal period from the Empire to the nation-state, a period during which changes in and new discourses on gender and sexuality occurred. This dissertation, therefore, concerns itself with the multiple ways in which these changes and new discourses – particularly concerning masculinities – were represented in popular erotic narratives.

Revisiting Ottoman Turkish Fiction Through Popular Erotic Narratives

In his article entitled "Conjectures on World Literature", Franco Moretti forms a literary system that is "one and unequal", and has a centre and a periphery as in world-system theory (2000: 55-56). He suggests a "*law of literary evolution*" [emphasis in the original]:

> in cultures that belong to the periphery of the literary system (which means almost all cultures, inside and outside Europe), the modern novel first arises not as an autonomous development but as a compromise between a western formal influence (usually French or English) and local materials. (2000: 58)

As Francesca Orsini rephrases Moretti, "[the] peripheral version of the novel […] will turn out to be the rule in world literature, while the Anglo-French original is really the exception" (2002: 79). Moretti aims to systematise the "structural compromise" that occurs when "peripheral" literatures encounter Western literary forms. Yet, he also indicates, such a compromise took different forms in various literatures such as Turkish, Chinese and Arabic novels (2000: 62). Moretti further explains in detail that by means of the term "compromise" he initially predicates on Fredric Jameson's formal compromise between form and content when discussing the modern Japanese novel. He carries Jameson's compromise a step further and suggests a triangular relation consisting of foreign form, local material – *and local form* [emphasis in the original]. According to Moretti, this third dimension makes novels "seem to be most unstable", because local form as represented by the narrative voice gives expression to unease when foreign form and local material are at odds (2000: 64-65). As for the Ottoman Turkish novel, he engages Parla who also indicates a similar conclusion regarding the

emergence of the Ottoman Turkish novel and the way in which internal tensions and conflicts influenced the narrative voice and made it unstable as in Jameson's reading of the early Japanese novel (2004a: 120). Nevertheless, Parla takes issue with "the law of formal compromise" indicating, "the rise of the novel necessitated a formal compromise everywhere" including the rise of the novel in England and France (2004a: 117, 121).

The "formal compromise" of the Ottoman Turkish novel has often been scrutinised in relation to the Empire's modernisation attempts. For Ottoman society, participation in the process of modernity was primarily a shift in the cultural paradigm, characterised by attempts to compromise tradition with modernity at political, institutional, ideological and cultural levels at the time. It led to epistemological alterations in daily practices such as lifestyles and identity politics, and reshaped the discourses regarding gender and sexuality. These discourses were constructed by examining the new cultural codes and the existing cultural heritage, which had a strong impact on society as well as on literature. In *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (Fathers and Sons: The Epistemological Foundations of the Tanzimat Novel), Jale Parla reads the early Ottoman Turkish novel with a metaphorical father-son relation in mind. In her reading, "fatherlessness" in the process of modernisation is the backbone of the early novels whose content mostly consisted of an intensive search for a father (2004b: 15). Parla's "fatherlessness" turns into a "missed ideal" in Orhan Koçak, who tries to establish a framework to understand the mental dimension of a cultural contradiction generated by Ottoman modernisation (1996: 95). Koçak draws attention to reforms in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, which introduced "Western culture as an ideal to be embraced, thereby first reducing the 'local ego' to a state of infant-like helplessness before the foreign ideal" (1996: 151). Nurdan Gürbilek expands

on Koçak's argument and writes; "the local self will cause the foreign ideal to appear as a deformed one, while the foreign ideal has already deformed that local self" (2003: 603).

Furthermore, in her *Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark: Edebiyat ve Endişe* (Blind Mirror, Lost Orient: Literature and Anxiety), Gürbilek demonstrates the ways in which socio-cultural and political anxieties felt over against modernity were situated at the centre of the Ottoman Turkish novel and emerged as Oedipal anxieties.[6] She addresses Harold Bloom's seminal work *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* and transforms the Bloomian anxiety of influence into the anxiety of feminisation, a fear of loss – losing virility; that is to say, losing masculinity. According to Gürbilek, the fear of losing masculinity almost always contained the fear of giving maturity away to someone, remaining a child forever (2014: 30, 10). She further writes that the idea of being "defeated" by a modern West was often experienced as the fear of losing self-reliance, the feeling of inadequacy and the anxiety of being stuck in destituteness by the early novelists. It was experienced as a "narcissistic scar" (2014: 13-14). In short, the anxiety of feminisation, emasculation, or childisation settled in the centre of the Ottoman Turkish novel. Accordingly, writing novels started a war concerning masculinity and maturity in the inner world of novelists (2014: 165).

As Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne write, "[m]asculinity appears as an essence or commodity, which can be measured, possessed or lost" in its conventional use (2003: 11-12). Along these lines, with reference to the Lacanian account of anxiety, Drucilla Cornell states that what makes the little boy a man can always be detracted from him. This "leaves him in a

[6] Similar or related anxieties occurred in different contexts in the Middle East. See Wilson Chacko Jacob. *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011, Afsaneh Najmabadi. *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

constant state of anxiety and terror" (1998: 143). Whether Ottoman authors treated masculinity as something that can be possessed or lost depending on the imperial power and/or the limits of modernity, many of them certainly presented anxieties derived from the idea of losing one's masculinity in fiction. It is quite significant to note that masculinity is not a single, rigid entity; it cannot be measured or lost. Judith Butler argues that definitions of masculinity and femininity are socially constructed and regulated by various political, legal, religious, and linguistic factors. These social constructions are acted out performatively. She writes,

> [t]here is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results. (2010: 34)

This dissertation examines various social constructions of gender and sexuality in a corpus of popular erotic narratives, with special attention being paid to implied judgements and opinions regarding Ottoman masculinities. It therefore concerns itself with contradictions, transgressions, and interruptions in the formation of modern masculine subjectivities that flowed from social, cultural, and political anxieties due to the social and cultural transition to modernity in the Ottoman Empire.

Kaja Silverman's seminal work *Male Subjectivity at the Margins* offers a useful way to look at different sexual subjectivities in relation to masculinity. She introduces the term "dominant fiction" that refers to "more than the ideological system through which the normative subject lives its *imaginary* relation to the symbolic order" [emphasis in the original]. Here, "fiction" is used to emphasise the imaginary, while "dominant" brings the conventional subject in psychological alignment with the symbolic order.

Dominant fiction secures the continued sense of unity and identity in social formations (1992: 54). Silverman writes about the interruption of social formation in terms of "historical trauma", or,

> any historical event, whether socially engineered or of natural occurrence, which brings a large group of male subjects into such an intimate relation with lack that they are at least for the moment unable to sustain an imaginary relation with the phallus, and so withdraw their belief from the dominant fiction. (1992: 55)

The widespread acceptance of the alignment between penis and phallus means that the phallus signifies more than sexual difference. Indeed, it is such an essential symbol in dominant fiction of the West, argues Silverman, that collective belief in ideology is threatened when prototypical male subjects are not able to identify with the image of male adequacy that is produced by the equation of penis and phallus. Because the phallus is always the artefact of the dominant fiction, historical trauma results in a collapse of the penis/phallus equation. Thus, when the prototypical male subject is not able to "recognize 'himself' within its conjuration of masculine sufficiency", he suffers from an intense feeling of "ideological fatigue" (1992: 15-16).

Such an "ideological fatigue" occurred in Ottoman society due to the decline of the Empire, modernisation, and social change. Scholars like Şerif Mardin and Ahmet Ö. Evin implicitly trace this fatigue in their studies of fiction. Mardin reads early Ottoman Turkish novels as sources for ways to investigate Turkish modernisation and social change (1974: 403). Likewise, in *Origins and Development of the Turkish Novel*, Evin explores the Ottoman Turkish novel in relation to socio-cultural and political developments in the Empire. He establishes a connection between political ideas and literary

works both of which were produced by the same people who acted as intellectuals trained in government service and authors well exposed to French literature (1983: 10). Because Ottoman intellectuals and authors often acted as reformers, it is important to pay attention to what Deniz Kandiyoti notes regarding male reformers in Muslim societies. She writes,

> quite often, male reformers were not speaking from the position of the dominating patriarch, but from the perspective of the young son of the repudiated or repudiable mother, powerless in the face of an aloof, unpredictable and seemingly all-powerful father. (2003: 197)

Kandiyoti speaks of a probable crisis in socially dominant masculinity stemming from the social change that "involved, among other things, a rejection of the life-styles implied by their fathers' domestic arrangements" (2003: 198). Here, dissenting from paternal arrangements is in accord with Parla's reading of the Ottoman Turkish novel that suggests a feeling of "fatherlessness" or Gürbilek's anxiety of feminisation, emasculation or childisation because of changes that have occurred in society.

Ottoman modernisation was a phallocentric project stemming from Oedipal anxieties. Yet, Kandiyoti emphasises that psychoanalytic criticism does not elucidate culturally specific forms of masculine subjectivity (2003: 199). In addition to studying external forces such as colonialism and Western hegemony regarding masculinities, she suggests paying particular attention to historically and culturally specific institutional contexts that "inform and shape gendered subjectivity and yet are subject to constant change and transformation" (2003: 211). Although psychoanalytic criticism has often been criticised due to its privileging of the heterosexual male attitude, it is useful to challenge and resist patriarchal domination from within that very

attitude. Thus, it is important to consider masculinity as a cultural production that contains personal and generic power relations and domination in itself.

Whether psychoanalysis is a useful tool in the study of masculinity depends, according to R. W. Connell, on our understanding of "the structuring of personality and the complexities of desire" as well as "the structuring of social relations". In other words, the significance of psychoanalysis stems from an understanding of both the individual and social relations (1996: 20-21). Speaking of the sexual relation as a social relation of domination, Pierre Bourdiue writes that penetration, when performed on a man, manifests power and domination. It is considered to be a humiliation because "the worst humiliation for a man is to be turned into a woman" (2001: 21). In John Boswell's words,

> [In premodern Europe,] [p]enetration and power were associated with the prerogatives of the ruling male elite; surrendering to penetration was a symbolic abrogation of power and authority – but in a way that posed a polarity of domination-subjection rather than of homosexual-heterosexual (1990: 17).

As Butler notes, gender becomes the product of power relations, because subjects do not choose their gender, but gender creates subjects (1993: x). The Freudian Oedipus complex is "a map of *one* historically possible pattern, and it is necessary to think about this particular pattern in relation to the others" [emphasis in the original] (Connell 1996: 18). Besides, in Lacanian psychoanalysis, for example, "masculinity is rather, the occupant of a *place* in symbolic and social relations" [emphasis in the original]. In this respect, especially Lacanian feminism in Europe points to "a political, symbolic reading of masculinity" (Connell 1996: 19-20). This dissertation benefits

from psychoanalytic literary criticism drawing on the works of Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan regarding the conditions under which popular erotic narratives were produced, as well as the redefinition of sexuality and gender roles via the medium of these narratives.

Toprak states that popular erotic literature can be seen as synonymous with the literature of social transformation (2017: 28). With reference to Toprak's statement, Schick elsewhere specifies that what we see in popular erotic literature is not a simple projection of social disintegration, but it rather expresses the idea, or the consciousness, of social disintegration. On that note, the corpus of Ottoman Turkish popular erotic literature is not a passive reflection, but it is an active agent that constitutes and forms social reality (2005: 14, 16). Schick's consideration of the popular erotic literature evokes Foucauldian discourse analysis that suggests, "literature can work in a social formation, as opposed to simply reflecting it" (Colebrook 1997: 40). Such an approach prevents treating these narratives as social and cultural documents that mirror reality. As Raymond Williams argues, literature is not a "mute mirror" (Colebrook 1997: 145). Williams' idea that the novel does not reflect but tries to attain a sense of social totality sows the seeds of cultural materialism, which considers literature not merely a representation or reflection, but "an active cultural event" (Colebrook 1997: 147). This dissertation, therefore, analyses the interactions between social transformation and popular erotic literature.

Schick points out that popular erotic narratives of the twentieth century are significant because they symbolise the collective imagination and aspiration of a certain group of people who lived at a certain time and in a certain place (2011: 202). Along the same line, Toprak states that aspirations engraved in the subconscious were expressed between the lines in the narratives (2017: 28). Moreover, the emergence and development of popular

erotic narratives, to a certain extent, developed into a new and comprehensive public discourse. They were particularly significant due to their original and subversive construction of sexuality, which transformed gender relations in late Ottoman society. In other words, they were ground breaking in that they changed fiction into public discourse via their inundation and sophistication of gender relations and sexuality in the period they were written. Thus, I read these narratives as historical and cultural artefacts that were produced in specific historical conditions and functioned as components of certain social, cultural, and political formations. Hence, there is a reciprocal relationship between history as a determining force in literary works and literary works in making sense of history come into prominence throughout this dissertation.

Because my reading of twentieth-century popular erotic narratives is historically motivated, it avails itself of cultural materialism. Through interpreting literary works, often by placing them in historical contexts, cultural materialism constructs "alternative and radically different perspectives" (Brannigan 1998: 119). It displaces formalist readings of literary works and offers more historically and politically engaged readings that bring representations of oppressed and marginalised groups into the literary and cultural debate. Accordingly, cultural materialism reveals the question of representing the "other" regarding race, gender, and sexuality in literary texts (Brannigan 1998: 116). Just as there is no single political dynamic concerning class, race, sexuality, literary works do not have a single reading that waits to be uncovered. Instead, each reading is positioned within a political horizon (Colebrook 1997: 192)

In *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading*, Alan Sinfield also draws attention to the importance of reading literary works through the lenses of cultural materialism that demonstrate controversial aspects of our ideological formation with respect to class, race,

gender, and sexual orientation (1992: 47). Sinfield speaks of "dissident reading", a reading that counters conventional readings. He writes,

> dissident potential derives […] from conflict and contradiction that the social order inevitably produces within itself, even as it attempts to sustain itself. (1992: 41)

For Sinfield, dissident reading is a form of political opposition towards the dominant ideology that has to be taken as a point of reference in order to expose contradictions. When dominant ideology fails at concealing contradictions, "faultlines" occur. Faultline stories cover "the awkward, unresolved issues, the ones in which the conditions of plausibility are in dispute". Therefore, they have the most potential for political criticism when examining the process of contestation in the production and interpretation of literary texts (1992: 47).

In *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault*, Jonathan Dollimore is particularly interested in how language, ideologies, and cultures of domination as well as the kinds of resistance to those contain conceptions such as self, desire, and transgression (1991: 21). Like Sinfield, he also engages in representations of oppressed and marginalised groups that challenge the contempt of the "other". Besides, Dollimore concerns himself with the dominant ideology that is unsettled by means of the plurality of the others. He suggests that even though the "other" is actually used to illustrate superiority of the dominant ideology, it in fact challenges the constructed centrality of the dominant ideology. He writes, "the marginal returns to the centre in a way which disarticulates the centre/margin binary itself" (1991: 331). Thus, the reciprocal relation between centre and margins becomes a ground for contestation.

My contention is that challenges to the dominant ideology by Sinfield and Dollimore inversely evoke Moretti's "*law of literary evolution*" which, as mentioned above, ultimately decentralises the centre, namely the Anglo-French literatures, in world literature [emphasis in the original]. Nevertheless, the way Moretti looks at the non-Anglo-French literatures reinforces the historical hegemony of the Anglo-French novel. In addition to the hegemonic relation or central/peripheral positioning *between* literatures, literary works might have similar relations and positioning *within* the same literature [my emphasis]. On that note, John Brannigan draws attention to a problematic aspect of cultural materialism, which almost always focuses on 'canon' texts and/or authors. He suggests reading the works of "marginalised and neglected" authors. In fact, their works could significantly contribute to a challenge of authority (1998: 115). Here, the works of Sinfield and Dollimore can help reverse the dominant ideology by looking at marginalised and neglected works.

I suggest that narratives within the scope of this dissertation have the potential for dissident reading and may be seen as "faultline" stories. Dissident readings of popular erotic narratives disclose especially the anxieties they contain within the context of social and cultural tensions brought about by modernity. In this dissertation, I make use of the marginality, liminality, and betwixt-and-betweenness of popular erotic literature and aim to challenge the suppositions regarding gender and sexuality in the Ottoman Empire constructed by and judged through political historiographies and canonical works. Therefore, it is intended to look at the Ottoman Turkish literature from an angle that has been ignored due to the marginal position of twentieth-century popular erotic narratives.

Furthermore, Michel Foucault and Jacques Lacan have often been positioned in discussions about the desiring subject in cultural materialism

(Colebrook 1997: 175). One of the important questions in these discussions concerns the various modes of difference, which can operate in desire. Both Foucault and Lacan rule out desire as natural or pre-given. Desire is constituted by means of a series of prohibitions, regulations and exclusions. In other words, it is produced with regard to "historically-specific textual procedures" (Colebrook 1997: 182-184). In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault underlines the multiplicity of resistances concerning sexuality, which varies depending on historical context and sometimes gives rise to "a 'reverse' discourse". Such a reverse discourse uses the same categories and conceptions as the dominant discourse and disqualifies it (Sinfield 1992: 47-48).

Since the categories and conceptions are not inherent in the literary work, their reading is determined by historical conditions. Conflict between competing ideologies is reproduced in aesthetic and artistic principles of a work, which manifests social, political and moral values and beliefs (Brannigan 1998: 111). In Claire Colebrook's words, "[m]eaning and culture are mutually constitutive: cultures are the effects of stories and narrative production" (1997: 192). Reading twentieth-century Ottoman popular erotic narratives from a cultural materialist angle enables us to demonstrate that they are significant in terms of establishing a literary and ideological history of the new and unconventional representations of sexuality and gender relations. A study of popular erotic narratives, therefore, is of essential importance not simply because of the social and political reality they represent, but also because these narratives have, in turn, epistemologically challenged the existent socio-cultural norms and moral values with regard to the new social practices. Hence, the popular erotic narratives can be seen as a psychohistory, or as Schick suggests a "history of mentalities" of twentieth-century Ottoman society (2005: 15). Accordingly, it contributes to our

understanding of the collective memory of the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter Overview

Lynn Hunt suggests that political structures can be thought of as a body, an idea that allows for erotic connotations. In European history, for example, the body of the king represented the foundation of a legitimate government. The queen's body also had great political significance together with the body of the king, because the hereditary monarchical form was contingent on their erotic functioning (1991: 1). Similar to the bodies of kings in Europe, the Ottoman sultan's body was the symbol of absolute power until the second half of the nineteenth century. Not only does the body of the king or the sultan function to symbolise political structures, but subjects' bodies are also shaped by political structures through body politics. Nevertheless, discussions on body politics have often been focused on women's bodies, which have become representative of social, cultural, and political tensions concerning Islam and/or the Middle East.[7] This dissertation, however, gives prominence to issues of male bodies vis-à-vis representations of masculinities in the early twentieth century when the body of the sultan was not indicative of absolute power any longer.

I contend that representations of male bodies through masculine identities in popular erotic literature inform us about changes and tensions that occurred due to the Ottoman Empire's decline and modernisation attempts. In other words, the reification of masculinities with regard to male

[7] See Ebru Boyar, and Kate Fleet, eds. *Ottoman Women in Public Space*. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Duygu Köksal, and Anastasia Falierou, eds. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women New Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, 2013, Madeline C. Zilfi. *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*. Leiden: Brill, 1997, Leslie P. Peirce. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

bodies has a great potential for eroticising the Empire's social, cultural, and political tensions and power struggles. In order to provide an accurate understanding of these tensions and struggles, my selection of works is based on the arguments and discussions that are relevant to different masculinities and male bodies, from the body of a eunuch to a 'hyperheterosexual' man. The chapters in this dissertation are thematically organised along the lines of a psychological and physical development of a male body, which moves from castration anxiety through the adolescent years, and ultimately to maturity. While the chapters follow the development of a male body, their content covers more than male subjectivities alone. In other words, although masculine subjectivities are at the heart of this dissertation, they are positioned in a wider context of gender and sexuality in Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives.

The chapter organisation is based on themes rather than on particular authors or the oeuvre of an individual author. I restrict my corpus to short stories and novellas published between 1908 and 1922 – beginning from the proclamation of the Second Constitution until the fall of the Ottoman Empire. The corpus of this dissertation includes two canonical authors Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920) and Mehmed Rauf whose works were already Latinised. Works I read for this dissertation are the following: *Kesik Bıyık* (Trimmed Moustache, 1918) by Ömer Seyfeddin, *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Haremağasının Muâşakası* (The Wedding Night: A Eunuch's Lovemaking, 1913) by M.S, *Anahtar Deliğinde* (Through the Keyhole, 1914) by A. Ali Bey, *Kaymak Tabağı* (The Plate of Cream, n.d.) published anonymously, and *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* (The Story of a Lily, 1910) by Mehmed Rauf. This dissertation does not intend to describe 'currents' or 'sub-genres' in popular erotic narratives of the twentieth century, if there are any. Neither my selection nor my reading of the narratives within the scope of this dissertation

pretends to make general claims. Instead, it abstains itself from such reductionist generalisations. I read the selected narratives pursuant to newly emerging discourses on gender and sexuality and against a backdrop of social and political transformations in the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire.

Because my readings of these works are historically contextualised, to demonstrate the overlap of the reciprocal interactions between social transformation and popular erotic literature, Chapter One is devoted to clarifying the ways in which modernity was combined with or was in conflict with Ottoman traditions, with particular reference to discourses concerning gender and sexuality. Here, my focus is on three significant domains; education, the press, and urban change in the Empire's capital, Istanbul, all of which are relevant to contextualise the further discussions and analyses. This chapter therefore serves as an introduction to the socio-cultural context of the late Ottoman period during which twentieth-century popular erotic literature emerged.

Chapter Two focuses on two works, *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası,* that were published in times of war: the First World War (1914-1918) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) respectively. Although *Kesik Bıyık* was published almost a month after the end of the First World War, its destructive impact was still acutely resonating. Among all the narratives in this dissertation, *Kesik Bıyık* is the only narrative that does not belong to the corpus of twentieth-century popular erotic literature. The reason I include this short story is to show a correspondence between popular erotic literature and the literary canon. This chapter reads both narratives allegorically – by applying psychoanalytic literary criticism. In addition, it can be seen as a postcolonial reading, underlining the entanglement between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and imperial power. Both narratives reveal the concept of Ottoman manhood under threat as a result of the loss of

imperial power and/or the loss of wars. I look at how these losses are represented as castration anxiety by using symbolic and literal castration motifs. Moreover, in this chapter, I explore the ways in which modernity is fetishised in *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası.*

Chapter Three focuses on two narratives, *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı*, both of which are examples of the *Bildungsroman*. These narratives are concerned with the sexual developments of the adolescent protagonists in their passage into adulthood. Accordingly, this chapter underscores the transitional feature of adolescence vis-à-vis modernity. In these examples, the notion of adolescence plays along with the Empire's modernisation so much so that they become allegories for the late Ottoman period. The protagonists' sexual developments are also read psychoanalytically and in relation to their gender difference. The male protagonist in *Anahtar Deliğinde* leads a 'freer' life by using the privilege of being a man compared to the female protagonist of *Kaymak Tabağı*. This chapter demonstrates how Ottoman society still prioritised manhood and male sexual liberation to a greater extent than it did its female counterpart.

Chapter Four develops a reading of Mehmed Rauf's *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, the most well-known work within the entire corpus of popular erotic literature. It actually is an adaptation of the French novel *Le Roman de Violette*. The beginning of the chapter presents the changes that occurred in sexual practices and construction of sexual identities in the nineteenth century. Then, together with the compelling story of the course of Mehmed Rauf's writing the narrative itself, I frame my reading of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* based on his reading and literary appropriation of *Le Roman de Violette*. By using the themes he tackles in his work – such as virginity and lesbianism – this chapter demonstrates the extent to which modern discourses on gender and sexuality permeated Ottoman society. Thus, it scrutinises the

way in which marginalisation of non-normative sexualities appeared for the benefit of discourses on heterosexuality not only in the literary canon but also in popular erotic literature.

Chapter One

'Masculine' Modernisation of the Ottoman Empire

Historiographies on the Ottoman Empire distinguish two important interrelated processes during the period from the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908 until the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923.[8] This period has been regarded as a continuation of the Empire's modernisation, the seeds of which go back to the *Tanzimat* (reorganisation) period between 1839 and 1876. At the same time, the proclamation of the Second Constitution and the eradication of the 'repressive regime' of Abdülhamid II (r.1876-1909) have frequently been accepted as important developments in the democratisation of the Turkish Republic. This focus on continuation explains, to some extent, the social changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire, but this period also introduced significant differences compared to the periods before and after. As Michel Foucault remarks, the conventional understanding of history tends to evaluate the development of historical events as a "linear succession" focusing on the progression of civilisations. However, history consists of ruptures and thresholds, which constitute different series, the so-called "peculiar discontinuities" (1972: 3-4). Similarly, in *The Consequences of Modernity*, Anthony Giddens indicates that the modern period constitutes a discontinuity or set of discontinuities in history due to the transformative impact of modernity on society (1996: 4).

[8] See Erik J. Zürcher. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2017, Feroz Ahmad. *Turkey: The Quest for Identity*. Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2003, Bernard Lewis. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

The primary objective of the Ottoman modernisation was to benefit from Europe's advancing science and technology. The army adopted advancing science and technology because they were determined to overcome the losses they suffered earlier. During the reign of Mahmud II (r.1808-1839), small student groups had already been sent to Europe to pursue their education, particularly in military sciences (Hanioğlu 2008: 63). Changes brought about by modernisation were not limited to the army, but came also to government institutions, education, the press, social norms, gender relations, and identity politics. Ottoman modernisation modelled itself on Western Europe in many instances. Nevertheless, it was not a docile modernisation, but a compromise between tradition and modernity in varying degrees in different fields. As Nergis Ertürk writes,

> at every point in the process, which continued through the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), the combination of the "traditional" and the "new" can be seen to have produced many different hybrid cultural forms and practices. (2011: 6)

Transformations of institutions and new social norms created discontinuities and reformulated the relation between the state and society. After the proclamation of the Second Constitution, the impact of modernisation on Ottoman society manifested itself especially in the press, which was of capital importance because it involved a direct interaction with the Empire's subjects and everyday life as well as the emergence of popular erotic literature. Thus, prior to the analyses of twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives, this chapter discusses transformations in education and the press together with social and cultural changes that occurred in the Empire's capital, Istanbul. The chapter pays particular attention to a

historically and culturally specific experience of modernity, and serves as an introduction to the historical and cultural contexts of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century.

Ottoman Reforms in Education

Expansion of state education occurred as a global phenomenon and became an engine for social change all over the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Europe already shaped the social implications of this expansion as "*culture générale*" in France, "*Bildung*" in Germany and "liberal education" in the Anglo-American world at the turn of the century (Fortna 2002: 27, 46). The Ottoman Empire also made reforms in education to keep pace with the European Empires. These reforms were essential for the Empire to regain its strength and reputation by cultivating a modern public image (Deringil 1993: 13). In other words, the Ottoman Empire used education as a means of coping with military, diplomatic, and economic difficulties that shattered its existence (Fortna 2002: 47). These difficulties resulted in a "legitimation crisis" or "legitimation deficit" that occurs, according to Jürgen Habermas, when administrative institutions are unable to maintain a necessary level of mass loyalty (1973: 46-47). Habermas also points out that administrative institutions extended control over the school curriculum to manipulate cultural traditions that limited the political system and, in doing so, compensate for the legitimation crisis (1973: 71).

In *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*, Pierre Bourdieu writes,

> It was necessary to bury the myth of the "schools as liberating force," guarantor of the triumph of "achievement" over "ascription," of what is conquered over what is received, of works over birth, of merit and

> talent over heredity and nepotism, in order to perceive the educational institution in the true light of its social uses, that is, as one of the foundations of domination and of the legitimation of domination. (1996: 5)

Indeed, the Ottoman Empire aimed to solve its legitimacy crisis and/or legitimise its domination in world politics by means of reforms in education. Selim Deringil notes that education was perceived as a "defensive weapon" and used to prevent the disintegration of the Empire (2009a: 118). Reforms first began with the establishment of military schools such as *Tıbhane-i Amire* (the Military School of Medicine) in 1827, *Muzika-i Hümayun Mektebi* (the Imperial Music School) in 1831, and *Mekteb-i Ulum-i Harbiye* (the School of Military Sciences) in 1834. In addition, *Tercüme Odası* (the Translation Office), founded in 1833, became a place where most statesmen started their careers and learnt how to read, write, and speak in a foreign language, mostly French (Zürcher 2017: 38).

In his book entitled *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Niyazi Berkes argues that reforms in education led to a "bifurcation" between secular and religious world-views of the Empire's subjects. He writes,

> [...] in terms of education, that many individuals were going to develop a culturally split personality or a personality with a dual culture [.] The educated man would be a product, on the one hand, of a primary education that remained as the matrix which cast the mold of tradition upon the growing child and, on the other, of an educational system which recognized virtually none of the premises of that tradition. (1964: 109)

Modernity and tradition cannot be strictly defined. They are not rigid entities and may change with respect to the requirements of the period. On that note, Benjamin C. Fortna suggests rethinking doctrines such as “bifurcation” or “development of secularism”, since the late Ottoman schools were “complex and sometimes contradictory institutions of mixed pedagogical and epistemological parentage” (2000: 388-389). I agree with Fortna and contend that reforms in education were more complex than a simple “bifurcation” between secular and religious, as they hinged on multiple variables. In addition, Fortna elsewhere states that reforms in education were not a pure *adoption* of Western European institutions and methods, but they were an *adaptation* of certain parts of modernity [emphasis in the original] (2002: 9-10).

Selim Deringil makes a reference to Eric Hobsbawm’s and Terence Ranger’s influential collection of essays *The Invention of Tradition* when discussing the late Ottoman period (2009b: 19). Hobsbawm argues that traditions are not as “old” as they are assumed to be, and they are mostly invented to infuse certain social values and behavioural norms by repetition. Traditions are established in order to maintain continuity with the past. Accordingly, invented traditions appear in response to the new and constantly changing conditions of modernity by keeping some areas of daily life well established and constant (2000a: 1-2). Hobsbawm further indicates that rapid changes in society disrupt the social order and procreate new traditions that fill the niches when the old ones do not fit, or where the institutions maintaining such traditions lack the flexibility to adapt to the new conditions (2000a: 4-5). The invented practices were inclined to be vague “as to the nature of the values, rights and obligations of the group membership they inculcate: ‘patriotism’, ‘loyalty’, ‘duty’ […] and the like” (2000a: 10). Thus, invented traditions functioned to demonstrate prompt social changes, which

drove different social groups – either pre-existing or newly emerging – to create new forms of social cohesion and identity as well as social relations in the nineteenth century. Most of these forms of cohesion and identity developed outside the traditional elites and ruling classes, threatening their status and jeopardising the very existence of the state. Thus, the question of the unity of society acquired currency, and the state tried to find a way to construct a loyalty and to legitimise itself among its subjects. In this respect, education, for instance, became a significant way to transform people into citizens (Hobsbawm 2000b: 263-264).

Ottoman reforms in education facilitated the invention of traditions under the influence of modernity. Deringil contends that similar to the Russian, Austrian, French, British, German and Japanese Empires, the Ottoman Empire aimed to construct a citizenship for its subjects by means of education (1998: 93-94). Furthermore, he elsewhere indicates, the Empire's subjects were not expected to obey the state passively, but to have an active loyalty to it (2009b: 139). Accordingly, *Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi* (the Education Act) was proclaimed in 1869 and implemented in the 1880s. The act aimed to preserve the territorial integrity of the Empire. It gave similar promises as *Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi* (the Noble Edict of the Rose Garden) in 1839 and *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (the Imperial Reform Edict) in 1856, both of which promised to secure the life, honour and property of its subjects as well as provide a common citizenship for all. Along similar lines, *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi* outwardly emphasised the total equality for the entire population, *evlad-ı vatan* (children of the homeland) (Evered 2012: 1-2, 22).

Education for girls was previously allowed until the age of nine when it was considered that they reached puberty and had to be segregated from boys. Only the privileged young girls from upper-middle class families could be privately tutored at home. Thanks to *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*,

education at the level of primary school became compulsory between 6-10 for boys and 7-11 for girls. If there were two primary schools in a neighbourhood or village, one of them had to be designated for girls. If not, a new primary school would be established for girls and, until then, they continued their education in the same school as boys but had to sit separately. The regulation underlined the need for female teachers for the girls' school. Accordingly, *Dârülmuallimât* (Female Teacher's Training School) was established in 1870 in order to fulfil the need for female teachers for girls' schools. Until these female teachers were trained, courses would be given by the old and well-mannered male teachers (Kurnaz 2011: 25-26, 53).

Reforms in education were expected to preserve the unity of the Empire and the sultan's authority at the institutional level by creating a new ideology: Ottomanism (Evered 2012: 1-2). Nevertheless, Ottomanism was sustained in theory, but it was only applied in practice as an Islamist policy after Sultan Abdülhamid II ascended the throne and proclaimed the Constitution in 1876 (Evered 2012: 25).[9] Abdülhamid's pan-Islamist policy became visible in education, which propagated dynastic and Islamic patriotism (Somel 2001: 167). The curriculum was reorganised and underscored the Ottoman values, together with Islam, to reassert morality (Fortna 2000: 375).

Deringil points out that the Hamidian reign was "both formative and disruptive, both creative and destructive". It was formative due to the significant long-reaching social, economic, and cultural implications of education, military and industrial infrastructure. It was also disruptive, because Islam functioned as a mobilising discourse for society, and it led to the social and political exclusion of non-Muslims (1998: 11). Before the

[9]See Kemal H. Karpat. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

1870s, Islam was treated as the natural component of Ottoman culture and society. However, especially after the loss of European provinces and Christian population with the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), Abdülhamid struggled against the disintegration of the Empire by emphasising the importance of religious and authoritarian values as the foundation of ideological integrity (Somel 2001: 2, 167). Shortly after the opening of the parliament, Abdülhamid declared a state of emergency using the defeat in the Russo-Turkish War as the excuse and 'temporarily' closed the parliament in 1878. However, this 'temporary' closure lasted thirty years until the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908. He took the title of Caliph, which had not been emphasised strongly until the 1880s, and used it to unify Muslims under his leadership. The Sultan-Caliph set the pace for political and religious loyalty, and served Islam as the only social element of political and religious identity (Somel 2001: 180). Thus, the Hamidian state shifted Ottomanism to pan-Islamism by trying to link the worldly authority of the Sultan with the ethereal power of the Caliph (Deringil 1998: 43).

In *Empire and Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, Emine Ö. Evered analyses the Hamidian schooling by taking Foucault's "governmentality" into account (2012: 13). Foucault indicates that governing is a very specific activity and a distinct form of power. It is not synonymous with "reigning or "ruling" over a population (1978: 161). Governmentality is a form of control, which comprises both social institutions and the population. In this respect, governmentality develops particular "apparatuses" and chains of knowledge to regulate the population by deliberately designing mental and institutional structures such as schools, hospitals, asylums and prisons. Here, regulatory power does not radiate from a central point as sovereign power. Instead, it moves around through the extension of collectivity by shaping certain ways

of thinking and acting. Thus, governmentality should be understood as the result of a process, which procreates an administrative state through government institutions (Foucault 1978: 144). Likewise, the Ottoman government policy concerning education was more complex than simply governing the subjects through sovereign oppression. Disseminating moral and religious values to the students through education established a social regulation mechanism for the young subjects of the Empire without making the Sultan seen (Deringil 1998: 18).[10]

Nevertheless, reforms in education did not become 'successful' in the way the Empire expected. There was a vast gap between "the ideal expectations" and "the actual results" regarding the policies of the state (Fortna 2002: 3). The hybridisation of Islam and modernity in education did not generate an ideological consistency (Somel 2001: 168). Those who were educated under the Hamidian school system acted in a clearly positivist manner by becoming followers of European Enlightenment and distrusted Islamic norms and culture (Somel 2001: 187). Thus, the state remained unable to fulfil its own agenda; the creation of socially disciplined and politically loyal subjects became a failed policy. Nevertheless, Fortna states, the Hamidian reforms in education were still significant in their own right (2002: 245). These reforms generated awareness about the dynamics between the state and society among the educated subjects. The Empire's subjects began to question their relation with the state and tried to reconsider the role of the state for society. Consequently, reforms in education had a wide range of implications at social and political levels.

[10] Besides, Abdülhamid imprisoned and ostracised his opponents and built the most efficient spy system in the history of the Ottoman Empire. He established espionage networks inside the Empire, and incited people to denounce each other's activities. Tens of thousands of reports, the so-called journals, were piled up in his palace (Zürcher 2017: 75). Accordingly, the Empire was transformed into a "police state" through espionage and information gathering about its subjects (Deringil 1998: 7).

Foucault remarks that the formation of secret communities in Europe in the eighteenth century indicates the extent to which these societies became more politicised and aspired to political and social revolutions during the nineteenth century (1978: 265). Secret communities also developed in the Ottoman Empire, the first of its kind being the Young Ottomans, established in 1865; this placed Abdülhamid under the obligation of proclaiming the Constitution in 1876.[11] Nevertheless, it was the Young Turks, also known as *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (the Committee of Union and Progress), the constitutionalist successors of the Young Ottomans, who forced the Sultan to restore the 1876 Constitution and establish a new government based on a parliamentary system. After a weak effort to suppress this demand, Abdülhamid concluded that resistance was of no avail. On the 23rd of July 1908, he proclaimed the Constitution for the second time and ordered parliamentary elections in the Empire. A counter coup attempt by supporters of Abdülhamid on the 31st of March 1909 only facilitated the deposing of the Sultan who was replaced by his younger brother, Mehmed V (r.1909-1918). Thereafter, the Young Turks became the most significant power in the Ottoman Empire until its fall (Berkes 1964: 313).

In *Turkey Faces West: A Turkish View of Recent Changes and Their Origin*, Halide Edib (1884-1964), a novelist and nationalist, reminisced on the period after the proclamation of the Second Constitution,

> […] the era of reform from 1908 to our own day is a distinctly new period and different from the era of reform which covers the years between 1839 and 1876. (The period from 1876 to 1908, it must be remembered, covers Abdul-Hamid's reactionary absolutism.) The

[11] See Şerif Mardin. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962, M. Şükrü Hanioğlu. *The Young Turks in Opposition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

> Tanzimatist period, 1839-76, was a mighty attempt to reform and change the Ottoman Empire in its external and internal aspects – but always within the Ottoman frame and in an Ottoman sense. […] [T]he Young Turks of the Union and Progress group, who thought themselves the successors of the Tanzimatists in spirit and set out to complete what the Tanzimatists had started, were not only different in training and in temperament but were also facing a world in which romantic and high sounding literature and ideals had given way to realism, or materialism. In 1908 the world was already getting ready for the gigantic and materialistic upheaval of 1914 which was to mark a new era in human history. (1930: 98-99)

Nevertheless, the euphoria after the proclamation of the Second Constitution was short-lived. Political breakdowns kept on growing rapidly, starting with the Albanian uprising in 1910 and the Balkan Wars in 1912-1913, followed by the Arab revolt in 1916, and the Kurdish nationalist movement in 1918 (Somel 2001: 275). The Ottoman Empire was still in political, economic, cultural and moral crises. The Young Turks also resorted to education as a cohesive tool, creating their own “invented traditions”. Erik J. Zürcher compiles the Young Turks’ shared attitudes, consisting of

> nationalism, a positivist belief in the value of objective scientific truth, a great (and somewhat naive) faith in the power of education to spread this truth and elevate the people, implicit belief in the role of the central state as the prime mover in society and a certain activism, a belief in change, in progress, which contrasted sharply with the cautious conservatism prevailing in the Hamidian era. (2017: 131)

Three prominent ideologies, Westernism, Islamism, and Turkism, were proposed as possible solutions to rescue the Empire from its decline. Each of these ideologies politicised womanhood in different manners and offered different solutions to "the women's question", one of the most explicit subject matters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his work *Kadınlar* (Women, 1879), Şemseddin Sami (1850-1904), for instance, brought women's education into question. He regarded women's education as necessary for progress and civilisation. George W. Gawrych points out Şemseddin Sami's understanding of "equality-versus-difference" among genders (2010: 98). Indeed, Şemseddin Sami accepted women and men as distinct from each other, but he also demanded equality for both. Joan W. Scott writes, "[e]quality is not the elimination of difference, and difference does not preclude equality". Here, "equality-versus-difference" is used to designate social and political occurrences by establishing an apparent election of choosing equality (no special treatment should be given to either gender) or its presupposed difference (treatment of both genders should be regulated by the inherent needs and interests of each) (Scott 1988: 38).

Examples below demonstrate the extent to which Ottoman women were used in the reification of certain ideologies in the early twentieth century. Westernists, for instance, held religion responsible for downgrading Ottoman women (Kurnaz 2013: 35). Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932), a member of the Young Turks, suggested treating Islam as a philosophy rather than a religion (Hanioğlu 2005: 41). While running the newspaper *İçtihad* (Opinion) in Geneva, he conducted a survey on the life of Muslims and the necessity of reforms. A Frenchman gave an answer as "close the Quran, open women" (*Fermer la Coran, ouvrir les femmes*). Abdullah Cevdet later turned this answer into the "both open the Quran and unveil women" motto (Berkes 1964: 385). In his book *Kadınlarımız* (Our Women, 1913), Celal Nuri (1881-

1938) indicated that the problem was not Islam itself, but misinterpreting its practices. He also tackled the issues of polygamy, divorce, marriage, and veiling (Schick 2011: 209). According to him, improving the lot of women was not only important for women, but it was also at the core of the "advancement of Turks" (Göle 1996: 39).

Islamists, on the contrary, felt uncomfortable with newly emerging discourses on women's role in society after 1908. They believed that freedoms provided after the Second Constitution caused social and moral 'breakdowns' in the society. Islamists suggested reforming family law and women's social position with respect to the true spirit of Islam (Kurnaz 2011: 125). Islamist thinker Said Halim Paşa (1863-1921) claimed that the restoration of the Constitution in 1908 demonstrated how this new style of governing and living was not well suited to the Empire's realities, because it broke the social peace and endangered the Empire's political presence (Şeyhun 2003: 158). He attacked European cultural domination and blamed education as the main source of the dissemination of European notions in Muslim communities, which made Muslim intellectuals feel alienated from their indigenous culture and society (Şeyhun 2003: 134). In his book *Buhran-ı İçtimaimiz* (Our Social Crisis, 1916), he discussed the way in which reforms in education caused social and cultural regression. According to Said Halim Paşa, one of the most significant reasons for society's regression was that women wanted to unveil themselves (Göle 1996: 41). He criticised Westernists for their support of European civilisation and women's emancipation. Said Halim Paşa wrote,

> […] none of the civilizations in the world starts with the liberation of women; on the contrary, it is an undisputable fact of history that all

> civilizations in which women attained complete freedom declined. (1916: 23)[12]

Islamists underlined the importance of religious values and Islamic ethics for the protection of women's morality. According to Fatma Aliye (1862-1936), Islam was not an obstacle for the improvement of women (Kurnaz 2013: 36). Islamists agreed with the necessity of religious education to raise well-mannered mothers, but they objected to European style education, such as learning French, how to play piano and singing (Göle 1996: 43).

Turkists, like Westernists, were in favour of women's emancipation and education for the development and modernisation of the state. They supported women's participation in social life not only for the economic growth and development of the state, but also for raising nationalist generations (Kurnaz 2011: 152). According to Turkists, the equality between the sexes could only be provided through juridical and social reforms. Consequently, members of the Turkist movement, such as Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) and Halide Edib produced nationalist ideologies for women's emancipation, which were part of the changing structure and newly emerging discourses in the society. Gökalp supported the idea of granting women access to all educational institutions. He proposed to reconcile European civilisation with national values:

> Our new values will be economic, domestic, aesthetic, philosophic, moral, legal, and political values born out of the soul of the Ottomans. To create their own civilization, the Ottomans themselves have to

[12] […] hiçbir medeniyet-i beşeriyye, hiçbir vakitte hürriyet-i nisvâniye ile başlamadığı gibi, bilcümle medeniyetlerin de hürriyet-i mutlaka ve saltanat-ı nisvâniye ile mahv ve münkariz oldukları, şuûnat-ı müeyyide-i tarihiye cümlesindendir. I benefitted from Göle's translation. See Nilüfer Göle. *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: Univeristy of Michigan Press, 1996: 41.

> work out a new form of family life, new aesthetic standards, a new philosophy, a new morality, a new understanding of law, and a new political organization. Only through the knowledge of these national values will the national civilization of the Ottomans inspire the praise of the Europeans. (1959: 59)

On the one hand, he accused Westernists of imitating European family structure and consequently destroying indigenous values. On the other hand, he also attacked Islamists who rejected modern style families due to his fear that doing so would annihilate the traditional Ottoman family (1959: 252). Ziya Gökalp opposed the trivialisation of women due to the misinterpretation of Islam. According to him, the pre-Islamic past set a good example for the equality between men and women (Göle 1996: 45). Ziya Gökalp emphasised the central position of women in the family as the basis of state and society. During his exile in Malta he wrote to his daughter: “The new life will begin when women have the same education as men and are allowed to occupy leading positions in public life” (Heyd 1950: 95).

Halide Edib, who herself also received modern education at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, proposed the multiplication of foreign schools in the Empire. She gave credit to the Turkish men who supported women’s progress and emancipation in the public sphere such as in the areas of education, social and working life especially after 1908 (1930: 129-130). Furthermore, Halide Edib actively supported women’s emancipation together with her fellows. She made an effort to establish women’s associations such as *Taali-i Nisvan* (the Society for the Elevation of Women), which had a close link to international suffrage movements. She also organised conferences and gave many public speeches raising awareness among women about their education, womanhood, and their duties

concerning nationalism. Halide Edib also invoked Abdülhak Hamid (Tarhan)'s (1852-1937) statement in her work, "[t]he progress of a nation is measured by the status of its women" (1930: 85).

In *Türk Kadınlığın Tereddisi Yahud Karılaşmak* (*The Degeneration of Turkish Womanhood or Femme-isation*, n.d.), Salâhaddin Âsım (dates unknown) heavily criticised Islam because of its rules and practices such as polygamy, gender segregation, and veiling.[13] He used the term "femme-isation" to indicate the male perception of women as objects for sexual pleasure. He stated that Islam downgraded Ottoman women, and they became "nothing but 'femmes'". Salâhaddin Âsım claimed that such an attitude towards women would never contribute to national progress and it was not compatible with the national spirit and living style of the Turks. Besides, he touched upon issues such as masturbation and lesbianism together with the sexual assault of young boys both by men and women, and he considered these issues as the social "evils" of the time (Schick 2011: 210). According to him, veiling eradicated women's existence and personality from society. Moreover, he also attacked the strictly perceived duties of women as mothers and wives, which made them either "the slave and mate of her husband" or "the servant or feeder of her children like cows" (21-22).[14] Salâhaddin Âsım supported women's participation in social life in order to provide a genuine emancipation (Göle 1996: 38-39).

State-sanctioned discourses on gender roles and female sexuality intensified during the First World War and also in later years. Women were

[13] Although the date of the book is unspecified, Schick remarks that the earliest book from the publishing house *Resimli Kitab Matbaası* is dated to 1912. Hence, Salahaddin Asım's work was most likely published after the proclamation of the Second Constitution (2011: 210).

[14] […] kadın erkeğin tamamen kölesi veya tâbiʿi baştan başa dişisi veya karısı, çocukların anası değil lalası veya bir inek gibi emziricisi, hülasa onun 'bir şeyi'dir... I benefitted from Göle's translation. See Nilüfer Göle. *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, (1996): 38.

deputed as mothers, educators, workers and even as fighters (Kandiyoti 1996: 9). Young girls were expected to become nationalist mothers and wives of the future. A new prototype of the 'ideal' woman emerged in children's textbooks, which served as an example for the state's official agenda on women's education. The following example, a part of the girl's school anthem, dates back to 1922:

> We [girls] are the hope of the homeland, the homeland lives with us,
> How would children ever live without a mother.
> Yes, today we are young and teeny-weeny girls;
> But tomorrow we nurse our children in our bosom.
> "Mothers who rock the cradle with their right hands
> [They] rock the universe with their left hands."
> These children will grow up, read, write,
> Each of them will become a well-mannered and understanding person, […]
> Thanks to us, our homeland will become a heaven. (10-11)[15]

Political codes of indigenous and national identity were assigned to the female body. Women's duties, such as being good mothers and providing good education for children, mingled womanhood with motherhood and

[15] Biz vatanın ümidiyiz, vatan bizimle yaşar,
Bu dünyada bir annesiz yaşar mı hiç çocuklar.
Evet, bugün biz küçüğüz mini mini kızlarız;
Fakat yarın koynumuzda yavrumuzu besleriz.
"Çocuğun beşiğini sağ eliyle sallayan
Valideler sol eliyle kainatı sallarlar."
Bu yavrular büyüyecek, okuyacak, yazacak,
Terbiyeli, anlayışlı birer insan olacak,
[…]
Sayemizde vatanımız olacaktır bir cennet.

citizenship. Westernists tended to set European standards and supported women's emancipation to help foster a modern state. Islamists regarded women's education as essential for women to become better mothers and housewives, who would be attached to religious values, whereas Turkists sought ways to synthesise nationalism and modernity by means of women who were responsible for child rearing, and implicitly the future of the nation. That is to say, each group determined what the problems of women really were according to the beliefs they supported. The objective of women's emancipation or education was not to change the patriarchal structure of society. The women's question became a highly debated topic particularly among the male reformers, though there were a few exceptions such as Fatma Aliye and Halide Edib.

On that note, Deniz Kandiyoti draws attention to male reformers, who were occupied with women's emancipation on top of imperial politics. She remarks that this preoccupation with women's emancipation might be a sign of subordinated masculinity in the guise of pro-feminism (2003: 197). In similar fashion, Wilson Chacko Jacob underlines the way in which "the redefinition of femininity was constitutive of a new national manhood or bourgeois masculinity" (2011: 202). On the one hand, female sexuality and womanhood were diminished because of an emphasis on the mothering role of women. On the other hand, newly emerging discourses on gender and sexuality appeared in popular erotic literature at the time. The next section therefore discusses the extent to which the press came into prominence as a tool to disseminate political and sexual discourses in society after 1908.

Ottoman Press

Iberian Jews launched a printing press in the Ottoman Empire in the 1490s. Greek, Armenian, and Christian Arab presses were also established in

different parts of the Empire during the following two centuries. An Ottoman Muslim press was founded by İbrahim Müteferrika in Istanbul in 1727-1728. It began to be used actively only in the nineteenth century, however (Schick 2011: 197). The state-sanctioned newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* (the Chronicler of Events) was, for instance, established in 1831 to make propaganda for and mould public opinion in favour of the state (Demirel 2007: 28-29). The Young Ottomans also founded newspapers and periodicals, the first of its kind *Tasvir-i Efkar* (Illustration of Opinions), being established by İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) in 1862. It "became a forum for the expression of new literary as well as political ideas" (Mardin 1962: 254). Nevertheless, Ahmed Emin writes, when Abdülhamid ascended the throne in 1876, he was already aware that absolute power could not go along with a free press (1914: 53). Hence, he put certain restrictions on the press to prevent revolutionary publications and personal attacks against himself and his government.

Nevertheless, the proclamation of the Second Constitution brought a new dimension to the Ottoman press. Ahmed Emin describes the celebration after the proclamation as follows:

> The effect was amazing. The sleeping city became at once ablaze with excitement and enthusiasm. The streets, where people did not usually even feel free to walk fast, lest they attract the attention of spies, were filled with noisy crowds, listening joyfully to revolutionary speeches, or making demonstrations before public buildings, newspaper offices, and foreign embassies. Excepting towards the leading figures of the former government, a broad spirit of conciliation was displayed in every respect. […] Although the *Ikdam* had published about sixty and the *Sabah* forty thousand copies, the demand could not be met. […] In the following days, the enthusiasm kept increasing, gaining in extent

> and intensity, as the jubilant voices were echoed from every part of the empire, and from foreign countries. (1914: 87)

Figure 1 below shows the rapid increase in the approximate number of books and pamphlets published in Turkish between 1875 and 1928 in the Ottoman Empire and later in the Turkish Republic.

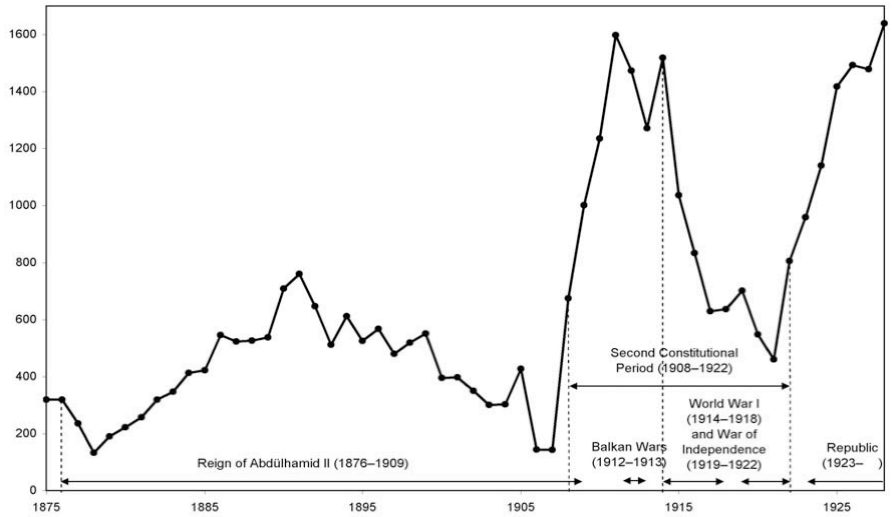

Figure 1: The estimated number of books and pamphlets in Turkish published in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic between 1875 and 1928. Schick indicates that figures are derived from Kudret Emiroğlu, and İlker Mustafa İşoğlu, eds. *Eski Harfli Basma Türkçe Eserler Bibliografyası* (Bibliography of Printed Turkish Books in Old Letters). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Başkanlığı, 2001. Some modifications are made based on Seyfettin Özege. *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu* (Catalogue of Turkish Books Printed in Old Letters). İstanbul: Fatih Yayınevi Matbaası, 1973 and Müjgan Cumbur, and Dursun Kaya, eds. *Türkiye Basmaları Toplu Kataloğu, 1729-1928* (Union Catalogue of Turkish Printed Books, 1729-1928). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Başkanlığı, 1990-2004. (2011: 198)

İrvin Cemil Schick draws attention to the dramatic decreases in the number of publications in the war years. In addition to wartime difficulties, he indicates the loss of important intellectual centres such as Salonica, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq as reasons for these decreases (2011: 199).

Nonetheless, the rapid increase in the number of publications helped to circulate new ideas in society. In this respect, Schick makes a reference to Benedict Anderson's influential work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* and argues that the explosion of the press revealed print capitalism and promoted nationalism together with new social norms in the late Ottoman Empire (2011: 201-202). What Anderson attributes to print capitalism is the growth of printing presses as commercial commodities, which propagated a set of ideas of belonging and induced individuals to look upon and associate themselves with others as members of a community in new ways (1991: 36). According to Anderson, print languages, and implicitly print capitalism, promoted the rise of national consciousness in three ways. Firstly, the press united different spoken languages by establishing a standard language for all peoples of a certain community. Correspondingly, print capitalism allowed for the exchanging of opinions and raised an awareness of differences among people of the same community and provided a sense of belonging to "the nationally imagined community". Secondly, print capitalism fixed language, and consequently, in the long term, it created the impression that the idea of the nation dated much further back in time than it actually did (1991: 44). Following this point, I contend that print capitalism was a prime source of invented traditions. Thirdly, by standardising and fixing the language, print capitalism generated a print language, which in turn facilitated the rise or fall in status of different local dialects, according to their proximity to and their influence on the final form of the print language (1991: 45). Here, Anderson highlights the importance of two forms: the novel and the newspaper in Europe in the eighteenth century during which the transformation of the communities into nations can be best seen (1991: 24-25).

According to Schick, the press also performed Anderson's three functions and heralded the rise of Turkish national consciousness by means of the accelerated growth of printing in the late Ottoman Empire. Besides, print capitalism moved beyond the question of language, and led to specific cultural productions, which provided new opportunities to develop and expedite the circulation of the new ideologies and discourses on gender and sexuality inside the Empire (2011: 197-198). In a similar vein, Palmira Brummett indicates that the Ottoman press turned into a public forum, which referred both to the anxieties that occurred after 1908 and the conditions that created social change (2000a: 5). However, this unconstrained atmosphere in the Ottoman press did not last long. A change to article 20 of the press law of 1909 limited publications which were "contrary to common decency or in violation of public morality" in February 1913. Before the change in the law, this article concerned only newspapers and periodicals. However, after the change, it also included books and articles, as well as pictures (Schick 2011: 211).

Before 1908, editorial staff and publishers mostly consisted of well-educated Ottoman men who also published women's periodicals. There were a few exceptions such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (Ladies' Own Gazette), published between 1895 and 1908, whose editorial staff mostly consisted of the wives and daughters of intellectuals and bureaucrats at the time. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* targeted the education of Ottoman women by publishing articles written for and by women. Here, women did not deny their duties as wives or mothers, but they also questioned their position in society (Çakır 1994: 27-28). Nevertheless, women's periodicals before 1908 did not promise radical changes in terms of gender roles and relations (Kurnaz 2011: 92-93). Apart from the debates on how to be a good mother, wife and Muslim, topics were limited to health, hygiene, household chores

and religion, as well as biographies of famous Muslim and non-Muslim women from different countries.

Women began to have a more active role in politics and made their actions and desires heard through the press, especially in the big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Thessaloniki especially after 1908. They founded associations and became active agents of Ottoman modernisation. There was also a rapid increase in the number of women's periodicals due to the growth of the press and reforms in education. These periodicals were mostly in favour of reforms, and stood behind the constitutional regime. Some of these periodicals were: *Kadın* (Woman, 1908-1910), *Mehâsin* (Beauties, 1908-1910), *Kadınlar Alemi* (Women's World, 1913-1918), *Kadınlık Hayatı* (Womanhood Experience, 1915), *Kadınlık* (Womanhood, 1915-1916), *Genç Kadın* (Young Woman, 1918), *İnci* (Pearl, 1919-1923), *Hanım* (Lady, 1921). They aimed to educate women to be good housewives and modern members of the society. Moreover, issues concerning women's rights and emancipation were discussed in these periodicals. Şefika Kurnaz argues that most of these periodicals did not last long due to economic crisis and lack of interest (2013: 264). Yet, their circulation was an important part of establishing an imagined community in the sense of Anderson.

In addition to women's periodicals, satirical cartoons played a significant part in moulding gender roles in relation to politics after 1908. In this connection, Brummett argues that in Ottoman cartoons, women were represented in various roles such as mother, nation, citizen, and subversive (2000b: 38). In line with these representations, particular kinds of femininities were depicted: serene, beautiful, sexual, motherly, and fashionable. One of the most distinctive representations was the representation of the nation and its citizens through women's honour, weakness, and the need to be protected but also to be brave. Thus, images of

women "sometimes maternal, sometimes sexually charged, became the quintessential symbols of the nation itself and its vulnerability" (Brummett 2000b: 39). For instance, Marianne, the symbolic heroine of the French Revolution, was appropriated in Ottoman cartoons.

Figure 2: Cartoon entitled "'Marianne' and the Dragon" published in *Kalem*, 11:1 on the 12th of November 1908. The caption reads, "Army – (*Hürriyet*'e) Don't fear my dear. I am by your side. My sword is sharp". (Figure taken from Brummett 2000a: 81)

One of these cartoons (see figure 2) represents a fragile and young girl, named *Hürriyet* (freedom), which is written on the girl’s bracelet in her right arm. According to Brummett, her fragility suggests “the newness and vulnerability of the Ottoman political order” (Brummett 2000a: 80). She is under the protection of a noble Ottoman soldier as a representative of the Ottoman army, who is keeping at bay the dragon with his sword. The soldier evokes St. George, “one of the most widely recognised hagiographical figures in the canon of the Church – the legend of his encounter with the dragon is common”, and also “Al Khidr, the mythic hero of Islam” (Riches 2000: 1). The dragon is associated with the forces of reaction – *irticaʿ* in Turkish – as is written on its head (2000b: 47). The term *irticaʿ* was used to indicate opposition to changes that occurred in mentalities and lifestyles in the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire (Sitembölükbaşı 2000: 458-459). On that note, Brummett writes,

> this figure [*Hürriyet*] is not sufficiently sexually evolved to represent Marianne; but […] this is a sexually charged figure and, further, that the Ottoman cartoonists used the Phrygian cap as a trope to suggest the French Revolution, very often in conjunction with a female figure. […] This cartoon at once associates the Ottoman Revolution with its French forebear, and suggests that the fruits of the Revolution may only be preserved through vigilance and force. The army here is a bastion for the defense of freedom; it is the nation’s sword, its manhood. The army will keep order and avert the anarchy associated with the French revolution. This particular image is a precursor to those depicting the Third Army’s *Hareket Ordusu* (Action Army), which “saved the nation” after the counterrevolution of April 1909. (2000a: 80)

Discussions on the question of women and representations of femininities in the press were associated with imperial politics. In this respect, the Ottoman press not only facilitated the dissemination and circulation of new ideas concerning women, but also materialised politics by means of womanhood and femininity. Thus, the next section scrutinises the extent to which social and political changes resonated in the way that sexuality was experienced in the Empire's capital, Istanbul, at the turn of the century.

Istanbul at the Turn of the Century

Istanbul was of prime importance because it was the capital of two great empires, the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire. It hosted different social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic influences for centuries (Çelik 1986: 10). In the foreword of *Constantinople To-Day*, a survey published in 1922, Caleb F. Gates states that Istanbul's population had been divided into communities, according to religion and language, ever since its invasion by the Ottomans in 1453. This division led each community to have a self-contained life of its own (1922: ix). Similarly, Dr. van Milligen describes Istanbul as "a city not of one nation but of many, and hardly more of one than of another!" (cited in Goodsell 1922: 13). Its multicultural structure and political importance turned Istanbul into a focal point of socio-cultural, economic, and demographic changes especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Treaty of *Balta Limanı* (the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty) in 1838 reduced the Empire's control over its economy; foreign entrepreneurs, who had difficulty with Western European regulations and taxes, found plying their trade in the Ottoman Empire more profitable. Hence, the modernisation of Istanbul gained speed especially after about 100.000 newcomers from Western Europe went there between the years 1839

and 1880 (Mansel 1996: 283-284). The influence of a capitalist economy and the increase in interstate commerce transformed Istanbul into an attractive centre for Ottomans as well as Europeans. The loss of territories in the Balkans and the Caucasus after the Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) resulted in immigration from these territories towards urban centres within the Empire, and many of these immigrants dwelled in Istanbul. The amalgamation of the rural population with the refugees from the wars started to change the social fabric and the demographic structure of the city and created a new urban poor who prompted fears and anxieties among the middle and upper class Istanbulites (Özbek 2010: 556).[16] Every segment of society such as the urban elite, simple citizens and newcomers had to reposition themselves within cities and their relation with the Empire due to socio-political and institutional transformations (Freitag et al. 2011: 1).

Istanbul's socio-cultural and economic condition went from bad to worse at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Ottoman Empire was constantly "either at war or threatened with war" (Moore 1922: 172). In *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940*, Alan Duben and Cem Behar indicate that the city struggled with political, social and economic crises, and its inhabitants experienced a cultural crisis more than anywhere else in the Empire in this period. Wartime inflation destroyed the regular distribution of income and increased the gap between salaries and living expenses (1991: 201, 46). However, each community or each area of the city was not equally affected by these transformations. Istanbul became a city where great poverty and wealth intermingled. On the one hand, a great majority of the population became impoverished in the city. On the other

[16] For public discourses on the new urban poor see Nadir Özbek. "'Beggars' and 'Vagrants' in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876-1914." *Middle Eastern Studies* Vol. 45, No. 5 (2009): 783-801.

hand, the change in economy and the rise of speculative enterprises created a new social class, the so-called *yeni zengin* (new rich) in Istanbul (Toprak 2016: 118).

The area called Pera, across the Golden Horn, had already hosted European embassies and their representatives and had appealed to indigenous and foreign non-Muslims since the sixteenth century. It ultimately became a residential area for Western Europeans and the modernising non-Muslim Ottomans in the nineteenth century (Yumul 2009: 57-58). The majority of the population in Pera and Galata was Christian, and they lived under the privileges of the capitulations in this period. The area became "a place of marginality of 'otherness' and foreignness" (Yumul 2009: 63). The diverse population and transformative structure of Pera paved the way for new administrative applications and social order in the area. The first modern style municipality, the Municipality of the Sixth District that consisted of Pera, Galata and Tophane neighbourhoods, was established here, as a pilot area for urbanisation (Çelik 1986: 45). Even the name "the Sixth District" was a reference to the *Sixième Arrondissement* of Paris as the model of urban wealth and modernity (Özbek 2010: 557). Pera also included the main artery of the city, the Grande Rue de Pera that was considered "the Champs Elysées of the Orient" (Çelik 1986: 133). The Grande Rue featured European-style buildings, banks, theatres, taverns, music halls, hotels, shops, and apartment buildings and reflected the changing values, fashions and social life (Özbek 2010: 556-557). These shops, cafés, and restaurants had foreign names such as *La Maison de Modes Françaises*, *Bon Marché*, *Maison Barker*, *Paris-Londres* all of which endeavoured to replicate the European-style urban life (Çelik 1986: 134). Pera and its neighbourhood began to be associated with "material comfort" due to the increase in new riches' income. It became the symbol of modernist and high social status. Even those who used to live in

the old areas of the city were tempted by Pera's European life-style (Karpat 1985: 101). However, the European life-style was limited to a small number of people in the city (Çelik 1986: 157).

Modernisation and urbanisation of the Empire's capital, especially Pera, also brought about newly emerging discourses on gender and sexuality, especially since the late nineteenth century. Philip Mansel indicates "[w]hen a man goes to Pera, you know what he is going for" was a statement that explains the situation of prostitution in the area (1996: 287). In *"Wicked" Istanbul: The Regulation of Prostitution in the Early Turkish Republic*, Mark David Wyers indicates that although prostitution was not a new phenomenon, the records demonstrate that there was no general regulation of prostitution between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries in Istanbul. The neighbourhood surveillance and local dignitaries took responsibility for disciplining of prostitutes' bodies within their quarters (2012: 51, 54-55). The enforcement of disciplinary practices against prostitution shifted from local surveillance to "the secular power of health authorities" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Wyers 2012: 61). Müge Özbek remarks that government authorities were concerned about the area's social order and security and decided to regulate prostitution due to an increase in venereal disease. The Council of State enacted an ordinance on venereal disease within the Sixth District Municipality in 1884. Medical examinations of prostitutes became mandatory with this ordinance. Moreover, the ordinance stipulated that each prostitute had to have a license with a photograph and display the results of weekly mandatory medical examinations (2010: 557). However, prostitution of foreign women remained unrestrained as they were under the guarantee of the capitulations (Toprak 2016: 119).

The ongoing wars in the early twentieth century exacerbated the economic crisis and led to an increase in poverty, starvation and destitution.

As men were sent to the army, women, who used to be mostly supported by their husbands and fathers, found themselves in a dire situation. These conditions overstrained family norms and the struggle to make a living forced Ottoman women to the streets (Toprak 2016: 120). According to Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932), this increase in prostitution was a consequence of the First World War, and he reports that shortly after the war prostitution became a custom:

> According to my belief, conditions gradually paved the way for a new [style of] prostitution at all hands in the city. The First World War mobilised prostitution. During this big chaos, as like every other principles and theories we borrowed from Europe, the theory of Emancipation loosened the family order, respect, commitment by terminating the steady base of Islamic social etiquette. As problems [like] destitution, poverty, morality, desolation intensely increased, this problem [the new style of prostitution] spread to all four sides. In a couple of years, it remained as a "custom". (1922: 335)[17]

Toprak contends that alcohol, gambling, women trafficking and even cocaine became widespread due to the political developments in the period from the proclamation of the Second Constitution until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The occupation of Istanbul made it worse (2016: 117-118). Money spent by the Allied powers further reinforced Istanbul's nightlife. Apart from the Allied powers, Russian aristocracy and upper classes that immigrated

[17] İtikadımca Fuhş-ı Cedid'e şehrin her tarafından birer, ikişer girizgah hazırlandı. "Harb-ı Umumi" seferber haline koydu. Bu büyük herc ü merc esnasında idi ki Avrupa'dan telakki ettiğimiz her nazariye, her prensip gibi Emancipation nazariyesi de terbiyye-yi içtimaiye-i İslamiye kaide-i salimesini kapatarak aile rabıtaları, hürmetleri, takayyüdleri gevşedi. Zaruret, sefalet, ahlak, kimsesizlik dertleri şiddet-i peyda ettikçe bu dert, dört tarafa saldırdı. Birkaç sene içinde böyle bir "görenek" olup kaldı!..

after the October Revolution in 1917 brought a new dimension into the city. There were around 4.500 and 5.000 prostitutes in Istanbul. Among the foreign prostitutes, most were Greeks and Russians (Toprak 2016: 118-119).

Venereal diseases dramatically increased during the First World War. Considering the vast spread of venereal diseases, a new ordinance on venereal diseases, *Emrâz-ı Zühreviyenin Men'-i Sirayeti Hakkında Nizamname* (the Ordinance for the Prevention of the Spread of Venereal Diseases), was enacted by the state on the 18th of October 1915 (Toprak 2016: 133). This ordinance was not limited to the Sixth District like the ordinance of 1884, but it also included other areas of Istanbul as well as the provinces (Wyers 2012: 67). It referred to age limitations, medical examinations of prostitutes, criminal reports, and responsibilities of the brothel keepers (Özbek 2010: 566). Moreover, detailed legal definitions about prostitutes and brothels were made for the first time in Ottoman history. The legal definition of prostitute, for instance, was as follows: "[a] prostitute is a woman who offers herself for the pleasure of others and in this way has relations with numerous men, for the purpose of monetary profit". Thus, the state officially recognised prostitution and the prostitute, especially as a female legal object, was taken under the supervision of the state (Wyers 2012: 67-68).

Zafer Toprak argues that the initial goal of the ordinance of 1915 was the provision of public hygiene and reducing the spread of venereal diseases (2016: 139). However, the late Ottoman discourses on hygiene and the medicalisation of prostitution went beyond precluding the spread of venereal diseases and establishing health control. It also brought about social control of bodies and sexual behaviours. Foucault argues that medicine gradually became a part of the administrative system and the machinery of power in the eighteenth century. The "medico-administrative" knowledge gathered in

regard to public health, living conditions and quarters began to be used to reshape those same elements in the nineteenth century (1980: 176). The Ottoman state aimed to control the spread of venereal diseases and prostitution by means of gathering brothels in certain areas. Such a confinement of prostitution to certain areas was designed to secure public morality. Similar to prisons and mental hospitals, the regulations and spatialisation of brothels confined prostitution into certain areas of the city determined by the state. Accordingly, the state aimed to rigidify and codify illicit sexualities of prostitutes (Wyers 2012: 60). For this reason, Toprak claims that the ordinance of 1915 was regulatory rather than prohibitory (2016: 139). In other words, the Empire did not aim to eradicate prostitution, but tried to discipline and regulate it instead.

The regulation of prostitution had two moral principles. Firstly, the regulation presumed that men had "biologically-determined sexual needs". Prostitution was considered a necessary "vice" that prevented any possible homosexual relations among men and provided a morally determined heteronormative sexuality in society (Wyers 2012: 22). Thus, the Ottoman Empire tackled the regulation of prostitution only in relation to female prostitution. Although male prostitution was punishable according to *kanûnnâme* (codified law), still there is no evidence that male prostitution was a significant issue at the time (Wyers 2012: 42). Secondly, the regulation aimed to spatially segregate prostitutes who were considered potentially "dangerous" from "virtuous" people, especially from "virtuous" women. Even though the male body was freely wandering without being subjected to any regulation in both areas, the spatialisation of prostitution confirmed and signified female bodies as ones sexually available and those that were not (Wyers 2012: 145). The state legitimised the "illegitimate" existence of

prostitution by determining the sexual and moral geographies of urban space that was heteronormative and in favour of men.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on three significant domains: education, the press, and urban change in the Empire’s capital, Istanbul, all of which were of utmost importance in order to contextualise the period in which twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic literature was produced. The weakening position of the Empire in world politics, originating in the eighteenth century, came to a head so much so that social, political, and cultural crises were felt intensely in various degrees and in different fields in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Ottoman Empire aimed to overcome these crises by means of modernisation. In this respect, the ways in which modernity was combined with or was in conflict with Ottoman traditions became important in the process of modernisation. On the one hand, the Ottoman modernisation programme tried to maintain continuities with its existing traditions while trying to keep pace with European states and the requirements of the period. On the other hand, in cases where they failed to fulfil these requirements, new hybrid cultural forms of Ottoman tradition and European modernity developed.

The Ottoman Empire first aimed to mould an active loyalty and provide a unity among its subjects by means of Ottomanism. To that end, education was used as a discursive tool to create this unity. However, the existing political developments, losing wars and territories changed Ottomanism into Islamism during the reign of Abdülahmid II. The state’s relation with its subjects and the subjects’ relations with the state were reconsidered in this period. Especially after the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, the Ottoman printing press accelerated the circulation

of new social and political discourses. The increase in number of publications transformed the press into a public forum. Three ideologies, Westernism, Islamism, and Turkism became prominent in discussions concerning the Empire's present as well as its future.

The press also facilitated the circulation of significant changes including those in gender and sexuality. Westernists, Islamists, and Turkists took different approaches to women's emancipation and education. Women's expected role in society was discussed with regard to politics. On that note, womanhood became a controversial topic – could women help modernise and save the Empire from its fall? Motherhood, to a great extent, precluded womanhood in these discussions. Nevertheless discussions concerning women mostly remained male-centred discussions. Here, the recreation and redefinition of womanhood had great importance for the reconstruction of Ottoman masculinity in relation to or under the influence of modernity.

The disseminating power of the press resulted in the emergence of new discourses on gender and sexuality especially after 1908. The urbanisation of Istanbul breathed new life into the way sexuality was experienced at the turn of the century. Newly emerging discourses on gender and sexuality were reshaped and regulated by the state due to the urban change in *fin de siècle* Istanbul. In particular, the spread of venereal diseases necessitated the regulation of prostitution. The so-called 'moral decline' because of the increase in prostitution accompanied the Empire's political decline in the early twentieth century. The intensification of social, political, and cultural crises resonated also in literature of the period. These crises were represented more specifically in Ottoman Turkish popular erotic literature that often addressed prostitution and/or featured prostitutes as characters at the time. Therefore, the remaining chapters are devoted to the analyses of twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic literature with particular

regard to the formation of masculine subjectivities during the transition to modernity.

Chapter Two

Castration Anxiety in Hegemonic Ottoman Masculinity[18]

The ubiquitous trope of sexually differentiating "the West" from "the East" has been a long-lasting and reciprocal one. As Edward Said writes in *Orientalism*, in Orientalist representations, the West persistently associated the East with sex, and regarded it as an entity that "seems still to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies" (1994: 188). The affinity between sexual and political dominance perpetually occurred in the colonial histories of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Western colonialism represented the political and socio-economic domination of the West as the domination of masculinity over femininity (Nandy 1993: 4). Although İrvin Cemil Schick contends that the East was not invariably feminised, gender and sexuality were nonetheless used to create contrasts that supported the self-definition of the West and its imperial agenda (1999: 4-5). Conversely, the Ottoman Empire applied similar sexual metaphors to define itself via a contrast with 'the other' – the West, in this context. In the works of Ottoman authors in the *Tanzimat* period (1839-1876) – also known as the reorganisation period – the relationship between the East and the West was used to resemble a metaphorical marriage or a sexual relationship between a man and a woman. The East and the West were personified as the male and female sides of the relationship, respectively, with the East having superiority over the West (Parla 2004b: 17).

[18] Parts of this chapter were published as "Modernity as an Ottoman Fetish: Representations of Ottoman Masculinity in *Kesik Bıyık*." *Masculinities (A Journal of Identity and Culture)*, (6) (2016): 79–101.

Nevertheless, the advancement of Western science and technology, the increasing spread of modernity and the loss of important territories due to the emergence of nationalism started to undermine the representations of the Empire's gender stereotyping and challenged Ottoman self-perception and self-identification. The identification of the Ottoman Empire with a masculine role in its metaphorical marriage with the West became problematic because of the changing power balance in world politics. The Ottoman Empire's political predicament and its decreasing imperial power necessitated the modernisation of the Empire and highlighted its need to keep pace with the West. The decision to modernise the Empire in order to preserve its masculine role and to compete with the West led to the rapid transformation of traditional representations into new socio-cultural settings. The issue of masculinity was discussed in conjunction with considerations regarding the extent to which Western modernity should permeate Ottoman traditions.

In his book *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, George L. Mosse links masculinity with modernity in Western culture:

> The ideal of masculinity was invoked on all sides as a symbol of personal and national regeneration, but also as basic to the self-definition of modern society. Manliness was supposed to safeguard the existing order against the perils of modernity, but it was also regarded as an indispensable attribute of those who wanted change. Indeed, the exhortation "to be a man" became commonplace, whether during the nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth. (1998: 3)

Similarly, the transformation of Ottoman culture and tradition led the

Ottoman elite to look for new ways to envision an 'idealised' and 'hegemonised' masculinity that would supposedly protect "the existing order against the perils of modernity", as well as leading "those, who wanted change", to the 'right' path in the process of modernisation. As R. W. Connell remarks, "hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual" (1996: 77). Based on Antonio Gramsci's notion of "hegemony", Connell states that hegemonic masculinity is a form of masculinity that is superior to other masculinities in terms of cultural hierarchy and power relations (1996: 77). In fact, hegemonic Ottoman masculinity was, to a great extent, constructed to affirm the Empire's cultural fabric and political power. It provided a blueprint for the indigenous-cultural identity in keeping with the Empire's masculine role. In this dissertation, the term "hegemonic masculinity" does not refer to a stable and unchanging masculinity; "hegemonic Ottoman masculinity" mainly refers to Turkish speaking Muslim men, whose sultan was the caliph of the Islamic world and who were aware of 'the danger of imprudent influence of the West', who took precedence over other men because they spoke the Empire's official language, and who outnumbered non-Muslim subjects.

Such masculinity was hegemonised in order to support the interests of the Ottoman Empire, particularly through literary representations. From the second half of the nineteenth century, various representations of masculinity began to be embodied in fiction. This embodiment resulted from – and also resulted *in* – anxieties involving society [my emphasis]. As Nurdan Gürbilek suggests in *Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark: Edebiyat ve Endişe* (Blind Mirror, Lost Orient: Literature and Anxiety), similar to the Ottoman Empire's gender stereotyping, authorship was frequently associated with the male gender role by Ottoman authors whose narratives were deeply influenced by anxieties

caused by Westernisation, national culture and cultural identity. These anxieties also became intertwined with the fear of losing one's masculinity in the form of writing/narrating (2014: 9-10). This intertwining of socio-political and literary anxieties shows how the modern West, as a concept, shifted "from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category", as it is no longer confined to certain territories, but it takes place "in structures and in minds" (Nandy 1993: xi).

Castration anxiety can productively be applied to socio-political anxieties in Ottoman Turkish fiction. In his essay "Fetishism", Sigmund Freud writes, "the fetish is a substitute for the penis" (2001a: 152). When a little boy notices that his mother does not have a penis, he perceives it as a threat – he might also lose his penis. The possibility of the loss of his penis creates castration anxiety. In order to address this anxiety, the boy disavows his mother's lack of a penis. However, this disavowal causes a conflict – on the one hand, the boy continues to believe that his mother has a penis; on the other hand, he acknowledges that she does not have one. He tries to find a middle ground and invents a fetish object that substitutes for his mother's absent penis. In other words, castration anxiety is eradicated by fetishising a new object as a replacement for the mother's penis (Freud 2001a: 154).

With reference to Freud, Homi K. Bhabha interprets fetishism at the level of colonial discourse. He emphasises that "[f]etishism, as the disavowal of difference, is that repetitious scene around the problem of castration" (1994: 74). His reading of stereotypes with regard to fetishism is crucial for explaining castration anxiety in relation to colonial discourse in general and to late Ottoman politics in particular. Although the Ottoman Empire was not actually colonised by the West, Homi K. Bhabha's reading functions well as a way of demonstrating the shift in the Empire's approach to gender stereotyping and castration anxiety both in politics and in fiction. In this

regard, the question of whether one has a penis or not is similar to the question of what it means to 'be the other', and to having a different skin colour/race/culture, issues that constitute differences between cultures, and between the coloniser and the colonised. The recognition of the difference between the coloniser and the colonised might be seen as analogous to the sexual difference between the boy and the mother (1994: 74-75).

I argue that fetishism occurred in the form of modernisation in the late Ottoman context. The purpose of modernisation was to resurrect the Empire's weakened masculine role and to compensate for its political castration, which not only functioned as a disavowal of the difference between the Ottoman tradition and Western modernity, but also became the acknowledgement of the Empire's existing differences from the West and/or 'lack' of modernity. The Empire's simultaneous recognition and disavowal of its difference from the West challenged the imperial power and became representative of its castration anxiety. My contention, therefore, is that the dissolution of the implicitly masculine role of the Ottoman Empire, an empire that was becoming increasingly less potent, is represented via castration anxiety in fiction, an anxiety that is particularly reflected in *Kesik Bıyık* (*Trimmed Moustache*) and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* (The Wedding Night: A Eunuch's Lovemaking). By reading these narratives in relation to castration anxiety, I first aim to demonstrate the way in which the Empire's emulation of modernity generates a castration anxiety by the trimming of a moustache in *Kesik Bıyık*. Then, I read *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* as a political allegory of the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the twentieth century. This allegorical reading enables me to interpret the Empire's socio-cultural and historical frustration as sexual frustration due to a eunuch's castration. Ultimately, both readings depict the ways in which these anxieties about modernity produce different

masculinities juxtaposed with hegemonic Ottoman masculinity as exemplified by the style of moustache worn and the artificial penis. This chapter discusses the extent to which modernisation is inextricably connected with the loss of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, and implicitly with castration anxiety.

Trimming Ottoman Masculinity: Ömer Seyfeddin's *Kesik Bıyık*

Kesik Bıyık was written by Ömer Seyfeddin (1884-1920) and published in the literary and political humour magazine *Diken* (the Thorn) in 1918. It narrates the story of a young man who has his moustache trimmed in an American-style in order to follow the latest fashion adopted by his friends. With regard to the modern manly look, George L. Mosse remarks that,

> just as modern masculinity reflected the ideals and hopes of society, so its enemies were the enemies of society. Here manliness fulfilled its task of strengthening normative society against those who supposedly wanted to destroy its fabric, and who through their looks and comportment made clear their evil intentions. (1998: 12)

As mentioned above, Ottoman modernisation was often debated in relation to discourses on masculinity, both metaphorically and literally. Idealised and hegemonised masculinity became a destination that one might reach via the 'right' path to modernity, the limits of which were, to a great extent, determined by Ottoman tradition. In Ömer Seyfeddin's corpus, from which I take *Kesik Bıyık* as an example, the connection between masculinity and Ottoman modernisation is already present. The American-style trimmed moustache, which exceeds the limits of the desired Ottoman modernity, might largely be indicative of opposition to hegemonic Ottoman masculinity

and the implicitly normative content of modernity, and might conversely represent "evil intentions", as Mosse states. However, I contend that the analogy moves beyond such opposition and representation. As I argue below, the act of moustache trimming can be read as an analogy for castration, which in itself can be seen as representing late Ottoman anxieties about modernity and as shown in literary production.

How did these anxieties regarding modernity and the form of narration affect the literary production of Ömer Seyfeddin, who often commented on and attached importance to the existing political and cultural circumstances of his period? Ömer Seyfeddin is often regarded as the founder of the short story genre, and he is one of the most important authors of Turkish national literature in the early twentieth century. In his brief life he witnessed significant wars such as the Turco-Italian War (1911-1912), the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1918), all of which left their marks on his literary production (Alangu 1968: 14). As did his nineteenth-century literary precursors, Ömer Seyfeddin occasionally employed the marriage *topos* between the East and the West with a nationalist emphasis. For instance, his serial stories *Fon Sadrişţayn'ın Karısı* (*The Wife of Von Sadristein*) and *Fon Sadrişţayn'ın Oğlu* (*The Son of Von Sadristein*), first published during the First World War in 1917 and 1918, respectively, are based on this marriage *topos*. The short story *Fon Sadrişţayn'ın Karısı* praises German culture through the marriage of a Turkish man called Sadrettin to a German woman – after his first marriage to a Turkish woman, Sadrettin, who previously appeared physically weak, becomes sturdy thanks to his German wife. The follow-up narrative, *Fon Sadrişţayn'ın Oğlu*, continues the plot and takes place twenty-five years later. Sadrettin's decision to leave his Turkish wife and marry a German woman results in a 'mischievously' brought up son, who is born from this

transnational marriage and who steals his parents' money and runs away to America, which could perhaps reflect America's entry into the First World War in 1917.

In addition, *Primo Türk Çocuğu – Nasıl Doğdu* (*Primo the Turkish Boy – How He Was Born*), first published in 1911 during the Turco-Italian War, narrates the story of a young Turkish engineer, Kenan, who was infatuated with Western culture and who married an Italian woman, Grazia. However, in the narrative – which takes place during the Italian invasion – both Kenan and his half-Italian son, Primo, gradually become nationalists and develop an aggressive attitude towards the West. By presenting *Primo Türk Çocuğu* as an example, Halil Berktay underlines the inclination of nationalist authors to develop a discourse that represented "a deceived macho masculine culture" in opposition to the Western perception, which often feminised the East in its cultural productions (1999: 362-363). Here, the term "hypermasculinity", – an exaggerated form of masculinity – corresponds to the impulse of the nationalist authors, who struggled against the Western influence. Ashis Nandy uses the term hypermasculinity to explain "a reactionary stance" that "arises when agents of hegemonic masculinity feel threatened or undermined, thereby needing to inflate, exaggerate, or otherwise distort their traditional masculinity" (Agathangelou and Ling 2004: 519). In *Primo Türk Çocuğu*, Ömer Seyfeddin presents a representation of 'Turkishness' through hypermasculinity. These transnational marriages follow the same pattern, namely marriage between a Turkish man and a Western woman whose nationality depends on with whom the Ottoman Empire was struggling at the time. Hence, masculinity becomes a domain of contestation in which nationalism plays a key role in these narratives.

Nationalism, a significant element of Western modernity, wittingly or unwittingly led Ömer Seyfeddin to the internalisation of the West as a

necessary reification and this had consequences for indigenous discourses surrounding masculinity as well as the political and literary representations thereof. A. Ezgi Dikici suggests that, similar to his other nationalist contemporaries, Ömer Seyfeddin was confronted by the dilemma of Western modernity and Turkish national identity. This dilemma was depicted as "a sense of crisis" due to the feeling of being torn between contesting the economic and cultural hegemony of the West and the need to maintain a national identity (2008: 85). As Partha Chatterjee claims, nationalist thought "simultaneously rejects and accepts the dominance, both epistemic and moral, of an alien culture" (1993: 11). I suggest comparing this simultaneous rejection and acceptance of an alien culture to Sigmund Freud's concept of fetishism by reading Ömer Seyfeddin's *Kesik Bıyık*.

The narrative begins with a reference to Charles Darwin made by the protagonist:

> One has to believe in the words of the guy called "Darwin". Yes, human beings must have absolutely evolved from monkeys! Because whatever we see we immediately imitate it; the way we sit, stand up, drink, walk, stop, in short in short everything… (6)[19]

The protagonist gives an example of men who needlessly imitate what they see:

> There are many men who wear one-eyed glasses called a "monocle" without having a need for it. Because [the men in the] pictures they

[19] "Darwin" denilen herifin sözüne inanmalı. Evet, insanlar mutlaka maymundan türemişler! Çünkü işte neyi görsek hemen taklit ediyoruz; oturmayı, kalkmayı, içmeyi, yürümeyi, durmayı, hâsılı hâsılı her şeyi...

> see in the fashion albums at the tailor [shop] have one-eyed glasses. (6)[20]

After this brief criticism of those who imitate Western fashion, the protagonist refers to himself and remarks that he is also one of these imitators:

> Six seven years ago, I saw that everyone used to trim his moustache American-style. You naturally might guess that I also immediately had [my moustache] trimmed. Ah, yes I also had [it] trimmed. I also had my handlebar moustache trimmed just because of mimicry; indeed I looked like my ancestors in the way Darwin wanted. (6)[21]

This reference to the theory of human evolution implicitly alludes to Charles Darwin's theory of sexual difference and civilisation. In his two-volume study *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* – first published in 1871 – Darwin describes the relationship of civilisation, reproductive sex and sexual differences. In addition to "man's putative 'descent' from animal forms", Darwin suggests that human beings are superior to animals since they have morality, culture and civilisation. He values Western civilisation above other civilisations by arguing that it is based on sexual selection and reproduction. With regard to means of reproduction, he places specific emphasis on heteronormativity and stresses the differences between the sexes. Charles Darwin ascribes indistinct sexual differences to inferior races and savage societies such as the "American aborigines". This importance

[20] Ne kadar adamlar vardır ki hiç ihtiyaçları yokken "monokl" dediğimiz tek gözlükleri takarlar. Çünkü terzide seyrettikleri moda albümlerindeki resimler tek gözlüklüdür.
[21] Altı yedi sene evvel, gördüm ki herkes bıyıklarını Amerikanvari kesiyor. Benim de hemen kestirdiğimi tabii tahmin edersiniz. Ah, evet ben de kestirdim. Ben de palabıyıklarımı sırf taklitçilik gayretiyle kestirdim; hakikaten "Darwin"in istediği gibi ecdadıma benzedim.

given to sexual difference and reproduction ostracises Western homosexuality and regards it as primitive, a kind of non-Western savagery. It renders both the homosexual and the savage intertwined discursively in Charles Darwin's theory (Gandhi 2006: 47-49, 50).

With reference to Darwin's theory, I argue that *Kesik Bıyık* allegorically highlights the challenges posed to hegemonic Ottoman masculinity by its Western counterparts in the process of modernisation. The use of a manly sign – the moustache – initially underlines the sexual difference between male and female. The handlebar moustache – *palabıyık* in Turkish – is trimmed from the corners of the mouth downwards – above the mouth, it is allowed to grow in an unrestrained fashion. It represents hegemonic masculinity and Ottoman tradition in the narrative. The act of trimming, therefore, represents the Empire's modernisation attempts that led to the alteration of hegemonic masculinity and constituted sexual ambivalence. After trimming his moustache to make it appear in an American-style, the protagonist admits that he does not look the way he had expected. However, after he shaves off the handlebar moustache, he regresses in terms of human evolution and resembles a monkey. If one considers the discursive Darwinian relationship between the homosexual and the savage, the protagonist's monkey-like appearance transforms him into a savage, if not into a homosexual. The protagonist's act of shaving his moustache annihilates the sexual difference between male and female and, implicitly, his masculinity. Correspondingly, the trimmed moustache functions as a critique of Ottoman modernisation based on the emulation of the West that prevents the Empire from being part of Western 'civilisation', and misdirects it in a Darwinian sense.

The protagonist's parents react negatively to him because he trimmed his moustache. In their eyes, the American-style moustache is a symbol of

"excessive Westernisation". In this context, the West is not limited to Europe – the emulation of American fashion shows that Westernisation expands into and includes Americanness. When the protagonist's mother is told that he has trimmed his handlebar moustache and she enters his room, he tries to hide his upper lip with his hand as if he had a toothache. However, his mother starts crying and tells him:

> Ah traitor vile! You are not my son anymore! […] Do you think that I do not understand? […] freemasons cut their moustaches. This means you are a freemason too! May you get no benefit from the milk I gave you: Ah this means you are a freemason and we were not aware of it… (6)[22]

The protagonist's mother initially sees the trimmed moustache as being dreadful. She even threatens to disown her son. The protagonist's mother makes clear that having an American-style moustache is the equivalent of becoming a "freemason". The mother's accusation is not related directly to the protagonist's masculinity; instead, her anger is linked to the loss of the cultural heritage and/or the unity of the Empire. Hence, one might suggest that Ottoman masculinity is a central part of Ottoman culture – if one is lost, the other will be lost too.

The protagonist's father then arrives on the scene. The protagonist feels frightened and trembles with fear when he sees his father. He also tries to hide his moustache from him, but his father sees it. The protagonist feigns an excuse by saying "while lighting my cigarette I burned one side of my moustache… That is why I had it trimmed" [*cigaramı yakarken kazara*

[22] Ah hain alçak! Artık benim evladım değilsin! [...] Beni anlamaz mı sanıyorsun? [...] bıyıklarını farmasonlar keserlermiş. Demek sen de farmasonmuşsun! Verdiğim süt sana haram olsun: Ah demek sen de farmasonmuşsun da bizim haberimiz yokmuş...

bıyığımın bir tarafını tutuşturdum... Onun için kestirdim] (6). However, he cannot convince his father:

> You cannot fool me with this, […] it means that all those dandies on streets burned their moustaches with a match. […] Bringing the fez's tassel to the forefront, trimming the moustache all of it indicates something… Something, which is very vile... (6)[23]

The protagonist's father accuses the protagonist of being a dandy because he trimmed his moustache. According to the protagonist's father, when a man trims his moustache, he becomes a "dandy" and his masculinity becomes diminished. Such excessive attention to style, or stylisation, is considered similar to feminisation. The association of the dandy with the loss of masculinity is a central issue in the discussions of modernisation in the Ottoman Turkish novel. In these discussions, any Western influence is seen as an excessive influence; this excessive influence is frequently associated with the excessively Westernised, effeminate dandy, a figure that appeared frequently in the narratives of the time.[24] The effeminate dandy was not only seen as having a "borrowed personality" due to excessive Westernisation, but also reflected the anxiety felt by some about turning to "borrowed sexuality" (Gürbilek 2014: 11, 55-56). By contrast, the sexuality of excessively Westernised female characters was reinforced and they became hypersexual.

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[23] Sen bana dolma yutturamazsın, [...] demek ki sokakları dolduran züppelerin hepsinin bıyıkları kibritle mi yandı. [...] Fesinin püskülünü önüne getirmek, bıyıklarını kesmek hep bir şeye delalet edermiş... Öyle pis bir şeye ki...

[24] For a detailed discussion of the dandy in Ottoman Turkish literature, see Nurdan Gürbilek. "Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness, and the Turkish Novel." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102.2-3 (2003): 599-628, and Şerif Mardin. "Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century". *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*. Ed. Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur. Leiden: Brill, 1974. 403–446.

The hypersexualisation of these female characters led them to lose their chastity and virginity (Bilgin 2004: 106). Thus, it may be concluded that excessive Westernisation was considered the equivalent of having sex with a man – the West in these examples – that ultimately results in a loss in one way or other, either of chastity and/or virginity, or masculinity.

It is remarkable that when the father disowns the protagonist and throws him out of the house, he displaces the widely debated issue of female chastity to the loss of male chastity:

> Leave now! […] do not ever think of coming here again… Because even if your moustaches grow your chastity is not restored… (6)[25]

This displacement of female chastity with male chastity depicts the extent to which the excessively Westernised Ottoman man surrenders his virility and becomes as effeminate as a hypersexual female character. The juxtaposition of moustache and chastity depicts the loss of masculine characteristics that one experiences as a result of the influence of Western modernity. Accordingly, 'womanly' issues, such as the loss of chastity, are also ascribed to the protagonist. The loss of chastity due to the trimmed moustache became the yielding of Ottoman tradition to excessive Western influence. Elif Bilgin suggests that the private sphere and, consequently, the family became a "castle of chastity" that should be kept safe from excessive Westernisation (2004: 90). Therefore, the father, who was seen as the guardian of the family in early Ottoman Turkish novels (Parla 2004b: 19), banishes the protagonist from the house in order to wage war on the excessive influence of Western modernity and to protect the "castle of chastity".

[25] Hemen çık! [...] bir daha sakın buraya geleyim deme... Çünkü artık bıyıkların çıksa bile namusun yerine gelmez...

After being thrown out of the house, the protagonist decides to go to his friend's house in Topkapı. On the way, he encounters some of his friends. They salute him and react to the trimmed moustache in exactly the opposite way from that of his parents:

> Bonjour, bonjour! […] here now you look like a man… What was that handlebar moustache! Like a chief officer of the Janissaries who arose from the grave… (6)[26]

The Janissaries – *Yeni Çeri* in Turkish – were a powerful military force in the Ottoman Empire until the mid-seventeenth century. Later, their malpractices and military inadequacies against Western armies led to their execution by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) in 1826. These executions were called *Vak'a-i Hayriyye* (the Auspicious Event). A Western-style army replaced the Janissary corps in one of the most significant and pioneering attempts to modernise the Empire. The renowned poet and diplomat Yahya Kemal (Beyatlı) (1884-1958) discusses late Ottoman masculinities in relation to the execution of the Janissaries. He notes:

> […] following the Auspicious Event our old customs disappeared completely because of the aim to raise a dignified and well-mannered generation and in the end, under the Ottoman garment that is called İstanbulîn, just as that government wanted, a generation that was well-behaved, well-advised, kowtowing, lickspittle, lowly, silenced, deprived of all sorts of manly appearances, walks and movements was fostered. A foreigner, who would look at Ottoman generation in this

[26] Bonjur, bonjur! [...] işte şimdi adama benzedin... Neydi o palabıyıklar! Mezardan kalkmış bir yeniçeri ağası gibi...

> era, would not recognise the sons of the old quarrelsome, strong voiced and manly Ottomans. (1975: 97)[27]

I contend that the similarity between the protagonist's previous appearance and the Janissaries, as remarked upon by his friends, is a significant indicator that demonstrates how hegemonic Ottoman masculinity was altered by modernisation. As the handlebar moustache allegorically signifies Ottoman tradition, the trimming thereof causes the protagonist to cease being a man in the traditional sense. However, he becomes a 'modern' and 'real' man in the eyes of his Westernised peers. Each character adopts a different attitude towards the American-style moustache: it is either interpreted as the loss of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, or it receives approval as the symbol of modernity.

When the protagonist takes the tram to Topkapı, he sees a religious hodja who looks at him. The protagonist becomes concerned that he will receive further criticism because of his moustache from the hodja. He makes ready to escape from the hodja's sight. Meanwhile, the hodja smiles:

- May God bless you my son. May you live long! […]
- For what sir? […]
- Seeing elegant youngsters like you being circumcised is the biggest pride for us! […]
- But how did you understand that I am circumcised sir?
- The hodja smiled:

[27] […] Vak'a-i Hayriyye'yi müteâkip efendi ve çelebi bir nesil yetiştirmek gayreti yüzünden eski sporlarımız tamâmıyle zâil olmuş ve nihâyet, İstanbulîn denilen Osmanlı kisvesi altında, o hükûmetin tam istediği gibi, uslu, akıllı, el pençe dîvan durur, mütebasbıs, başı aşağıda, sessiz, erkekliğin her türlü gösterişinden, yürüyüşünden ve hareket edişinden mahrum bir kâtip nesil yetişmişti. Bu devirde Osmanlı nesline bakan bir ecnebî, eski döğüşken, gür sesli ve erkek Osmanlıların oğullarını tanımazdı.

- You have your moustaches trimmed my son […]. Isn't it a sunnah? (6)[28]

This grotesque misunderstanding becomes highly explicit in the original parlance of the narrative, because the words circumcision and sunnah, a set of religious customs and practices introduced by the Prophet Muhammad, are the same word in Turkish: *sünnet*. Since the hodja is the cult leader, his position requires that he does not criticise undesirable acts directly; instead, he likens them to something pleasant. As readers, we are uncertain whether he criticises the protagonist implicitly or whether he appreciates the trimmed moustache because it is recommended for religious reasons.[29] The hodja's allusive use of the word *sünnet* maintains the tension between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and 'modern' masculinities until the end of the story.

Both penises and moustaches are exclusively male. Furthermore, circumcision and moustache trimming both consist of "trimming" at a physical level, either of the foreskin or of the hair on the upper lip. However, the act of trimming the foreskin does not have the same connotation as does trimming the hair on the upper lip. In Ottoman Turkish culture, the loss of foreskin via circumcision is never seen as a loss. Instead, circumcision is a signifier of masculinity. It is considered a transition from childhood to manhood. Unlike the circumcision tradition in Jewish culture, which is generally performed early in the neonatal period, Muslim boys are

[28] - Eksik olmayınız oğlum. Varolunuz! [...]
- Niçin efendim? [...]
- Sizin gibi şık gençleri sünnetli görmek bizim için en büyük bir iftihardır! [...]
- Fakat sünnetli olduğumu nereden anladınız efendim?
Hoca güldü:
- İşte bıyıklarınızı kestirmişsiniz ya oğlum [...]. Bu sünnet-i şerif değil midir?

[29] See hadiths: Imam Malik, The Description of the Prophet, may Allah Bless Him and Grant Him Peace (Muwatta) 3 (http://ahadith.co.uk/chapter.php?cid=99); Sahih Muslim, Purification (Kitab Al-Taharah) 496 (http://ahadith.co.uk/chapter.php?cid=71&page=7&rows=10).

circumcised when they are aged between five and twelve. Thereafter, they are supposed to "become socially gendered beings" (Delaney 1994: 164). One of the stages of manhood is the growth of pubic hair and facial hair, which occurs at a later age than does circumcision. The growth of male hair proclaims the beginning of puberty and sexual maturity. In terms of sexual maturity, Dror Ze'evi divides male sexuality in the Ottoman Empire into two prominent periods: the period until puberty during which a young boy was an object of desire for older men, and the period when he grew in maturity and was attracted to women and younger men (2006: 93). In the period of maturity, facial hair not only differentiated men from women, but also from younger, beardless men (Najmabadi 2005: 142). Accordingly, facial hair – beards and/or moustaches – becomes a reinforcing sign of sexual maturity and adultness. In many Islamic traditions, the transformation of vellus hair into a moustache is particularly seen as indicative of virility (Bromberger 2008: 381).

The correlation of male hair with virility is explained by Wendy Cooper as "a simple equation: male hair equals virility, equals power, equals strength" (1971: 38). In his book *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (1951), Charles Berg describes this association in reverse and suggests a symbolic relationship between hair cutting and shaving with castration.[30] In her analysis of the biblical story of Samson and Delilah, Mieke Bal also underlines the symbolic relationship between hair cutting and castration. Samson's loss of hair leads to the loss of his strength, as his strength in general and his masculinity in particular are reliant on his hair. The loss of

[30] For further discussions of hair and its symbolic use, see Gananath Obeyesekere. *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, P. Hershman. "Hair, Sex and Dirt." *Man* 9.2 (1974): 274–298, C. R. Hallpike. "Social Hair." *Man* 4.2 (1969): 256–64, E. R. Leach. "Magical Hair." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 88.2 (1958): 147–164.

his hair diminishes his masculinity. Samson's diminished masculinity generates "hair envy" and, by extension, penis envy in the story (1987: 55). Drawing on Bal's reading of the story of Samson and Delilah, I contend that the parents' negative reactions to the protagonist's trimmed moustache also transform castration anxiety into "hair envy" on behalf of the protagonist. Since he does not have an 'adequate' moustache according to his parents, he embraces the 'womanly' psychological conflict of "penis envy" in the guise of "hair envy".

In *Kesik Bıyık*, circumcision and the handlebar moustache are juxtaposed as constitutive elements of virility. This juxtaposition forms the basis for the interrogation of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity. Circumcision is one of the prerequisites for being a man. An uncircumcised man is one who does not conform to the physical perception of an Ottoman man. A circumcised penis becomes the symbol of power and transforms the penis into the phallus (Barutçu 2015: 134). The handlebar moustache – like circumcision – is also representative of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, and consequently functions as the phallus in the narrative. The loss of the handlebar moustache – with the aim of having a 'modern' or 'civilised' look – diminishes the protagonist's virility, as it does in the story of Samson and Delilah. Given the association of circumcision with the trimming of the handlebar moustache, the American-style moustache moves the idea of circumcision beyond its reinforcing meaning in relation to hegemonic masculinity and turns it into castration anxiety. Furthermore, although circumcision is usually called *tahara* (purification) in Arabic (Bouhdiba 2000: 21), I argue that trimming the moustache in contrast to circumcision does not signify purification, but rather 'deterioration' of the protagonist in the narrative.

In addition, circumcision is also a necessary condition for one to marry. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba draws attention to the similarity between circumcision and wedding ceremonies:

> It is as if circumcision were only a mimicry of marriage and the sacrifice of the foreskin an anticipation of that of the hymen […]. It is as if circumcision were a preparation for deflowering and indeed is it not a question of preparing oneself for coitus, of sensitizing oneself to the genetic activity, of valorizing in a sense the phallus, which is thus in turn purified and placed in reserve? (2000: 27)

The trimming of the handlebar moustache in an American-style as a reflection of circumcision and of symbolic castration prevents the protagonist from practicing marriage in the sense of Bouhdiba. This inability might also be interpreted as a prevention of the metaphorical marriage between the Ottoman tradition and Western modernity, which reflects the Empire's 'dysfunctional' attempts at modernisation.

Kesik Bıyık enables an allegorical reading, a reading that relates Ottoman modernisation to the issue of masculinity. I have read this short story as a sexual allegory of late Ottoman anxieties caused by the Empire's socio-political predicament with regard to modernity. The narrative revolves around the protagonist, whose American-style, trimmed moustache receives different responses from the people around him. Using these responses, Ömer Seyfeddin presents various alternative masculinities without singling out a particular masculinity. He does not privilege or criticise one particular masculinity throughout the narrative. The refusal to take a side creates an ambivalent ending and suggests a tension between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and 'modern' masculinities. This tension represents the changing

– and perhaps decreasing – masculine role of the Ottoman Empire in its metaphorical marriage with the West at the turn of the century. At the end of *Kesik Bıyık*, Ömer Seyfeddin leaves readers in suspense, which intensifies the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties caused by Western modernity.

Making use of the well-established analogy between trimming and castration, I have read *Kesik Bıyık* in terms of fetishism and castration anxiety. I have argued that Ottoman modernisation, symbolised by an American-style, trimmed moustache, is fetishised in order to overcome the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties, represented by castration anxiety. However, the trimmed moustache is not considered the equivalent of modernity, as it remains simply a fetish object – a substitute for modernity. Therefore, modernity becomes an Ottoman fetish, simultaneously acknowledging and disavowing the Empire's difference from the West. By placing Western modernity and Ottoman modernisation within the frame of masculinity, *Kesik Bıyık* illustrates the extent to which discourses on masculinity were interrupted and challenged by modernisation.

Liminal Masculinity in the Balkan Wars: *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*

Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası, an erotic novella written by M.S and published in 1913, narrates the story of a rich eunuch – Anber Ağa – who is lustful, but at the same time sexually frustrated due to the lack of a penis. I contend that the choice of a eunuch, a sexually frustrated figure, as the protagonist of the novella allows for an allegorical interpretation of the narrative. It reflects the Ottoman Empire's frustrating socio-political situation that appeared due to the loss of its imperial power. That is to say, the eunuch's sexual frustration epitomises the Empire's socio-political frustration derived from the failure to keep pace particularly with Western European

states and modernity. In this section, therefore, I continue my discussion of the implications of modernisation on hegemonic Ottoman masculinity as part of castration anxiety. However, differently from *Kesik Bıyık*, I scrutinise the castration anxiety in a more explicit manner – with the help of the eunuch.

Eunuchs in the Ottoman Empire

Eunuchs were an integral part of the Ottoman palace and noble houses, and it is crucial to clarify how the eunuch system functioned and what meanings were attributed to eunuchs in the Ottoman Empire. Eunuchs are castrated male slaves; they are not an Ottoman invention.[31] Eunuchhood dates back at least to the Assyrian Empire and most probably goes even further back to the earliest civilisations in Mesopotamia (Hathaway 2011: 179). Numerous non-Islamic and Islamic societies such as the Byzantine Empire, several dynasties in China, the Mughal Empire, and the Ottoman Empire employed eunuchs. They were used both as military commanders and as palace functionaries. However, in the nineteenth century, the military slavery of eunuchs was abolished in the Ottoman Empire, but household slavery still existed both in the palace and in noble houses (Toledano 1984: 379).

A brief history of eunuchhood and the way in which it became a fashion in the Ottoman society is also described in the beginning of *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* as follows:

> As is known by experts, in time of the Eastern Roman Empire at moments when the public morals became enormously corrupted, some men began to be castrated in order to preserve [their body]

[31] The word eunuch does not have a direct relation with "castrate" or "castration"; it actually derives from the Greek *eunoukhos* in the meaning of "bed chamber attendant" (Ayalon 1999:266). In the Ottoman Empire, eunuchs of the imperial palace – like the highest-ranking officers in the army – were called *ağa*. Eventually, the title ağa became synonymous with "eunuch" (Hathaway 2005: 27).

> always young and beautiful, and to maintain the fineness of their voice. And by this means sodomy ascended in the imperial palaces.
>
> During the time of his reign, Muawiyah, transformed the caliphate of Islam into a sultanate and descended it from father to son. This practice sowed discord among Muslims since then, [they] castrated some negro and Abyssinian children from Sudan and nearby in order to make the emirate look like a sultanate and to manifest [their] glory abroad, on the one hand, and to take revenge on black people, on the other hand. A lot of harm was caused by the castrations that occurred.
>
> Thereby, these castrated [boys] were employed, under the name of eunuchs, in the palaces of Ottoman sultans and in the noble houses, and the use of eunuch ağa became a fashion for centuries. (4-5)[32]

As palace functionaries, eunuchs were in charge of the maintenance of the sultan's private quarters, his wives and concubines, and other members of the imperial family (Hathaway 2005: 11). In general, East African black eunuchs were placed in the female harem, *Dârüssaâde* (the Abode of

[32] Erbabına malum olduğu üzere Şarkî Roma İmparatorluğu zamanında ahlak-ı umumiyyenin son derece bozulmuş bulunduğu avânda birtakım erkeklerin daima genç ve güzel bulundurmak ve seslerinin inceliği muhafaza edilmek için tatviş edilmesine başlanmış ve imparatorlar saraylarında livâtanın terakkisine bu suretle himmet edilmiş idi.

Hilafet-i İslamiyyeyi saltanata tahvil ve bunda veraset usulünü ihdâs ederek ilâ yevminâ hâzâ İslamlar arasında ilka-yı nifak etmiş olan Muaviye zaman-ı emaretinde bir taraftan emaretine saltanat süsü vermek ve her tarafa ihtişam irâ'e etmek ve diğer taraftan zencilere karşı ahz-ı sârda bulunmak için birtakım Sudan ve sâir cihetlerden getirttiği zenci ve Habeş çocuklarını tatvîş usulünü ihdâs etmiş ve bu yüzden nice nice mazarratlar meydan almıştı.

İşbu mutavveşler harem ağaları namı altında hükümdârân-ı izâm-ı Osmaniyye saraylarında ve bazı ekâbir ve eâzım konaklarında bulundurulmağa başlanmış ve bizde de asırlardan beri hadım ağası kullanılması moda olmuştur.

Felicity), while Hungarian and Caucasian white eunuchs were allowed in *Bâbüssaâde* (the Gate of Felicity), the third courtyard, where the sultan's private quarters were placed. Although the reason for such a division is not clear, Jane Hathaway suggests that the slave trade of Abyssinian eunuchs started right after the relocation of the female harem from *Saray-ı Atîk* (the Old Palace) to the Topkapı Palace where the sultan's residence was. This relocation provided appropriate conditions for the settlement of the newly brought black eunuchs. These conditions were not good due to the over population of the third courtyard (2005: 14-15).

In the late sixteenth century, the relocation of the female harem close to the sultan's residence resulted in the increasing influence of eminent harem women such as the sultan's mother and certain concubines in state affairs. The female harem had a central position because of the intervention of harem women in Ottoman politics. This intervention was also the result of the death of sultans at an early age and the accession of underage or mentally handicapped sultans in the seventeenth century (Hathaway 2011: 191; 2005: 110). Because the chief harem eunuch used to be the political ally of the sultan's mother, his position also became influential in the upbringing of the sultan (Hathaway 2011: 183). When the number of residents in the Topkapı Palace reached its peak during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-1595), there were approximately 1,000 to 1,200 harem eunuchs of whom 600 to 800 were supervised by *Dârüssaâde Ağası* (the guardian of the Abode of Felicity), the chief harem eunuch who was appointed by the sultan (Hathaway 2005: 13). Earlier historians have argued that there is a strong relation between the moral and political decline of empires and the increasing influence of eunuchs (Ringrose 2007: 495). Likewise, it has often been argued that the increasing influence of the chief harem eunuch in conjunction with the domination of harem women in state affairs was one of the underlying

reasons for the Ottoman Empire's decline. The chief harem eunuch became "the personification of [the] 'decline'" of the Ottoman Empire (Hathaway 2005: 111).

The Balkan Wars in *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*

As mentioned above, *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* was published in 1913, in the period during which the Ottoman Empire was at war with the Balkan League (the Bulgarians, Greeks, Montenegrins, and Serbs). This war was instigated by nationalism. The struggle of the Empire against rising Balkan nationalism at the turn of the century inclined the Empire to take new directions both politically and culturally. The Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the loss of Balkan territories were not merely a political defeat for the Ottoman Empire. Although the Empire had lost vast and significant territories previously, the government and bureaucrats still had enough confidence in the Empire's continuation. However, the Balkan Wars were overwhelmingly disastrous and led to a loss of confidence (Hanioğlu 2008: 173). Along these lines, Engin Kılıç states,

> the unforeseen, out-and-out disaster suffered by the Ottomans in the Balkan War, along with its tragic consequences, produced profound shock and trauma in the Ottoman Turkish public and intelligentsia. (2015: 5)

Indeed, the Balkan Wars became a turning point for the Ottoman Empire, as the Balkans "symbolising far more than territory, was at the very heart of what made the [E]mpire" (Boyar 2007: 1). Being defeated in the Balkan Wars was devastating for the Empire, and it caused frustrations, anxieties and fears regarding its future (Gawrych 1986: 307). Hence, aside from the

modernisation attempts, the devastating political failure and the significant territorial loss in the Balkan Wars led to a "narcissistic scar".

Nurdan Gürbilek uses the term "narcissistic scar" in a broad sense when discussing Ottoman modernisation, though not specifically in the context of the Balkan Wars. She argues that being defeated by European modernity has frequently been experienced as the feeling of insufficiency, which resulted in a narcissistic scar in the late Ottoman Empire (2014:13-14). In his *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*, Freud defines "narcissistic scar" as

> [l]oss of love and failure leave behind them a permanent injury to self-regard in the form of a narcissistic scar, which […] contributes more than anything to the 'sense of inferiority' which is so common in neurotics. (2001b: 20-21)

Likewise, the Ottoman Empire's socio-political failures constituted a narcissistic scar and a feeling of inferiority compared to European states. Here, the notion of narcissistic scar is also associated with the castration anxiety due to the idea of loss or failure. In the Ottoman case, the loss and failure are equal to the loss of territory and to political failures that are represented through the eunuch's condition of being castrated. Since the penis is "a narcissistic organ" in the Lacanian sense (Grosz 1990: 119), its castration generates "narcissistic fear". Narcissistic fear is a reflection of the fear of losing virility (Lacan 1997: 312). In this respect, the choice of a eunuch as the protagonist of the novella is relevant because it helps to explain the "narcissistic scar" and "narcissistic fear" by means of castration anxiety. The eunuch as the protagonist demonstrates how the loss of imperial power and the loss of virility were considered equal. Therefore, in this section I suggest the plausibility of reading *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının*

Muâşakası as a sexual allegory of the Ottoman Empire's political predicament during the Balkan Wars.

An Allegorical Reading of the Eunuch in *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*

Figure 3: The cover page of *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*

The novella revolves around two characteristics of the eunuch slave Anber Ağa: his wealth and his lack of a penis. In *The Black Eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire: Networks of Power in the Court of the Sultan*, George Junne provides actual historical contexts for two eunuchs named Anber Mehmed Ağa, both of whom had been Treasurer before they served as Chief Black Eunuch in 1713-1717 and 1813-1815 respectively (2016: 184, 203). Although there is no indication that the protagonist is based on a historical figure, the name Anber was not uncommon for eunuchs in the Ottoman Empire. The protagonist Anber Ağa, an attendant of a noble house, on the other hand, attains his wealth by embezzling forty-fifty thousand liras from his master. But he becomes even richer after the death of his master, who does not have any inheritor; Anber Ağa inherits all of his wealth. I contend that the wealth of Anber Ağa's master can be read as the Ottoman expansionist policy and the Empire's imperial domination that lasted more than six hundred years. In this regard, the absence of an heir is important. It is indicative of the Empire's inability to continuously preserve imperial domination in the age of modernity. This discontinuity is personified by the slave's succession as the heir of his master's wealth. In *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*, Orlando Patterson notes "[s]lavery is one of the most extreme forms of the relation of domination" (1982: 1). He emphasises eunuch slavery by stating, "[t]he absolute ruler […] requires the ultimate slave; and the ultimate slave is best represented in the anomalous person of the eunuch" (1982: 315). In the Ottoman Empire, the sultan used to have absolute power until the proclamation of the Second Constitution. However, the loss of imperial domination weakened the Empire's reputation. In addition to the loss of imperial power, the introduction of a constitutional monarchy altered the sultan's absolute position at the turn of the century. Based on this alteration, the eunuch Anber Ağa no longer represents the

sultan's absolute position, as Patterson suggests when discussing the dialectical relationship between the eunuch slave and the absolute ruler. Instead, he can be seen as standing for the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire, which was weak, but tried to overcome its weakened political condition through modernisation.

The Empire's willingness to overcome its weakened political condition is represented through Anber Ağa's willingness to marry a woman:

> Night and day Anber Ağa wanted to marry. Isn't he a man? Doesn't he also want to marry? Sometimes Anber Ağa used to speak about his will to marry here and there to some people, and although the ones who heard about it did not say anything directly to his face, still they used to laugh about him stealthily and, simply make fun of poor Anber Ağa. There were many people with whom Anber Ağa met in the neighbourhood where he lived.
>
> Because Anber Ağa was wealthy, people around him wanted to benefit from his money and food, and they did not leave this poor negro alone. (3)[33]

The mockery of people around him symbolises the way in which the Empire had been ridiculed by being called the "Sick Man of Europe" since the nineteenth century due to its financial decline and loss of territories. In this respect, Anber Ağa's being a eunuch might be regarded as a masculine "sickness", which I contend implicitly refers to the Empire's diminished and

[33] Anber Ağa gece gündüz evlenmek isterdi. Erkek değil mi ya? O da evlenmek istemez mi? Anber Ağa evlenmek hususundaki hevesini bazen şuna buna anlatır ve işitenler bunun yüzüne karşı bir şey demezler idiyse de fakat içlerinden gülerler ve adeta zavallı Anber Ağa ile eğlenirler idi. Anber Ağa'nın ikamet etmekte bulunduğu mahalde kendisiyle görüşenler çok idi.

Çünkü Anber Ağa sahib-i servet olduğundan etrafında bulunanlar bunun parasından ve ta'âmından istifade etmek isterler ve gece gündüz biçare zencinin peşini bırakmazlar idi.

degraded masculine role. Besides, since black masculinity is frequently presumed as "sexually well-endowed" (Slatton and Spates 2014: 3), his blackness increases the tension that arose from the loss of masculinity.

What is more important here is Anber Ağa's willingness to marry despite being a eunuch. It shows that the Empire still regarded itself as the male side in its metaphorical marriage with the West. Nevertheless, as Kathryn M. Ringrose indicates, eunuchs actually were beyond gender categories and "played liminal roles in society" (2007: 501). Ringrose elsewhere gives an example from Byzantium in which eunuchs formed a third gender; although they were accepted as men, they were an "acculturated kind of men" (2003: 4). In *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships*, David Ayalon also states, "a man would love a eunuch because he resembled in some way a woman; and a woman, by contrast, would love him because of his resemblance to a man" (1999: 317). In fact, as Ottoman modernisation attempts affected the discourses on sexuality, new definitions of masculinity and femininity emerged and created a paradigm shift in gender roles, including those of sexuality – since the nineteenth century.[34] The influence of European values and norms led to the emergence of a heteronormalised sexual discourse by Arab and Turkish elites (Ze'evi 2006: 96). The emergence of heteronormative gender categories during this period also led to the identification of eunuchs with the male gender.

Anber Ağa is described as a lustful man who used to curse the ones who castrated him, because his castration prevents him from satisfying his lust. In order to appease his lust

[34] See Joseph A. Massad. *Desiring Arabs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, Dror Ze'evi. *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*. Los Angels: University of California Press, 2006, Afsaneh Najmabadi. *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity*. London: University of California Press, 2005.

> [...] and hoping that there perhaps might occur an effect of remediation and as a result of the conversations and negotiations with an Italian called Gaitano Fossaro, who was famous for selling artificial implements and tools, with the mediation of this person, he ordered a "penis" from Italy and hurried to modify his desire for sensuality with this [organ].
>
> Hereby, the artificial tool was like the real one in quality and appearance, yet the castrated ones – of course – were deprived of [a pair of testicles], and thus it was not able to generate that pleasure [for them], it was directly informed that this [tool] increases euphoria of women by becoming erect when it was required and it fairly generated a refinement of pleasure by going in and out, even so it was impossible to think that it would generate the same kind of pleasure for a man.
>
> Thus, Anber Ağa, with the help of this tool, advanced his acquaintance and flirtation with a concubine with the name of "Zâtıgül" with whom he had started a love affair when his master was alive and prosperous. (6)[35]

Anber Ağa meets with Zâtıgül, one of the concubines of his master, when his

[35] […] belki de bir tesir-i şifa-bahşâsı husule gelir ümidiyle suni edevat ve âlât satmakta müştehir olan İtalyalı Gaitano Fossaro namında birisiyle vâki olan mükâlemât ve müzâkeratı neticesinde bu zatın delaletiyle İtalya'dan bir "zeker" getirtmiş ve bununla hevesât-ı nefsaniyyesini taʿdîle müsâraat etmiş idi.

İşbu suni alet tıpkı hakikisi mesabesinde ve o biçimde olup bittabi tatviş edilenlerin hassiyetini olmadığından gerçi o lezzeti hasıl ettirecek surette değil ise de arzu edildiği anda sertleştiği ve duhul ve hurucu adeta kemal-i lezzetle husule getirdiği için kadınların neşe-i şetaretini arttırmakta olduğu bilavasıta istihbar olunmuş ise de erkekte o lezzeti vücuda getireceği bittabi teslim edilemez.

İşte Anber Ağa bu alet delaletiyle efendisinin hayat ve ikbalinde muâşakasına ibtida ettiği "Zâtıgül" isminde bir cariye ile muârefe ve muâşakayı pek ziyade ileri götürmüş idi.

master is still alive. Regarding the social position of slaves, Patterson states, the slave is not socially acknowledged independently from his master, "he is sociable only through his master" (1982: 4). Anber Ağa establishes his social and sexual existence through his master as well. Furthermore, Patterson defines the slave as "a socially dead person" due to his marginalised position that comes from his natal alienation (1982: 38, 46). Indeed, slaves in general and eunuchs in particular were alienated and detached from their previous lives in the Ottoman Empire. Also in the narrative, Anber Ağa's natal alienation prevents him from having any connection with his previous life and origin. Moreover, his castration, the inability to procreate, also hampers him from having his lineage carried on. Thus, his castration represents the Empire's political decline and difficulties in keeping pace with Western European states in the early twentieth century.

By referring to Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's master-slave dialectic, Patterson claims that freedom starts with the negation of the slave's social death. The slave's social death stemming from his natal alienation is overcome through negation. The slave's freedom or his life forms a double negation. On the one hand, his enslavement is already a negation of life. On the other hand, "the reclamation of that life must therefore be the negation of this negation". Through his social death, the slave is already transformed once. For this reason, his reclamation of life is no longer the same life as the one he lost (1982: 98). In the novella, Anber Ağa's social death is cancelled by his master's death. Although Anber Ağa is socially reborn to a new life after this death, his sexual death, the castration, remains. Anber Ağa negates his castration by means of the artificial penis. However, it is not able to function as a real penis. Hence, his reclamation of his masculinity is not substantiated by what he already lost in a Hegelian sense.

Hegel emphasises that the slave becomes free through the "rediscovery of himself by himself", becoming aware of being-for-self, and "having a 'mind of his own'" (1977: 118-119). I suggest there is an association between Hegel's "being-for-self" and Lacan's "having the phallus". In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Judith Butler writes,

> [t]he Symbolic order creates cultural intelligibility through the mutually exclusive positions of "having" the Phallus (the position of men) and "being" the Phallus (the paradoxical position of women). The interdependency of these positions recalls the Hegelian structure of failed reciprocity between master and slave, in particular, the unexpected dependency of the master on the slave in order to establish his own identity through reflection. [….] Every effort to establish identity within the terms of this binary disjunction of "being" and "having" returns to the inevitable "lack" and "loss" that ground their phantasmatic construction and mark the incommensurability of the Symbolic and the real. (2010: 60)

In Lacanian psychoanalysis, being the phallus amounts to lacking the phallus. Until Anber Ağa has an artificial penis, he used to lack the phallus, and accordingly, he was the phallus. By ordering an artificial penis, similar to the little boy, Anber Ağa simultaneously acknowledges and disavows his own lack. That is to say, having the artificial penis places Anber Ağa in the simultaneous position of "being the phallus" and "having the phallus". In this simultaneity, having an artificial penis not only signifies his lack of a penis, but also brings about the possibility of losing his artificial penis. Such a possibility implicitly evokes castration anxiety that is different from the

previous castration anxiety. Even though Anber Ağa now has a penis for his being-for-self, contrary to the Hegelian slave, who has a "mind of his own", his penis is not even his own. Thus, the artificiality of the penis emphasises the initial loss and Anber Ağa's failure to negate his sexual death completely.

The artificial penis allegorically stands for the Ottoman Empire's modernisation attempts to overcome European superiority. On the one hand, the castration already takes away Anber Ağa's masculinity; on the other hand, he tries to resurrect his masculinity by means of the artificial penis. Here, the phallus that equates male sexuality with power is significant. Anber Ağa's use of the artificial penis to regain his masculine power mirrors the Empire's emulation of European modernity to rescue the Empire from its decline and reclaim its imperial power. Anber Ağa's lustfulness can then be seen as signifying the Empire's determination to catch up with Western European states. However, the artificiality of the penis demonstrates the superficiality of the Empire's efforts to become modernised without thoroughly understanding modernity. Accordingly, the procuration of masculinity and imperial power by means of "artificial" mediums – the fake organ and the superficial modernisation programme – foreshadow their ultimate failures.

The novella depicts the Empire's degraded masculinity due to the superficial and incomplete understanding of modernity through Anber Ağa's self-indulgence and lechery as follows:

> […] Ms. "Zâtıgül" was fairly talented at playing piano and oud, and especially she was really good at playing *çiftetelli* with oud. […]
>
> According to the Ottoman time scale, at ten in the evening, after sitting and playing piano for an hour and entertaining Anber Ağa with pleasant music, Ms. Zâtıgül used to bring a *rakı* tray and put it in

> front of Ağa. And after drinking a few glasses together, the Arab used to undress and give the oud to his wife, and immediately after a few songs Ms. Zâtıgül used to start playing *çiftetelli* with the extraordinary skill she possessed.
>
> When the time comes to *çiftetelli*, as Anber Ağa became drunk in every sense, the moment Ms. [Zâtıgül] started playing *çiftetelli*, our friend Anber Ağa used to stand up and start belly dancing. (7-8)[36]

Çiftetelli (tsifteteli) is a kind of belly dance and used to be predominant in the Balkans. In *Dancing Fear and Desire: Race, Sexuality, and Imperial Politics in Middle Eastern Dance*, Stavros Stavrou Karayanni underlines that it has often been regarded as a feminine dance due to its "extravagance of impermissible feelings, a certain transgression, and an erotic playfulness". The sexually controversial moves of *çiftetelli* in Greek-Cypriot society indicate that the dance challenges the commonly accepted masculine postures (2004: 9-10). Along these lines, performing *çiftetelli* might be interpreted as a decrease of virility due to the Empire's political predicament in the Balkan Wars. I suggest interpreting Zâtıgül as an allegorical figure of the Balkan communities, and her piano and oud playing as the intercultural position of the Balkans, which was torn between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

Ottoman modernisation came to naught for the Balkan communities, which were willing to establish their own nation states due to the increasing

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[36] […] "Zâtıgül" Hanım güzel piyano ve ud çalmakta ve hele ud ile çiftetelliyi pek güzel becermekte idi. […]

Akşamın alaturka onunda Zâtıgül Hanım piyanonun başına oturarak bir saat kadar latif havalarla Anber Ağa'yı eğlendirdikten sonra rakı tepsisini getirerek ağanın önüne koyar ve bir iki kadeh birlikte yuvarlamayı müteakip Arap soyunarak udu da hanımının eline verir ve bir iki terennüm akabinde Zâtıgül Hanım kendine mahsus maharet-i fevkalade ile çiftetelli çalmaya başlar idi.

Çiftetelliye sıra gelince Anber Ağa her manasıyla sarhoş olduğundan hanım çiftetelli çaldığı avânda bizim Anber Ağa dostumuz da kalkıp oynamaya ve göbek çalkalamaya başlar idi.

influence of nationalism that occurred since the nineteenth century. The way in which the Empire's modernisation programme fell short of fulfilling the expectations of its subjects particularly in the Balkans is represented through Zâtıgül's sexual dissatisfaction:

> As these [sexual] treatments, which came into existence with the artificial tool, were obviously not able to satisfy women properly, and Ms. Zâtıgül was about the age of thirty-five or thirty-six during which women of that age have strong sexual desires, poor Anber Ağa could not satisfy [her] deservedly and having a life with the negro seemed quite dark to the poor [woman].
>
> […] Because spending a life with a coal black, bone-dry negro was always dark, its day would not be different than its night, it would be fitting to name this way of living painful […] In the daytime, benefitting from Ağa's absence Ms. [Zâtıgül] used to take walks in the garden and to bewail her ruined youth. (8-9)[37]

On the occasion of these garden walks, Zâtıgül and the gardener's apprentice Ömer, a handsome and bulky twenty-two-year-old man, start having an affair. If one allegorically reads Zâtıgül as the Balkan communities, Ömer then represents the idea of nationalism. Her pregnancy, courtesy of Ömer, allegorically reflects then that the seed of nationalism was planted inside the

[37] Suni aletle husule gelen şu gibi muameleler benat-ı Havva'yı ol derece memnun edemeyecekleri tabii olduğundan ve Zâtıgül Hanım ise, sinnen otuz beş-otuz altı raddelerinde olup kadınlarca en ziyade sinni-i vukuf ve devr-i hevesât bu zaman idiğinden zavallı Anber Ağa'yı hakkıyla memnun edemiyor ve zenci ile geçirilen şu hayat biçareye pek muzlim geliyor idi.

[...] Simsiyah kupkuru bir zenci ile geçirilen hayatın gündüzü de gecesi gibi karanlık olacağından bu yaşayışa adeta elim bir hayat demek daha beca düşer [...] Hanım gündüzleri Ağa'nın gaybûbetinden bi'l-istifade bağa ve bahçeye çıkıp dolaşır ve yalnız kaldığı anda gençliğinin bu suretle mahvolmakta bulunduğuna ağlar idi.

Ottoman territory:

> - Oh dear Ağa! Although I knew that yours is artificial, although it gives the same pleasure I could not have imagined that it would have had an effect in this way. I have been feeling different for quite some time and I have started feeling something in my body, and since I have also seen that my belly is getting bigger unnaturally, I have wonderingly asked some neighbours and also explained the symptoms. All of them have declared in agreement that I am pregnant. I am very glad that I will give birth to your child, but I am also surprised!
> - I am glad to hear this, wife. This news made me very happy. I hope the baby is going to be male, intelligent and cunning.
> - I hope the same. (10)[38]

The narrative indicates that although the middle aged Zâtıgül had already passed and wasted her prime with Anber Ağa, the future successor is planted in her womb by Ömer. This unborn child can be connected to a new political entity, namely the nation-state.

In *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society,* Shaun Marmon states that because eunuchs do not procreate and are not able to form a social continuity, they are often considered as competent, but not

[38] - Aman Ağa'cığım! Her ne kadar sizdekinin suni olduğunu bilir idiysem de aynı lezzeti iʿtâ etmekle beraber bu yolda tesir göstereceğine akıl erdiremez idim. Bir müddettir kendimde bir başkalık ve vücudumda da bir şeyler hissettiğim ve hele karnımın da hilâf-ı tabiat büyümekte olduğunu gördüğüm için pek merak ederek bazı komşu hanımlara sordum ve alâimini de anlattım. Cümlesi de gebe olduğumu müttefikan beyan ettiler. Sizden bir çocuk doğuracağım için dünyalar kadar memnun ve fakat bu hale de müteaccib oldum!
- Şok memnun oldu hanım! Benden bir şoşuk doğuracak olmanız beni mesrur etti. İnşallah bu şoşuk erkek ve pek zekî ve şeytan vir şey (bir şey manasında) olacak!
- Ben de öyle ümit ederim.

"complete". They are "almost childlike" and remain "perpetual children" sexually (1995: 67, 86-88). Pertev N. Boratav describes the negro eunuch as a character, "who is a stupid simpleton and nouveau riche […]" in Turkish folklore (1951: 83). Indeed, Anber Ağa answers to this description. The dialogue above makes his naive childlike attitude explicit, as he is not cognisant of the fact that the artificial penis cannot make a child. What Anber Ağa wishes for his child ironically depicts everything he does not have himself. I suggest interpreting his naiveté as the Empire's unawareness of the seriousness of rising Balkan nationalism. Engin Kılıç names this unawareness "imperial blindness" by arguing that the Empire's disdainful look towards the Balkan communities resulted in an unawareness of discerning the situation as well as the shift in power balance (2015: 50).

The Balkan communities aimed at marking off their territories under the influence of nationalism. Before the Balkan Wars, they already gained autonomy to a certain degree while recognising the Empire's legitimacy in the late nineteenth century. Like the Balkan communities, Zâtıgül wants to make a good life for Ömer and herself. From the day she declares that she is pregnant, she begins to obtain Anber Ağa's properties on the condition that the child would inherit all property. I argue that Zâtıgül's craving for Anber Ağa's wealth, as well as her affair with Ömer, strengthens the assertion that she allegorically represents the Balkan communities. Thus, Anber Ağa and Ömer epitomise the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire and the idea of nationalism respectively.

Another plotline intersects with the story of Anber Ağa, Zâtıgül and Ömer. It is given together with historical references to Istanbul sixty or seventy years before the story time. Pâkize, one of the prostitutes working in a brothel, is introduced with her daughter Envâre. Previously, Pâkize had forced her daughter to marry two old men in the past and after the death of

the husbands, the mother and the daughter had inherited their wealth and had become rich. At that time, Pâkize is planning to marry off Envâre to the third husband in order to obtain his money. Anber Ağa encounters Envâre:

> Anber Ağa […] also took the helm in order to follow Pâkize and Envâre. That night they went on an excursion there until three.
>
> […] Anber Ağa invited Envâre to his boat, and they made love in the boat.
>
> Thereby Anber Ağa's acquaintance with Envâre and Pâkize started on that day. (18)[39]

If one calculates the date sixty or seventy years before the novella – published in 1913 – the time coincides with the Crimean War (1853-1856) during which the Great Powers, namely Britain and France, took sides with the Ottoman Empire against Russia. I contend that Pâkize and her daughter Envâre might be considered as the symbols of the Great Powers that had their own interests in the Ottoman Empire. In similar fashion, Pakize and Envâre are only concerned about Anber Ağa's wealth.

Pâkize and Envâre, on the one hand, spend their time with Anber Ağa and enjoy themselves; on the other hand, they try not to make him understand that they are not virtuous, as they seem to be. When Anber Ağa shows his intent to make love with Envâre, for instance, she starts crying and says:

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[39] Anber Ağa [...] Pakize ile Envâre'yi takip edecek yolda dümeni de eline almış idi. O gece bunlar saat üçe kadar orada teferrücde bulundular.

[...] Anber Ağa bindiği sandalına Envâre'yi alarak biraz sandal dahilinde muâşaka icra etmiş idi.

İşte Anber Ağa'nın Envâre ve Pakize ile muârefe peyda etmesi bu günden başlamış idi.

> - What a trouble is being desolated in this world? […] Ağa your highness, how dare you make such an [indecent] proposal to a woman who is chaste and honourable and condemned to a bitter life with her poor mother? […] A woman who married with God's permission and her husband died a natural death is not different from an orphan. How dare you say these words to such a poor [woman]?
> - Forgive my fault my precious, my lass! I do not want to do anything without God's permission. I have some money and a house etc. If you want, I will marry you!
> - Okay but Ağa your highness, every woman, who is married to a man, wants her husband to carry out the order of God. But you are castrated, how can you act as a husband?
> - No my precious! I am a man as well! I have something imported from Europe […] how beautiful, how long [it is]. I cannot describe how much women receive sexual pleasure from it. It even can make a child! (24-26)[40]

Here, "to carry out the order of God" means "to perpetuate the human race" (Ze'evi 2006: 31). Similar to Zâtıgül, Envâre does not acknowledge Anber Ağa's masculinity reinforced by an artificial organ and explicitly alludes to his inability to procreate. Moreover, the narrative indicates that Zâtıgül is the one who preserves Anber Ağa's artificial penis. Her preservation of the

[40] - Meğer dünyada kimsesizlik ne bela imiş? […] Ağa hazretleri benim gibi iffet ve namusu ile ve bir biçare valide ile imrâr-ı hayata mahkum olan bir kadına bu yolda teklifte nasıl bulunuyorsunuz? […] Allah'ın emriyle vardığı erkeği ecel-i mev'ûduyle vefat etmiş olan bir kadın yetim ve öksüzden farksızdır. Böyle bir biçareye bu sözler nasıl söylenir?
- Kusurumu affediniz elmasım, arslanım! Ben Allah'ın emri haricinde iş yapmak istemez. Biraz para ve hane filanım var. İster iseniz sizi nikahla alacak!
- Öyle ama Ağa hazretleri kocaya varan bir kadın Allah'ın emrini yerine getirecek bir adam ister halbuki siz hadımsınız nasıl kocalık edebilirsiniz?
- Yok elmasım! Ben de erkek hem bende öyle bir şey var ki Frengistan'dan geldi […] ne güzel ne uzun kadınlar bundan o kadar keyif duyuyorlar ki tarif edemem. Şocuk bile yapıyor!

artificial penis, as the symbol of the phallus, shifts the power from Anber Ağa to Zâtıgül. It evokes how the power balance between the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan communities changed after the spread of nationalism since the nineteenth century.

When Envâre informs her mother that Anber Ağa is able to procreate through his artificial penis, Pâkize realises that there is something wrong with Zâtıgül's pregnancy. Likewise, Zâtıgül suspects Anber Ağa; she thinks that the one who is corrupted in terms of skin colour is also corrupted in terms of morality.[41] Ultimately, Zâtıgül and Pâkize come to understand that the other is hatching a plot to capture Anber Ağa's wealth. Both swarm around Anber Ağa, just as the Balkan communities and the Great Powers took advantage of the Empire's territories. Meanwhile, the fact that Ömer keeps insisting on being the legal father of the child might suggest the extent to which the idea of Balkan nationalism reached a serious level and caused an unavoidable conflict with the Empire.

In order to capture Anber Ağa's wealth, Zâtıgül asks İlhami Efendi, a respected man from the neighbourhood, for help. İlhami Efendi has pity for Zâtıgül who has to spend her life with such a "negro". He seems to represent Russia that provoked nationalism among the Balkan communities within the Ottoman territory, and he incites Zâtıgül against Anber Ağa:

[41] In the novella, there are several references to the blackness of Anber Ağa. Boratav claims that the race prejudice motif is a common motif in Turkish folk tales. With regard to the critique of racial prejudice towards black people, he refers to a saint's legend, Zengi Ata from the twelfth century. In this legend, a sultan's daughter Anber Ana was married to dark-skinned Hakim Süleyman Ata. However, she wished to have a husband with a whiter skin. When Hakim Süleyman Ata heard his wife's wish, he wished that God would give her a darker-skinned husband. Eventually, when he died, his wish came true and Anber Ana married a negro shepherd and his best disciple, Zengi Ata (1951: 84-85). I suggest that the eunuch's name "Anber" might have been chosen to make a reference to this legend. See also Mehmet Fuat Köprülü. *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature* Trans. Gary Leiser and Devin DeWeese. London: Routledge, 2006: 113-114.

> My daughter! I already do not like eunuchs. They sit with women for eight hours but they do not want to sit with men even for a minute. Not only that he made life miserable for a young and beautiful woman like you, his decision to marry to the daughter of a famous prostitute Pâkize has to be deplored. Daughter, for God's sake, I am [a] witness, there were also a few people together with me. This Arab gave everything – up to the shirt he used to wear – he used to own to you. Let him marry, he cannot make use of his property. I do not have anything to say if he has more than that. As matters stand, you have deserved all of his properties. There is a lot to say my daughter. Because of these eunuchs, lots of things happened in the palaces of sultans! In order to understand these past incidents, one has to read Ottoman history. Since our historians and chroniclers are the sycophants of their time, they did not properly write [what happened in the past]. One has to read the Ottoman history written by Europeans so s/he becomes informed about details. However, they also sometimes write [under the influence of] religious fanaticism, [hence,] while reading [these European historiographies] you have to compare [them with the native ones]! Their writings should not be accepted as utterly correct either. (32-33)[42]

[42] Kızım! Ben zaten bu harem ağalarını sevmem. Bunlar kadınlarla sekiz saat oturur da erkeklerle bir dakika bile oturmak istemezler. Sizin gibi genç ve güzel bir kadına dünyasını zindan etmekle kanaat etmeyip bir de meşhur umumhanecilerden Pakize'nin kızını nikahla almaya kalkmış olmasına doğrusu ne kadar teessüf edilse azdır. Kızım Allah için ben şahidim, benimle beraber birkaç kişi daha var idi. Bu Arap arkasındaki gömleğine kadar size verdi varsın izdivaç etsin malına mutasarrıf olamaz. Fazla bir şeysi var ise ona diyeceğim yok. Şimdiki halde hepsi bi'l-istihkak sizin malınızdır. Daha söyleyecek çok şeyler var kızım. Bu harem ağalarının yüzünden padişahlarımızın saraylarında neler olmuş neler! Tarih-i Osmanî'yi insan okumalı ki bunların hepsini anlasın. Bizim müverrihlerimiz ve hele vakanüvislerimiz umumiyetle bulundukları devrin dalkavukları olduklarından doğru yazmazlar. Avrupalıların yazdıkları Osmanlı tarihlerini insan okumalı ki insan bu dakâyıka muttali olsun. Fakat onlarda da bazen taassub-ı dini sevkiyle birçok şeyler yazdıklarından

As mentioned above, the Empire's unawareness of rising Balkan nationalism and the inadequacy of fulfilling the expectations of its subjects are represented through Anber Ağa's unawareness of his sexual incapability. Besides, İlhami Efendi states, "[w]e need a lot of time to reform ourselves!" [*Bizim daha adam olmaklığımıza pek çok vakit lazım!*] (33). This statement literally translates as "we need a lot of time to grow into a man" and that profoundly shows the extent to which Ottoman modernisation is part of the question of masculinity.

Anber Ağa and Envâre's wedding preparation can also be interpreted as the efforts to reconcile the Ottoman tradition with modernity. Nevertheless, when Anber Ağa is occupied with the wedding preparations, Zâtıgül takes advantage and captures his properties. This can be read as how the Balkan communities gained their own territories at the turn of the century when the Empire was engaged in its modernisation programme. After the wedding party, the newlywed couple Anber Ağa and Envâre go to their room:

> Envâre was congenitally beautiful and hot.
> Along with her blue eyes, black eyebrows and black curly hair added to her transparent white skin she was really charming.
> Her cream low-cut wedding dress especially increased her freshness, so much so that Anber Ağa dithered and started becoming excited as he looked at her.
> […]
> Anber Ağa's eyes […] were [staring at the point] between Envâre's two legs!

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okurken muhakeme etmeli! Bunların yazdıklarını da doğrusu bu imiş deyip sahih addeylememeli.

> […] Anber Ağa convinced Envâre to take off her dress.
> In the meantime Envâre – regardless of the consequences – asked her husband:
> - I heard that your organ is artificial but there has been nothing mentioned about its length yet. As you know the wedding night means the practice of this order. What if your organ is longer than necessary!
> - Don't worry about it, my precious! I am positive that it will satisfy you in every aspect. I used it many times.
> - Whatever, I don't understand, but let's see what is going to happen? (41-42)[43]

Anber Ağa takes off his clothes and goes to the bathroom. However, he does not come back for quite a while. We retrospectively learn that when Zâtıgül realised that he is about to marry to Envâre, she asked Ömer to bring a snake and put it in the box of Anber Ağa's artificial organ. Dror Ze'evi underlines the symbolic meaning of a snake as the male organ explaining dream interpretations in the Ottoman culture. The snake as a phallic symbol becomes reminiscent of "an enemy, and paradoxically may also represent a

[43] Envâre hadd-i zatında güzel ve kanı sıcak bir şey idi.
Kâfur renginde beyazlığına inzimam eden mavi gözleri siyah kaşları ve kıvırcık siyah saçları arasında hakikaten pek cazibevâr idi.
Hele sırtındaki krem renginde dekolte gelinlik libası bunun tarâvetini bir daha arttırmış olduğundan buna baktıkça Anber Ağa'nın da eli ayağı titremeye ve kendinden geçmeye başlamış idi.
[…]
Anber Ağa'nın gözü [...] Envâre'nin iki bacağının arasında idi!
[…] Anber Ağa Envare'yi soyunmağa irzâ etti.
Bu esnada Envâre – artık ne olursa olsun – zevci olan zata sordu:
- Sizin aletinizin suni olduğunu işittim fakat tûlu hakkında henüz bir söz cereyan etmedi. Zifaf da malumunuz ya bu emrin icrası demektir. Sakın lüzumundan fazla cesamette bir şey olmasın!
- O cihetleri merak etmeyiniz elmasım! Sizi her vechle memnun edeceğine eminim. Ben onu çok kullandım.
- Artık ne ise, böylesine de aklım ermiyor ise de bakalım ne olacak?

woman or a child" (2006: 109-110). The replacement of the artificial penis with a snake, to a certain extent, demonstrates how a woman enemy, Zâtıgül, betrays Anber Ağa not only by spurning his masculinity and having a baby by Ömer, but also by endangering his life. In the dark bathroom, Anber Ağa does not realise that it is not his organ, but a snake. Ultimately, he dies because of snakebite.

At the end, the narrative turns out badly for everyone apart from Zâtıgül and Ömer. Zâtıgül, as Anber Ağa's only successor, becomes rich after inheriting all his belongings. Zâtıgül and Ömer's happy ending and the birth of their daughter Dilaşub can be read as the independence of the Balkan communities and the establishment of their nation-states. Zâtıgül's cheating on Anber Ağa never receives any criticism in the entire narrative, because she used to be with a man who is not actually a "man". On the other side, Anber Ağa is punished due to his lack of masculinity and improper lust. His punishment might be interpreted as the probable end of the Ottoman Empire if it does not pull itself together. In similar fashion, because Pâkize and Envâre do not actually search for true love or sexual satisfaction, but only money, they are also punished by regret and death respectively. Pâkize greatly regrets encouraging her daughter to marry Anber Ağa. She starts to repent a hundred, maybe five hundred times a day. As well, Envâre catches cutaneous tuberculosis and spends all her money in order to get well. However, instead of getting better, her situation becomes worse every day. After six-months of treatment, she commits suicide.

In this section, I have discussed the extent to which the loss of imperial power is inevitably tied to the loss of masculinity in the late Ottoman Empire. Throughout my analysis, I have suggested reading the political actors of the time allegorically. In this respect, the eunuch's castration and lack of a penis are indicative of the Empire's political

predicament and inadequacy in fulfilling the expectation of its subjects particularly in the Balkans. Anber Ağa experiences the first violation in his masculinity after his castration. He then buys an artificial penis and becomes a "man". Because women around him do not acknowledge his masculinity, he loses his masculinity for the second time. The artificial penis disavows and acknowledges his lack of a penis simultaneously as does the little boy when he realises that his mother does not have a penis. Accordingly, his artificial penis represents Ottoman modernisation and becomes a fetish object throughout the narrative. In this regard, his struggle regaining his masculinity is similar to the Empire's struggle reclaiming its imperial power in world politics. *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* demonstrates how Ottoman imperial power fails as the embodiment of masculinity, and how modernity seems as a fetish object compensating the task of modernity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed two narratives: *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*. Throughout my analyses, I have contended that the loss of Ottoman imperial power was closely linked to the loss of masculinity. I maintain that the Empire's inadequacy in keeping pace with modernity led to the occurrence of castration anxiety – as exemplified in the two narratives. On that point, *Kesik Bıyık* describes the tension between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and 'modern' masculinities. It allegorically touches upon the change in hegemonic Ottoman masculinity by referring to the different cultural connotations of the handlebar and American-style moustaches. The handlebar moustache symbolises Ottoman tradition and hegemonic masculinity, whereas the American-style moustache demonstrates masculinities under the influence of modernity. In this respect, the trimming of the handlebar moustache into an American-style one stands for the

Empire's modernisation attempts that, to a great extent, lead to the loss of Ottoman tradition and hegemonic masculinity. Differently from *Kesik Bıyık*, *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* depicts the castration anxiety in real terms by using a castrated male slave, the eunuch. Here, the eunuch's castration allegorically depicts the loss of imperial power particularly in the Balkans that led to the further decline of the Empire's masculine role in world politics. Despite the loss of its imperial power, both *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası* show the ways in which the Ottoman Empire still searched for new ways to resurrect its masculine role in the beginning of the twentieth century. Manly signs – the handlebar moustache and the penis respectively – are represented as constitutive elements of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity.

However, their losses appear like castration: either a symbolic castration, trimming a moustache or a literal one, a castration operation. On the one hand, the American-style moustache and the artificial penis turn into fetish objects that disavow the Empire's socio-political castration. Accordingly, the loss of imperial power, and the Empire's lack of modernity are disavowed by means of these fetish objects. On the other hand, these objects concurrently become the acknowledgment of the situation the Ottoman Empire was in. The emulation of an American-style moustache and the import of the artificial penis signify the Empire's symbolic castration and the loss of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity vis-à-vis modernisation, while manifesting the idea that different masculinities are also possible. Therefore, castration anxiety in hegemonic Ottoman masculinity makes both the acknowledgement and the disavowal of the Empire's socio-political anxieties against modernity manifest.

Chapter Three

Adolescence in/of the Ottoman Empire

Anahtar Deliğinde (Through the Keyhole) and *Kaymak Tabağı* (The Plate of Cream) begin with the reminiscences of the first sexual encounter of the male and female protagonists respectively. In *Anahtar Deliğinde*, Ali compares his physical intimacy with a prostitute, a so-called Mademoiselle, to his wrestling with the gendarmerie sergeant Osman's daughter in Çabakçur, when she stole his moustache oil from his pocket and threw it down her cleavage to stop him taking it back. The way Ali describes his physical intimacies both with the sergeant's daughter and Mademoiselle remains 'innocent'. He does not speak of anything explicitly sexual; his sexual involvement is only implied in the guise of "wrestling". On the other hand, the protagonist Kaymak Tabağı informs us that she has a certain familiarity with penises owing to playing with boys in the garden during which she saw their tiny penises and thought they were okra. Her play with the boys in the garden went beyond simple children's play. Nevertheless, she is not fully aware what a penis looks like, as seeing a penis of a mature man surprises her later in the narrative. Besides the fact that these were their first encounters, what is striking in these narratives is the childlike perception of these encounters rather than adult depictions.

Both *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* revolve around the sexual developments of the protagonists in the transition from childhood to adulthood. Although there are numerous definitions and various limitations of childhood and/or adolescence depending on its legal definition, culture and period, getting acquainted with sex and one's own sexuality is an event that

accompanies the passage into adulthood. This chapter begins with contextualising childhood and adolescence in late Ottoman society. Because I read *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* as examples of the *Bildungsroman*, the following section briefly explains the genre *Bildungsroman* also including issues like the impact of gender on its definition. By embedding the issue of gender into the discussion, this chapter explores the differences that occur in the narrating of sexual developments of the male and female protagonists in the Ottoman Turkish *Bildungsroman*. It further scrutinises how their developments can be understood related to late Ottoman society in terms of their gender difference.

Contextualising Childhood and Adolescence in Late Ottoman Society

The title of the workshop *Little Pitchers Have Big Ears: Social and Cultural History of Children and Youth During the First World War*, organised by Nazan Maksudyan in Istanbul in 2014, refers to a very well known Turkish proverb, "*çocuktan al haberi*", which literally means [one] receive[s] news from the child.[44] It signifies how children might reveal something that is concealed by adults. In her book *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Maksudyan writes a history of Ottoman children by regarding them as "social actors" and suggests investigating their own lived experiences. Therefore, Maksudyan receives 'news' about Ottoman childhood from children themselves. This investigation, she indicates, is also significant because it expands the studies on urbanisation, industrialisation, nationalism and state formation in the late Ottoman period (2014: 3, 8).

Scholarly works on the history of childhood have undergone radical

[44] Nazan Maksudyan. *Little Pitchers Have Big Ears: Social and Cultural History of Children and Youth During the First World War*, 27-28 May 2014, Istanbul, sponsored by Istanbul Kemerburgaz University, organised by Nazan Maksudyan. Retrieved from https://soundcloud.com/ottoman-history-podcast/little-pitchers-have-big-ears

changes – from the French historian Philippe Ariès' pioneering book *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life) to Maksudyan's attempt to write the history of Ottoman childhood based on children's own experiences. Ariès suggests that the concept of childhood appeared between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. With reference to medieval iconography, he postulates:

> In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that children were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children: it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medieval society this awareness was lacking. (1962: 128)

However, Ariès has been widely criticised because he exclusively considers the past through the lens of the present. In her book *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, Linda A. Pollock states one of the most challenging criticisms raised against Philippe Ariès' work:

> Many historians have subscribed to the mistaken belief that, if a past society did not possess the contemporary Western concept of childhood, then that society had no such concept. This is a totally indefensible viewpoint – why should past societies have regarded children in the same way as Western society today? Moreover, even if children were regarded differently in the past, this does not mean they were therefore not regarded as children. (1983:263)

Pollock reveals the historically contingent social construction of childhood that is not intrinsic to the modern period, but one that has varied greatly in different periods and cultures. Therefore, there is not a single or universal childhood, but various childhoods. Even though I agree with Pollock that childhood as a variable social construction depends on different eras and cultures, my contention is that to define it without regarding the current understanding of childhood is not possible. Historical definitions of childhood as well as other socio-historical constructions are very much determined by the present perception. However, this does not change Ariès' essentialist approach to the history of childhood.

Regarding the variety of childhoods, Nazan Çiçek draws attention to non-Western societies in general and to Ottoman society in particular. She indicates that although non-Western societies have authentic perceptions concerning childhoods that find their meanings within the contexts of their own historical and cultural references, these societies have been influenced by modern discourses on childhood as a result of forging closer ties with the Western world (2016a: 51). As discussed in the previous chapters, modernisation attempting to keep pace with the West altered various socio-cultural and political features of the society, and childhood had its share in these attempts in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. The modern perception of childhood necessitated repositioning the child's relation with family, education and government institutions, and the revision of traditional attitudes towards the child in the late Ottoman Empire. Maksudyan draws attention to studies on Ottoman and Turkish childhoods that are based on Ariès' theory, which associates the concept of childhood with "modernity" (2014: 7).[45] However, differently from Ariès' methodology

[45] See Cüneyd Okay. *Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Medyatek Yayınları, 2002, Cüneyd Okay. *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999, Cüneyd Okay

applied in such studies, Çiçek suggests that the repositioning and revision of Ottoman childhood did not lead to a complete rejection of existing practices regarding children, or a brand-new perception of childhood that was centred around its modern Western perception. On the contrary, it resulted in the emergence of hybrid forms of childhood with regard to distinctive needs of the state and society (Çiçek 2016a: 52).

Allison James and Alan Prout speak of the way in which the twentieth century was reputed to be the so-called "century of the child", in the sense that children attracted a great deal of attention and a lot of importance was given to legal, medical and educational institutions as part of "the interests of the child" (1997: 1). These "interests", in return, brought about the social, political, judicial and medical institutionalisation of childhood. Children were kept away from violence, sex, hard labour and politics. By the late nineteenth century, children's involvement in the labour market was strictly regulated and education gained increasing importance in the West (Çiçek 2016b: 23). Benjamin C. Fortna informs us that child labour was previously the norm in the pre-modern Ottoman Empire (2016: ix). However, children's education, health, protection and entertainment also turned out to be matters of concern for the intelligentsia and were institutionalised at the beginning of the twentieth century (Çiçek 2016b: 28). Children began to be recognised and legitimised both by the state and the society, and they progressively became regular members of the society (Fortna 2016: x).

Children's formal education was an important part of the idea of progress during the Enlightenment. The works of John Locke (1632-1704)

Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler, 1850-1900. İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları, 1998, Bekir Onur. *Çocuk, Tarih ve Toplum*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2007, Bekir Onur. *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi*. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005, Bekir Onur, ed. *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk: Sempozyum, 23–24 Nisan 1993*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994.

and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) became crucial in forming perceptions of childhood during and after this period. In his work *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke objects to the long-established Christian doctrine of original sin and proclaims that infants are not corrupted at birth. Instead, he considers children as *tabula rasa* and indicates that the environment in which children grow up determines their development and that they can be improved through education (Brockliss 2016: 2). In addition, Rousseau attributes purity and innocence to children because of their special nature. He contends that what corrupts children is society and searches for ways to rescue society from corruption (Jenks 1996: 123-124). In *Émile ou De l'éducation* (Emile, or On Education, 1762) Rousseau indicates that children are born good; he attempts to attract attention to the needs of children, who are entitled to special treatment and care (Jenks 1996: 73). As well, William Wordsworth (1770-1850) and other Romantics promote the idea that children are innately innocent. Various authors, psychologists and educational theorists take the perceptions of childhood in the Enlightenment period a step further and suggest that children are entitled to happiness and should be allowed to linger in childhood as long as possible (Brockliss 2016: 3). The Enlightenment's idea of progress and the importance given to education turned the child into a subject, and more significantly "a promise of the future good". The child became the indication of a civilisation (Jenks 1996: 67).

Çiçek contends that childhood in the late Ottoman Empire was not perceived the same way it was in the West; it was seen as a duty-laden preparation phase for adulthood (2016a: 54). Children were expected to grow up as soon as possible. This expectation contradicts the Western romantic perception of childhood, which was regarded as the golden age of human life, a period that should be extended as long as possible. Ottoman intellectuals

and the political elite were pragmatically selective in describing the main parameters of childhood in order to ensure the Ottoman Empire's continuation (Çiçek 2016a: 55).[46] The improvement of children was considered equal to the improvement of society. Because children were seen as "the trustees of the future of the Empire", modernising policies prioritised formal education for children (Duben and Behar 1991: 226, 229-30). Formal education was not a popular phenomenon until the emergence of the state school; child rearing was, to a great extent, a responsibility of family. However, the state school together with other socio-political changes began to gradually dominate attitudes towards children in the late Ottoman society (Fortna 2016: viii-ix). In this period, Ottoman childhood took shape within an adult discourse. As Maksudyan writes, "[a]ll accounts of childhood are structured by the impossibility of fully separating children from adult desires and control" (2014: 3).[47] By serving the Empire's interests, the educational reforms, to a great extent, targeted the 'saving' of society by means of children. Late Ottoman childhood remained therefore strongly attached to adulthood.

Regarding childhood in *fin de siècle* Europe, John Neubauer writes,

> [w]e are accustomed to think of nineteenth-century childhood in terms of the authoritarian family and school structures of Victorian

[46] The attention given to children was not limited to the late Ottoman period; it continued in the early Republican period targeting the transformation of children into "proto-citizens whom it hoped to mould into loyal and productive servants" (Fortna 2016: x).

[47] Maksudyan refers to scholars who draw on the works of Michel Foucault and stress the worsening conditions of children due to the institutionalisation of childhood in the modern period. See Norbert Finzsch, and Robert Jütte, eds. *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, Erving Goffman. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. New York: Anchor Books, 1961, David J. Rothman. *The Discovery of The Asylum: Social Order And Disorder in The New Republic*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971, Jacques Donzelot. *The Policing of Families*. Trans. Robert Hurley. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.

> England, Prussian Germany, Puritan New England, and imperial France, which extended themselves into the twentieth century and led to the generational and Oedipal conflicts dramatized by Freud, Kafka, and the expressionists. (1992: 11)

The importance attached to education together with long-reaching social and institutional changes in health, science and technology, and family structures were not limited to the institutionalisation of childhood, but also led to the occurrence, even invention, of "adolescence" around 1900 in Europe. The term adolescence refers to a period of transition from the onset of puberty to adult maturity. The interlocking discourses on adolescence in psychoanalysis, pedagogy, sociology, and in literature attested to the fact that a new category in human life had been established by the end of the nineteenth century (Neubauer 1992: 4-6). The focus on adolescence in literature presented "its crisis of identity" whose diagnosticians "were Dostoyevski, Nietzsche, and Freud, its centers *fin-de-siècle* Vienna, as well as Dresden, Berlin, Munich, and Paris" (Neubauer 1992: 9-10).

I suggest that adolescence constitutes a dynamic period, as it is a transition from childhood to adulthood, both of which are more static in comparison. In this sense, adolescence is comparable to the late Ottoman period, a period that was also transitional with regard to the Empire's modernisation on several fronts. Rapid social and institutional changes that stemmed from modernisation and constituted fluidity in society were often echoed in Ottoman Turkish literature through the protagonists' adolescent years. I suggest that the years in question are quite significant in the late Ottoman context, since children were expected to become beneficial for the Empire in these years. Both *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* narrate passages into adulthood inherently in the form of the *Bildungsroman*. Hence,

the next section concisely discusses the genre of the *Bildungsroman*.

Whose and Which *Bildungsroman*?

In *Truth and Method*, Hans-Georg Gadamer considers *Bildung* as one of the most significant ideas of the eighteenth century (2006: 8). Indeed, the concept *Bildung* had been a lasting feature of the Enlightenment by virtue of a rapport between aesthetic, moral, rational, and scientific education (Martini 1991: 5). It means "self-formation", "education", or "cultivation", and it extends back a long time in German. The *Bildungsroman* – the novel of "education", "development" or "formation" – is also related to the Enlightenment, as is *Bildung*. The Enlightenment's idea of progress also manifested itself in the *Bildungsroman*. The term *Bildungsroman* became popular with Wilhelm Dilthey's (1833-1911) use of it in his *Das Leben Schleiermachers* (The Life of Schleiermacher, 1870) and *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (Poetry and Experience, 1906). Although Dilthey is the one who made the term widely popular, he is not the one who invented it. Karl Morgenstern (1770-1852) initially spoke of the *Bildungroman* in a lecture *Über den Geist und Zusammenhang einer Reihe philosophischer Romane* (On the Spirit and Connection of a Series of Philosophical Novels, 1810), which was followed by two other lectures: *Über das Wesen des Bildungsromans* (On the Nature of the Bildungsroman, 1819) and *Zur Geschichte des Bildgunsromans* (On the History of the Bildgunsroman, 1820) (Martini 1991: 1-3).

Tobias Boes draws attention to Morgenstern's use of the term *Bildungsroman*, which is at variance with Dilthey's (2009: 648). Dilthey regards the *Bildungsroman* as a specifically German accomplishment that was a result of the peculiar political conditions in Germany as well as opposition to the French and English novels of social realism (Boes 2009:

647). In *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, his historical and national delineation of the *Bildungsroman* emphasises "the individualism of a culture whose sphere of interest was limited to private life" (1997: 335). Dilthey's approach to the *Bildungsroman* brought about its long-established tradition of "inwardness" and "personality" to the detriment of social entanglements and interpersonal relations. On the contrary, Morgenstern's approach to the *Bildungsroman* is more comprehensively based on its universality as a subgenre of the modern novel. Hence, differently from Dilthey, Morgenstern asserts that the *Bildungsroman* does not gaze inward, at the development of the protagonist; instead, it gazes outward, into the real world. Therefore, it advances its reader's development (Boes 2009: 648). In other words, Morgenstern connects the concept *Bildung* to the protagonist's development and education as well as to the reader's development. By doing so, he includes the reader's reception that is lacking in Dilthey's definition (Hardin 1991: xiii-xiv).

There is no consensus on the definition of the *Bildungsroman*. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's (1749-1832) well-known work *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship, 1795-1796) is regarded as an early example of the genre. Jeffrey L. Sammons contends that the emergence of the German *Bildungsroman* coincided with the late eighteenth century, and it became an instant success in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Later, it re-emerged in the twentieth century thanks to the modernist neo-Romantic revival (1991: 32). Here, Sammons argues that Dilthey's use of the term does not signify a European literary genre; instead it particularly refers to a German tradition (1991: 28). Drawing on Dilthey's use, he himself also underlines the 'Germanness' of the *Bildungsroman*, which has "something to do with *Bildung*". Although Sammons accepts that each example of the *Bildungsroman* might not have a direct relation with the

German novel, he suggests considering the historical and ideological limits of the *Bildungsroman* with regard to *Bildung* (1991: 41-42). Therefore, to a great extent, his argument remains essentialist.

Jerome Hamilton Buckley's *Seasons of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding* focuses on the definition and development of the *Bildungsroman*. By applying the term in its broadest sense, Buckley defines the *Bildungsroman* as "the novel of youth or apprenticeship" (1974: 13). He enumerates a list of characteristics of the *Bildungsroman*: childhood, the conflict of generations, provinciality, the larger society, self-education, alienation, ordeal by love, the search for a vocation and a working philosophy (1974: 18). Such an essentialist approach to the *Bildungsroman* attracted criticism from various scholars and from different perspectives. For instance, with reference to Fredric Jameson, who regards literary genres as "experimental constructs" (1981: 145), Boes argues that Buckley does not pay very much attention to the way in which modernist experimentation might implicate the *Bildungsroman* as a problem or else relates to its form (2006: 232).

Prior to his discussion of the *Bildungsroman*, in his essay "The *Bildungsroman* and Its Significance in the History of Realism (Toward a Historical Typology of the Novel)", Mikhail Bakhtin classifies the subcategories of the novel with regard to the formulation of the protagonist and historical time. He speaks of three subcategories: the travel novel, the novel of ordeal and the biographical novel. He claims that differently from these subcategories, which depict the ready-made protagonist whose changing life forms the novel – though the protagonist remains unchanged – the *Bildungsroman* portrays "the image of *man in the process of becoming* in the novel" [emphasis in the original] (1986: 19). Here, historical-national time enters into the protagonist's environment, and it fundamentally changes

his destiny and life (Bakhtin 1986: 21). Bakhtin indicates, in the *Bildungsroman*, "man's individual emergence is inseparably linked to historical emergence" (1986: 23). The changing world is not peripheral, but the protagonist

> emerges *along with the world* and he reflects the historical emergence of the world itself. He is no longer within an epoch, but on the border between two epochs, at the transition point from one to the other. This transition is accomplished in him and through him. [emphasis in the original] (1986: 23)

In *The Way of the World*, Franco Moretti considers the *Bildungsroman* as a natural result of the political, social, economic changes in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. He draws attention to a symbolic shift in the conception of the protagonist that occurred in European literature. Accordingly, he moves beyond the definition of the *Bildungsroman* and aims at exploring the ideology behind this symbolic shift in modern European literature. By giving Achilles, Hector and Ulysses as examples, he claims that the protagonist used to be a mature man, an adult. Together with Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Moretti writes that youth becomes "the most meaningful part of life" at the end of the eighteenth century (1987: 3). Instead of regarding the *Bildungsroman* as a mere German genre, he discusses the *Bildungsroman* in relation to modernity and the production system. With reference to Karl Mannheim, who defines being young as "not yet being an adult" in stable communities or in traditional societies, Moretti highlights the importance of youth, who become the indication of a new era and represent the changes in society due to capitalism,

social mobility and interiority (1987: 4). At the turn of the eighteenth century, he claims that

> […] Europe plunges into modernity, but without possessing a *culture* of modernity. If youth, therefore, achieves its symbolic centrality, and the 'great narrative' of the *Bildungsroman* comes into being, this is because Europe has to attach a meaning, not so much to youth, as to *modernity*. [emphasis in the original] (1987: 5)

Moretti considers the *Bildungsroman* as the "symbolic form" of modernity and youth as "modernity's 'essence'" that signifies the dynamism and instability of modernity (1987: 5). He regards the *Bildungsroman* as a literary tool that reflects the conflict between the ideal of self-determination and the demands of socialisation (1987: 15). In doing so, he applies to various works from European literature such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, Jane Austen's (1775-1817) *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Stendhal's (1783-1842) *Le Rouge et le Noir* (The Red and the Black, 1830) and *La Chartreuse de Parme* (The Charterhouse of Parma, 1839), Alexander Pushkin's (1799-1837) *Eugene Onegin* (1825-1832), Honoré de Balzac's (1799-1850) *Illusions perdues* (Lost Illusions, 1837-1843), George Eliot's (1819-1880) *Daniel Deronda* (1876) and Charles Dicken's (1812-1870) *David Copperfield* (1850).

Jed Esty's *Unseasonable Youth: Modernism, Colonialism, and the Fiction of Development* advances Moretti's argument by inserting nationhood into the discussions of the *Bildungsroman*. By looking at modernist examples by Joseph Conrad (1857-1924), Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), and James Joyce (1882-1941), he demonstrates "the disruption of developmental time in reciprocal allegories of self-making and nation-building". (2012: 2). He

investigates the conflicts concerned with the development of discourses of self, nation, and empire in the modernist *Bildungsroman* (2012: 3). Esty first evokes the symbolic role of nationhood that puts modern societies into their final forms just like adulthood, which is more often than not considered as the final form of the modern subject (Esty 2012: 4). Instead of tackling transformations of childhood and adolescence into adulthood – as indications of nationhood –, he explores narratives of "frozen" and "arrested" developments of the protagonists in modernist British literature.

The *Bildungsroman* has been mostly considered a "masculine" genre. Scholars such as Karl Morgenstern and Jerome Hamilton Buckley regard the *Bildungsroman* as the story of the development of a young male protagonist.[48] Karl Morgenstern is interested in the pedagogical and practical value of Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger's (1752-1831) novels that are in line with the Enlightenment's moral and social pragmatism. He considers Klinger's works equal to the works of Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813), Goethe and Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805) with regard to "masculine strength of character" (Martini 1991: 9). His value judgment concerning "masculine strength" highlights the issue of gender upon genre. Buckley also limits his definition of the *Bildungsroman* to male development. On the other hand, the editors of the collection of essays *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development* criticise Buckley's definition of the *Bildungsroman* for its male-centredness. In contrast to his definition of the male protagonist's expected adventure, which begins with leaving "the repressive atmosphere of home […] to make his way independently in the city […]" (Buckley 1974: 17), Elizabeth Abel et al. argue that the female protagonist is usually not able to have an independent life in the city by

[48] Also see Michael Minden. *The German Bildungsroman: Incest and Inheritance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, Susanne Howe. *Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen: Apprentices to Life*. New York: AMS Press, 1966.

leaving her house in nineteenth-century fiction. Regarding pre-Oedipal relationships, they suggest, the female protagonist follows a "more conflicted, less direct" way in the course of development in comparison with the development of the male protagonist (1983: 8, 10-11).

Similarly, Marianne Hirsch draws attention to a dichotomy that confines the female protagonist inside and moves the male protagonist outside in nineteenth-century fiction. She informs us that compared to the conventional plot of the *Bildungsroman*, the inner developments follow a discontinuous and circular path and end with going back to origins. In this respect, repetitive patterns become predominant rather than progressive patterns in female development (1983: 26). Mary Anne Ferguson agrees with Hirsch and indicates that "[t]he pattern for the female novel of development has been largely circular, rather than spiral: women in fiction remain at home" (1983: 228).

Also, in her book *Unbecoming Women: British Women Writers and the Novel of Development*, Susan Fraiman explores novels written by and about women in England between 1778 and 1860. She discusses the way in which the male *Bildungsroman* is different from the female "novel of development". Compared to her male counterpart, Fraiman argues, the development of the female protagonist is not linear, and she is allowed a far smaller range of experience (1993: 6). Thus, rather than focusing on the *Bildungsroman*, which is defined by and about men, she suggests the idea of considering "plural formations" in fiction of female development (1993: 12-13). Fraiman concludes that the juxtaposition of "female" and "*Bildungsroman*" assimilates gender to the genre and makes "it more difficult for the first interrogate the second" (1993: 143).

Susan J. Rosowski also draws attention to the masculine definitions of the *Bildungsroman* and suggests the term "novel of awakening", which

shares certain characteristics with the *Bildungsroman* in terms of learning the essence, meaning and pattern of the world. However, she underlines the notion that the female protagonist "must learn these lessons as a woman". In female development, conflict is, to a great extent, internal; it is between inside and outside, between the imaginative self of personal value and the conventional self of social value (1983:49-50). Rosowski names female development narratives as "the novels of awakening", an awakening to restriction and conflict (1983: 64).

Rita Felski mentions "the novel of awakening" in a different context. She refers to a change that occurred in the representation of the female protagonist, who is condemned to "the journey from the parental to the marital home and whose destiny remains permanently linked to that of her male companion" in the nineteenth-century narrative of education or apprenticeship (1989: 125). Felski argues that twentieth-century female self-discovery narratives do not depict marriage as the goal of female development as did the nineteenth-century novels. Instead, these narratives mostly begin with the female protagonist's separation from her partner and criticise "old" perspectives on women suggested by heterosexual romance that used to present female passivity, reliance, and inferiority (1989: 128-129). The process of psychological transformation becomes the focal point of the feminist self-discovery narrative in two ways. They underscore either the female protagonist's active self-realisation or her inward transformation of consciousness. These two, however, are not mutually exclusive (1989: 133, 128). Felski calls narratives that depict the active construction of female identity in relation to the society the feminist *Bildungsroman*. Such narratives demonstrate women's movement towards urban and public spaces from where they used to be excluded. The female protagonist goes out of the house and moves out into society. Here, her self-discovery is represented as a

"process of confrontation and dialogue with a social environment" (1989: 126-127, 135). The second sort of narratives, "the novel of awakening" is based on inward and personal experiences, rather than social and public acts. These narratives represent self-discovery as a process of awakening (1989: 143).

Drawing on the discussions and definitions above, I contend that both *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* can be read as examples of the *Bildungsroman*. However, my reading of these narratives aims neither to suggest that there is one strict definition of the *Bildungsroman* nor is it designed to make precise divisions and/or generalisations within the genre based on the gender of the protagonists. I read these narratives as examples of the *Bildungsroman*, because they represent the protagonists' adolescent years, years that are quite transitional compared to other stages in one's life. Regarding this transitional feature, adolescence can be compared to the late Ottoman period in two interrelated ways. First, the representations of passages into adulthood in the form of the *Bildungsroman* accord with the objectives of the given period. Because children and youth were perceived as "the future of the Empire", the sexual developments of the protagonists in the transition from childhood to adulthood hint at what sorts of men and women they were expected to become in late Ottoman society. Second, adolescence becomes an allegory for the late Ottoman period, a period of transition during which rapid social and institutional changes occurred in the Empire because of its modernisation. My contention therefore is that *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* as examples of the Ottoman Turkish *Bildungsroman* present the notion of adolescence in and of the late Ottoman Empire at both the individual and collective levels.

Mirroring the Self: Halfway Through Becoming 'Man Enough'

Anahtar Deliğinde, written by A. Ali Bey and published in 1914, tells the story of a young male protagonist Ali, who is also the character-bound narrator. Since the author and the protagonist share the same name, İrvin Cemil Schick regards the narrative as "a supposedly autobiographical novella", which "relates to the social realities of the day" (2011: 213). Based on the assumption that the author and the protagonist are the same person, this section explores the ways in which the author A. Ali Bey retrospectively represents his sexual development after his arrival in Istanbul, where he has spread his wings, in the form of the *Bildungsroman*.

Figure 4: The cover page of *Anahtar Deliğinde*.

Anahtar Deliğinde begins with Ali's graduation from *rüşdiye* (advanced primary school) at the age of nineteen and a half. He is very enthusiastic about graduating and receiving his diploma because he hopes to further his education in Istanbul where he has never been to, but he has many times listened to its stories, all of which made him infatuated with the Empire's capital. After using several means of transport, Ali arrives in Istanbul and becomes stupefied "when seeing enormous buildings, hundreds of trains, ferries, chic gentlemen, elegant ladies" [*kocaman binaları, yüzlerce şimendiferi, vapurları, şık beyleri, zarif hanımları görünce*] (5). He makes many *faux pas* throughout the narrative and repeatedly violates social etiquette in public transportation, restaurants, and cinemas. With reference to his *faux pas*, Schick indicates that the narrative was written "to poke fun at a country bumpkin who had come to Istanbul and proceeded to make a fool of himself in every conceivable way" (2011: 213).[49] Indeed, Ali is frequently being laughed at, and it becomes a leitmotif throughout the narrative.

Before arriving at his uncle's mansion, where he is supposed to stay during his further education, Ali spends a couple of days around the Galata and Beyoğlu neighbourhoods, the population of which predominantly consisted of Europeanised Ottomans and non-Muslims. Shortly after his arrival, while wandering in Galata, Ali hears a sound similar to the plash of a fountain. He shifts his attention to the sound and sees a "fountain" sculpted in the shape of a female body. When Ali comes closer to drink water from the lips of the "fountain", it slaps him and begins to talk to him. He thereby realises that it is not a fountain, but an actual woman. When comparing Ali's

[49] Schick discusses the extent to which places give meaning to sexuality, and how sexuality, in return, defines and makes sense of a place, particularly of Istanbul in the late Ottoman Empire. See İrvin Cemil Schick. "İstanbul'u Şehvetle Hayal Etmek." *Şehri Hayal Etmek: Sanattan Hayata İstanbul Temsilleri*. İstanbul, 2014, İrvin Cemil Schick. "Nationalism Meets the Sex Trade: İstanbul's District of Beyoğlu/Pera During the Early Twentieth Century." *Crossing Borders: 'Unusual' Negotiations over the Secular, Public, and Private*. Amherst, 2009.

first contact with someone – a woman – in Istanbul to the infant's contact with the mother, this scene implicitly evokes Jacques Lacan's concept of the mirror stage and offers a psychoanalytic reading for the rest of the narrative. According to Lacanian psychoanalysis, the infant does not think of itself as a separate being, but as a being unified with everything else around it before the mirror stage. However, when the infant sees itself in a mirror during its development from six to eighteen months, it sees itself as a coherent being and perceives its own reflection in the mirror. This is the point of the mirror stage, a stage in which the infant stops identifying itself with the breast of the mother and develops a sense of the self – a specular identity. Nevertheless, the infant primarily identifies itself with its reflection in the mirror – with the "specular I", not with its own self. Lacan calls this imaginary identification "*méconnaissance*" (misrecognition). Because there is a gap between the self and the reflection of the self, the identification of the self with its reflection leads to the infant's alienation (van Pelt 2000: 24-25). "[T]he specular *I* turns into the social *I*" within the symbolic order in which the infant meets the symbolic father or the Name of the Father (Lacan 2006a: 79). The symbolic father prohibits incest with the mother and signifies the domain of culture: Law, language, and social norms. My contention therefore is that the 'fountain-looking' woman's slap becomes Ali's emblematic separation from the mother and foreshadows the existence of a father in *Anahtar Deliğinde*.

A woman, the so-called "Mademoiselle", who is presumably a non-Muslim, promptly offers compensation for this separation for Ali. She approaches him and suggests wandering together in Beyoğlu. Ali thinks of her suggestion:

> [Becoming] friends with a woman, then walking the streets with her is not the thing I have ever done in my life… But on second thought it

> does not sound bad though! Mine is coyness after this. Such a friendship is not something that can always be found. (21)[50]

Mademoiselle laughs at Ali's tactless acts from the moment they meet. However, compared to those who have previously laughed at his lack of social skills in Istanbul's everyday life, her laughter does not irritate Ali. In addition, Mademoiselle compliments him: "hey boy, you [are] very beautiful..!!" [*vire çocuk! Sen çok güzel..!!*] (21). Here, the imputed features, "boy" and "beautiful" refer to his sexual immaturity. These features could perhaps evoke pederastic love for young boys in pre-modern Islamic cultures and would transform him into an object of desire by men, because Ali is not mature enough to be called 'man' or 'handsome'. Yet, differently from the pre-modern period, Ali becomes the object of desire for a woman that shows the extent to which heterosexuality became the prevailing sexual inclination in the late Ottoman Empire as is discussed in Chapter Four. Besides, there is a reference to the proclamation of the Second Constitution when Mademoiselle asks Ali to take her to the restaurant in Tokatlıyan Hotel where he has just eaten. Ali thinks: "That is right though! Now liberty has been proclaimed. There is also equality. I am full [and] she is hungry. No way." [*Doğru ya! Şimdi hürriyet ilan olundu. Müsâvat da var. Ben tok o aç. Olur mu bu.*] (22). This thought not only pertains to the liberty and equality among the Empire's subjects, but also to the changing everyday practices such as socialisation with the opposite sex in late Ottoman society.

Ali decides to spend the night in Mademoiselle's "house", which later turns out to be a brothel. While getting into the carriage on their way to the brothel, Ali somehow stumbles onto Mademoiselle's lap. She catches him

[50] Bir kadınla arkadaş, sonra da onunla sokak sokak gezmek, ömrümde yaptığım şey olsa bari… Lakin şöyle bir düşününce fena gibi değil ya! Artık benimkisi de naz. Böyle arkadaşlık her zaman bulunur şey değil…

and pulls him towards her breast to prevent him from falling. Ali does not want to leave her lap, because a feeling of warmth comes over him and loosens his body as if he were sitting on the top of a tandoori. This might be read as an Oedipal metaphor, which recalls the subconscious wish to regress into the mother's womb. I suggest that Mademoiselle plays a liminal role in his psychosexual development. On the one hand, she substitutes his figurative mother and, to a certain extent, mothers Ali. On the other hand, she recruits him to shift his choice of sexual object from the mother to her. When they arrive in Galata, she holds Ali by his arm and helps him from the carriage like a "circumcised boy". As indicated in Chapter Two, circumcision is regarded as the first step to becoming a sexually mature man. Comparing Ali to a "circumcised boy" emphasises his sexual immaturity. Yet, it also indicates the process of becoming a sexually mature man. In addition, his going to the brothel is also significant, because having the first sexual intercourse is generally seen as part of "becoming a man', and brothels are frequently used to serve this purpose in Turkish context.

Before spending a night at the brothel, Ali makes false assumptions owing to his childlike naiveté. For instance, in the brothel he sees "[m]any fancy-looking women, and most of them were also bare-armed and bare-legged" [*Birçok süslü, ve ekserisi de kolu baldırı meydanda kadınlar*] (31). He falsely assumes these prostitutes to be Mademoiselle's mother and siblings. After the night spent in the brothel, Ali turns into a 'learned' man. However, it is unclear whether he has sexual intercourse with Mademoiselle or not that night. The only hint given is that even though she tries to convince him to stay the next morning, he does not stay there "[a]ny longer after learning so many things" [*Artık bu kadar şeyler öğrendikten sonra*] (34). Such an experience serves as the first step in his transition from childlike immaturity to masculinity. Following this first night, he returns to the same

place using the same means of transport, but "[w]ithout making any *faux pas* this time" [*Bu sefer hiçbir falso yapmadan*] (34). His gradual and linear development is represented in a similar circularity throughout the narrative.

Ali's adventures with women continue after his night in the brothel. He sees a blonde longhaired woman in the hotel where he spends his second night. After seeing her, he cannot sleep and begins to walk back and forth in the corridor. Ali suddenly hears a very fine and very gentle laughter from her room. He becomes concerned about being laughed at by her:

> What if she laughed at my situation by watching [me] from a hole. I cannot stand this.. I looked they do not have such a hole to peep at me though… At that moment something, a craftiness came to my mind..... Looking through the keyhole to see what my neighbour is doing… Seeing and also understanding why she is laughing… Understanding and also laughing if there is anything to laugh at… (43)[51]

Although it is not the first time that someone laughs at Ali, in this instance, being laughed at as a leitmotif is underscored more because he expresses curiosity about it. Anna Hickey-Moody and Timothy Laurie write,

> [l]aughing can become a social technique for asserting and consolidating a feeling of superiority between those who laugh and against those taken to be objects of laughter. (2017: 217)

[51] Sakın bir delikten seyredip de benim bu halime gülmüş olmasın. İşte buna dayanamazdım.. Baktım öyle beni gözetleyecek bir delikleri yok ama... O anda aklıma bir şey, bir kurnazlık geldi..... Kapısının anahtar deliğinden bakıp komşumun ne yaptığını görmek... Görüp de niçin güldüğünü anlamak... Anlayıp da gülünecek bir şey ise ben de gülmek...

Ali is uneasy about being the object of laughter: he does not want to be laughed *at* by his neighbour, but he wants to laugh *with* her instead [my emphasis]. He bends in front of the door and leans his eye against the yellow-ironed hole to see what she laughs at, whether she laughs at him or not. His look through the keyhole, in turn, objectifies his neighbour, and accordingly, he disposes of himself as the probable object of laughter-*ness* [my emphasis].

Laura Mulvey's theory of the male gaze is useful here as a way to explore Ali's objectification in a detailed manner. In her famous essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", Mulvey discusses the ways in which traditional Hollywood films represent the patriarchal order by objectifying women with the heterosexual pleasure and desire of men in mind. She argues that in most films women are the image and men are the "bearer of the look" (1989: 19). In other words, men are the ones who look and women are there to be looked at. With reference to Sigmund Freud, Mulvey mentions two kinds of pleasure in looking: scopophilic and narcissistic pleasures. The term scopophilia defines looking as a sense of pleasure gratified by "taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze" (1989: 16). She informs us that Freud relates this pleasure to the voyeuristic actions of children and their inclination to look at the private and forbidden such as the existence or lack of the penis as well as the primal scene. The second pleasure in looking takes a narcissistic form and shifts the pleasure of the look to others by identification of the ego with the image on the screen (1989: 16-18).

I suggest that Ali's objectification of his neighbour looking through the keyhole accords with Mulvey's theory of the male gaze. He transforms his being the object of laughter-*ness* [my emphasis] into his neighbour's "*to be looked at-ness*" [emphasis in the original] (Mulvey 1989: 19). Ali focalises the couple inside the room:

> Look! He walked crouched down like a cat that prepares itself to hunt a bird [and] spread his arms in order not to miss [her]! He bent his head towards one side in the shape of a beggar.. He was walking up to my beloved neighbour, who slowly went to and fell into the bedstead by lying on her back for fear of [him]…!!: […] He hugged her neck as if he was choking her… He contiguously bit her neck, arm, breast for a while.. [He] bit [,] by suddenly straightening up like a schoolteacher who could not take his frustration out [he] held the two legs of the poor [woman] with his two hands from somewhere close to her waist. (44-45)[52]

Looking at them biting each other makes him long for something soft, warm and alive to bite off and make bleed. His description of what he sees might recapture the primal scene that is first interpreted as "an act of aggression on the part of the father; second, […] it also induces fear of castration; third, the child assumes it is anal sex" (Buchanan 2010). After his first interpretation, Ali realises that this young man does not behave aggressively. By comparing what he sees to his own experience the night before with Mademoiselle, he concludes that the couple is joking with one another. Ali identifies himself with the man inside and states that if she did not wear her shirt, he would knock at her door and would ask her to laugh *with* him as well [my emphasis]. Thus, as Ali looks inside, the pleasure he receives from the look gradually changes from scopophilic to narcissistic pleasure.

[52] Bakınız! Kuş avlamaya hazırlanan kedi gibi sinerek yürüdü kaçırmamak için iki tarafa kollarını açmış! Başını da bir tarafa eğmiş dilenci biçimine girmiş.. Yavaş yavaş korkusundan gidip karyolaya arkası üstü yatkın yuvarlanan sevgili komşumun üstüne yürüyor...!!: […] Boğuyor gibi onun boynuna sarıldı... Bir müddet boynunu, kolunu, göğsünü muttasıl ısırdı.. Isırdı hırsını alamamış mektep hocası gibi birden doğrularak zavallının iki bacağını iki eliyle ta beline yakın yerinden tuttu.

Similar to the night he spent in the brothel, the night in the hotel makes Ali better at social decorum and everyday life in the Empire's capital. After a two-day stay in Istanbul, he states: "I have already learned a lot" [*artık çok şey öğrenmiştim*] (51). On his third day, he ultimately goes to Kanlıca where his uncle Cenan Bey lives. Ali finds the household of the mansion very crowded, including many young and fancy-looking ladies. He again makes many *faux pas* during conversations, piano playing, and at the table. Although he makes the household laugh at him many times, he does not mind being the object of laughter anymore. On the contrary, Ali likes making these ladies laugh.

Ali's room in the mansion is opposite that of a blonde woman who looks like his "neighbour" from the last night in the hotel. He intends to ask her to go to bed with her so as not to make an extra bed pointlessly soiled. However, Ali himself is aware that this excuse would be inappropriate. After tossing and turning in bed for an hour, he hears a noise and suspects that someone is looking at him through the keyhole. The idea of being exposed to an invisible gaze disturbs him. He proceeds to the door and begins to look outside through the keyhole to find out who it is. In the meantime, the door of the opposite room is suddenly opened. He sees the blonde woman letting in a young man from the household. After making sure that no one is around, Ali goes out of his room and starts looking through the keyhole of her door. Judith Mayne investigates looking through a keyhole in relation to the gendered voyeuristic space as follows:

> voyeurism often entails […] a look into a room – into a home, one could say, or into a private sphere; in other words, into that realm which traditionally and historically has been women's space. A gaze cast into a room, and a gaze cast at a female body. (1981: 33)

Drawing on Mayne, I contend that Ali's look metaphorically penetrates the room by looking through the keyhole, which, in this context, could perhaps be regarded as a vagina. This metaphorical penetration leads Ali to feel faint owing to seeing the young man and the blonde woman Nerime half-naked; they are having sexual intercourse.

What Ali sees gives insight into the way in which and under what circumstances sexual acts were put into practice in the late Ottoman society. As Schick remarks:

> The description of the house and its attractive denizens, his "plump and blonde" fellow guest, and her sexual escapades with one of the young men of the house suggest that the idea of sexual freedom was not limited to prostitutes and the Frankish district but had spread into the very bosom (as it were) of Muslim society. (2011: 213)

In other words, Ali's surrounding environment throughout the narrative informs us about the historical-national time of the late Ottoman society that is inherently related to and has an impact on Ali's development in a Bakhtinian sense.

The young man takes Nerime to bed by holding her by the arm. Once they lie on the bed, however, Ali is not able to see them anymore. He then notices a mirror inclined to the bed and looks at the couple through their reflection in the mirror. In a Lacanian fashion, I suggest taking his look at the couple's mirror reflection as his look at his own 'remote' reflection in the mirror. To that end, the nuance between the eye's look and the gaze is quite significant. According to Lacan, the subject encounters the gaze in the object, and thus, it is not a subjective gaze, but rather an objective one. Although the

gaze is frequently associated with an active process, Lacan inverts it into an object, which functions to generate the desire and becomes the *objet petit à* that signifies a gap (McGowan 2007: 5-6):

> This gap within our look marks the point at which our desire manifests itself in what we see. What is irreducible to our visual field is the way that our desire distorts that field, and this distortion makes itself felt through the gaze as object. (McGowan 2007: 6)

In a similar way, Slavoj Žižek explains how the mirror image (a') differs from the self (a) by an apostrophe. Here, what is missing in the self is the " ' ", which turns into the *objet petit à* (2001: 126). Thus, the couple's mirror reflection metaphorically turns into Ali's gaze and becomes the *objet petit à* in the narrative. He states that their reflection in the mirror reminds him of a sculpture of a cuddling couple in his hometown Çabakçur. Contrary to his false judgement about the 'fountain-looking' woman in the beginning, Ali states: "[t]hese, [the] sculptures I saw were alive" [*Bunlar, benim gördüğüm heykeller canlı idi*] (79). His recognition of the couple's aliveness from their reflection might correspond to the infant's distinction between its mirror reflection and itself. Hence, this recognition might be interpreted as the infant's entry into the symbolic order.

The symbolic father is the one who ensures the infant's entry into the symbolic order. Yet, he is not an actual subject, but a fundamental constituent. Jean-Michel Rabaté sketches out the father as follows:

> A father is not simply an "individual," but mainly a function; paternity is that place from which someone lays down a law, be it the law of sexual difference, the law of the prohibition of incest, or the

> laws of language. A father is not a person but the focal point where castration can be brought to bear on the structure of desire; as such he is the knot binding the anarchic compound of drives and the realm of cultural codification. Next, a father is not a "problem," but a nexus of unresolved enigmas, all founded on the mysterious efficacy of a Name, which in itself remains a riddling cipher. And lastly, […] a father is defined by his absence, paternity and patriarch are set adrift in a world of substitutes, in which everybody is endlessly elsewhere. (1981: 74)

Jale Parla reifies the symbolic father in the Ottoman Turkish novel by underlining the fathering role of the authors. She argues that the authors themselves are fatherless authoritarian children who undertake the role of the father in place of the absolute authority of the sultan in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. In these premises, the orphaned male protagonist is continually faced with the danger of carnality and sensuality in the absence of the father authority. In the Ottoman Turkish novel, the quest for an authoritarian father figure for guidance in the process of modernisation becomes a recurrent theme (2004b: 15-20). Hence, the Ottoman authors' fathering role plays along with the Lacanian symbolic order via language – the act of writing.

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, the author Ali retrospectively represents his sexual development. The protagonist Ali enters into the symbolic order via the author Ali's writing. However, counter to the reification of the symbolic father through the agency of the Ottoman authors and their fatherless protagonists, the protagonist Ali is neither fatherless, nor does the author Ali father him in the sense of Parla. He moves from his father's house to his uncle's house – supposedly a 'fatherly' house. Yet, this

changing status of paternal authority becomes crucial for the reading of the narrative. Ali's changing habitation represents a metaphoric replacement: the replacement of the symbolic father by the "anal father" that does not prohibit enjoyment like the symbolic father, but commands it instead. Todd McGowan informs us that contrary to the absence of the symbolic father, the anal father is present. Because the anal father suggests himself just as another subject, the identification of his authority is difficult. His authority is not an "openly authoritative authority" and it makes him more powerful compared to the symbolic father (2004: 46-47). I suggest that the author Ali plays the role of the anal father in *Anahtar Deliğinde*.

Žižek writes that the anal father

> is the subject's double who accompanies him like a shadow and gives body to a certain surplus, to what is "in the subject more than subject himself"; this surplus represents what the subject must renounce, sacrifice even, the part in himself that the subject must murder in order to start to live as a "normal" member of the community. The crucial point here is therefore that this "anal father" is Father-Enjoyment […]: it is not the agency of symbolic Law, its "repression," which hinders the sexual relationship (according to a Lacanian commonplace, the role of the Name of the Father is precisely to *enable* the semblance of a sexual relationship), its stumbling block is on the contrary a certain excessive "sprout of enjoyment" materialized in the obscene figure of the "anal father". [emphasis in the original] (2001: 125)

In analogy to the subject's renunciation of "the part in himself" to "live as a 'normal' member of the community", Moretti also speaks of "renunciation"

in a different yet related context for my discussion. He informs us that the young protagonist grows in maturity and fits into society in the classical *Bildungsroman*. Here, there is no conflict between the protagonist's individuality and socialisation. It is a voluntary reconciliation rather than a compulsory one. However, Moretti argues, socialisation began to be perceived as *Entsagung*, "renunciation" because of the psychological and narrative problematics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1987: 16). Drawing on Žižek and Moretti, I suggest that *Anahtar Deliğinde* offers a simultaneous renunciation concerning both the anal father and socialisation. The protagonist Ali renounces his childlike naiveté as well as his initial purpose of moving to Istanbul – to further his education – to socialise with and become a member of a certain community, Istanbulites in general and the Europeanised upper-middle class household of the mansion in particular.

Ali's renunciation remains of enjoyment that does not offer a 'preferred' development with regard to the classical *Bildungsroman*. Instead, it is, to a certain extent, comparable to the Balzacian *Bildungsroman*. While discussing Balzac's *Illusions perdues*, Moretti draws attention to the changing relationship between the protagonist and the reader (1987: 135). Because the protagonist Lucien never becomes mature owing to the socio-political circumstances of nineteenth-century France, Adam Bresnick considers *Illusions perdues* "less a *Bildungsroman* than an "*Entbildungsroman*," or novel of the failure […]" (1998: 824). The Balzacian *Bildungsroman* does not expect the reader's identification with the protagonist as does the classical *Bildungsroman*. What is expected from the reader, however, is to refrain from the identification with the protagonist and to "identify with the ironic gaze of a narrative apparatus […]" (Bresnick 1998: 824). Although there is no explicit hint that regards Ali's development as a "failure", *Anahtar Deliğinde* offers a similar reading as Balzac's work

and challenges development narratives under the authority of the symbolic father in the Ottoman Turkish literary canon. On that note, my contention is that the author Ali's retrospective self-representation of his development via writing turns into an "ironic gaze" yet not for himself, but for the reader. Given the nuance between the eye's look and the gaze in the mirror, the self – the author Ali – misses the gaze – the "ironic gaze" – while looking at and/or representing his own development in the narrative that turns into a mirror.

Lacan writes, "[t]he mirror stage establishes the watershed between the imaginary and the symbolic in the moment of capture by an historic inertia" (2006b: 54). I contend that *Anahtar Deliğinde* takes place in this "watershed" – in which the author Ali represents his own development in the form of the *Bildungsroman*. Jane Gallop writes that the mirror stage

> is a turning point in the chronology of a self, but it is also the origin, the moment of constitution of that self. […] The mirror stage is a decisive moment. […] This moment is the source not only for what follows but also for what precedes. It produces the future through anticipation and the past through retroaction. […] The retroaction is based on the anticipation. In other words, the self is constituted through anticipating what it will become, and then this anticipatory model is used for gauging what was before. (1982: 121)

Drawing on Gallop, I contend that *Anahtar Deliğinde*'s narration metaphorically resembles Lacan's mirror stage. The author Ali and the protagonist Ali ultimately overlap and become the same person at the end of the narrative. Ali states that he searches for ways to become more attached to his life in the mansion for the sake of young and fresh ladies and their seductive spectacles. Concordantly, the narrative not only retroacts to the past

by means of the retrospective self-representation of its author, but its ending also anticipates the future, as Ali declares his anticipation for days to come. Therefore, the mirroring narrative *Anahtar Deliğinde* reflects Ali's sexual development. By doing so, the narration becomes the mirror stage itself.[53]

Compensating the Lack: A Rivalry with the Mother

İrvin Cemil Schick informs us that together with *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* (The Story of a Lily), *Kaymak Tabağı*, published anonymously and without a publication date, is one of "the most notorious erotic books of the period" after the proclamation of the Second Constitution.[54] Compared to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, Schick argues, *Kaymak Tabağı* is "quite a bit cruder". Rumour has it that Mehmed Rauf is also the author of *Kaymak Tabağı*. However, that cannot be definitively proven. With reference to Ahmed Rasim's famous book *Fuhş-i Atik* (Prostitution in Old Times, 1922), which tackles the issue of prostitution in *fin de siècle* Istanbul, Schick underlines the idea that the eponymous character-bound narrator Kaymak Tabağı was probably named after a famous real-life prostitute (2011: 214-215). In his book, Ahmet Rasim describes Kaymak Tabağı as a corpulent woman, who used to be very pretty once upon a time (1922: 113, 337). In *Türkiye'de Kadın Özgürlüğü ve Feminizm (1908-1935)* (Women's Freedom and Feminism in Turkey (1908-1935)), Zafer Toprak shares her picture:

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[53] For a different mirror metaphor in the twentieth-century Turkish *Bildungsroman*, particularly novels from the 1950s until the present day, F. Meltem Gürle refers to Cemil Meriç, who argues that the protagonists "try to construct their identity according to their reflection in a fancy mirror made in the West" (Meriç 68-69). She further states that these protagonists are conscious that they will stay as a reflection and detest both the mirror and the image (2013: 98). See F. Meltem Gürle. "'Wandering on the peripheries': The Turkish novelistic hero as 'Beautiful Soul.'" *Journal of Modern Literature*, 36.4 (2013): 96–112.

[54] *Kaymak Tabağı* was also hand-copied anonymously and without a date. Although I possess one of the hand-copied editions, I only use the published edition in this chapter. This is because the hand-copied edition does not differ from the published edition apart from certain additional obscene wording and does not say much about the reception of the text in the process of copying/rewriting.

Figure 5: Kaymak Tabağı's picture. (Figure taken from Toprak 2016: 129)

Nevertheless, there is no reference to the real-life Kaymak Tabağı in the narrative. It only tells the story of a young girl whose sexual development becomes the focus of attention. With regard to the sexual development and secretly looking at people engaging in sexual intercourse, *Kaymak Tabağı* could be compared to *Anahtar Deliğinde*. Hence, this section reads *Kaymak Tabağı* as the *Bildungsroman*, in which the young female protagonist narrates her sexual development.

Kaymak Tabağı is an epistolary narrative written entirely in letter format. The character-bound narrator begins with introducing herself:

> Sir!
>
> Your concubine is the daughter of [one of] the reputed merchants Zagyor-zâde Yusuf Efendi from Antalya and I was named "Kaymak Tabağı". (2)[55]

Kaymak Tabağı presents herself as a once very beautiful young girl who used to come first in beauty contests. Because she is a one and only child, her parents always used to pamper her. Her father is old and likes to tipple, so much so that he becomes unable to perform sexual intercourse with her young and lustful mother. Since her mother is not able to soothe her lust with Kaymak Tabağı's father, she used to get carried away by the male visitors and misbehave towards them behind the window. The father is represented as dysfunctional from the very beginning. His absence gives room to the course of events. Thanks to his absence, the women of the household have sexual intercourse without constraint. Kaymak Tabağı recalls being asked to sleep early certain nights together with her nanny Dilber when she was eleven or twelve. To her surprise, her mother and nanny used to satisfy their needs with the male visitors.

After this brief introduction to the household, the narrative jumps forward three or four years and Kaymak Tabağı describes her relation with the driver Hacı İbrahim:

> Despite the fact that I was sixteen I did not avoid Hacı İbrahim and I was his shadow and your concubine used to enter Hacı İbrahim's room and [he] used to tell weird stories and take me on his lap, kiss [me], put [me] upon his penis and make all sorts of hocus-pocus by

[55] Efendim!
Cariyeniz tüccar-ı muʿteberândan Antalyalı Zagyor-zâde Yusuf Efendi'nin kerimesi olup ismim (Kaymak Tabağı) namıyla be-nâm idim.

> rubbing his penis between my legs. (3)[56]

Also that night Hacı İbrahim takes her on his lap and runs his hands over her body. He plays with his "dick" when he sees her "pussy", whose mouth is as pink as a rose standing fleshy and untouched between her legs. When Kaymak Tabağı sees him masturbating: "Hacı İbrahim, what is that we were about to tell [a] tale. What happened to the rest of [the] tale." [*Hacı İbrahim, o nasıl şey masal söyleyecek idik. Masalın arkası ne oldu.*] (4) Hacı İbrahim sucks her breasts and then rubs the head of his penis into the lips of her vulva. As he rubs it, Kaymak Tabağı delightfully enjoys it:

> I suddenly shivered from inside. My body became loose and oh Hacı İbrahim what is that stiff thing you put between my leg[s] I said. Thereupon, Hacı İbrahim showed [me] by taking [it] out. What is this Hacı I said; they call it penis he said. When I heard this word I laughed loudly. It is a weird thing like [a] stick, I said. My dear missy from now on [what] you will see is [a] tasty penis like this one he said. (4-5)[57]

She witnesses his ejaculation: "just then I saw something drained off quaveringly from Hacı's dick" [*o sıra Hacı'nın sikinden titreye, titreye bir şeyler aktığını gördüm.*] (5) Although his sperm disgusts her, she likes the intimacy. The more Kaymak Tabağı spends time with Hacı İbrahim on the

[56] Her ne kadar sinnim on altı yaşına gelmiş ise de Hacı İbrahim'den kaçmaz ve yanından ayrılmaz idim ve cariyeniz Hacı İbrahim'in odasına girer ve tuhaf tuhaf hikayeler nakleder ve beni kucağına alır, öper, zekerinin üstüne çıkarır ve zekerini bacaklarımın arasına sürüştürerek türlü türlü hokkabazlıklar yapar idi.

[57] Birden bire içim titredi. Vücuduma bir gevşeklik geldi ve aman Hacı İbrahim o bacağımın arasına koyduğun katı şey ne idi dedim. Onun üzerine Hacı çıkarıp gösterdi. Bu ne Hacı dedim; buna zeker derler dedi. Bu sözü işitince kahkaha ile güldüm. Sopa gibi ne tuhaf şey, dedim. Mini mini hanımcığım bundan sonra göreceğiniz bunun gibi lezzetli zekerdir dedi.

excuse that she wants to listen to tales, the more she gains experience in sex. In comparison with Ali, who transforms his initial intimacy with Mademoiselle into a game – wrestling, she, in reverse, transforms telling tales into dalliances.

Kaymak Tabağı considers herself a "hussy" girl and wants to see sexual intercourse in the house. One night, she sees Dilber naked with Hacı İbrahim and focalises them as follows:

> […] Hacı İbrahim leaned Dilber on the cushion by her waist and he compressed his horse dick-like penis as seizing [it] my nanny's neck [it] stiffened so much so that it is impossible to describe. Hacı started compressing Dilber's vulva. Dilber then hugged his waist. By holding her hips with both hands Hacı inserted his dick into my nanny's pussy in one move that its squeak came to my ear. As Hacı İbrahim moved his penis inside and outside, both of them became suddenly awkward. Following this I assume that Hacı was not satisfied so that he turned my nanny's ass that was as bald as a coot. [He] moved his dick in and out of her ass a few times. However, my nanny could not stand being fucked in the ass. In fact I also drooled over their fucking. My aim is also my pussy. (6-7)[58]

Her first encounter with Hacı İbrahim and Dilber being naked corresponds to children's voyeuristic look; hence, it is exemplary of scopophilic pleasure.

[58] [...] Hacı İbrahim dadımın belinden mindere dayamış ve at yarağı gibi zekerini dadımın ensesinden yakalayıp sıkıştırdıkça öyle bir kalktı ki tarifi kalem haricindedir. Hacı Dilber'in fercini sıkıştırmaya başladı. Dilber de Hacı'nın beline sarıldı. Hacı dadımın kaynaklarını iki eliyle tutup bir hamlede yarağını dadımın amına soktu ki gıcırtısı kulağıma geldi. Hacı İbrahim sokup çıkardıkça her ikisi bir tuhaf hal peyda ettiler. Bunu müteakip zanneder isem Hacı doymamış idi ki dadımın kabak gibi götünü çevirdi. Birkaç defa yarağını götüne sokup çıkardı. Halbuki dadım götünden sikişe dayanamıyordu. Doğrusu bunların sikişine benim de ağzımın suyu aktı. Benim de maksadım amımdır.

Mulvey's theory of the gaze gives special attention to the male gaze. Yet, the gaze in question here appears "female". As Kaplan explains,

> the gaze is not necessarily male (literally), but to own and activate the gaze, given our language and the structure of the unconscious, is to be in the masculine position. (1983: 30)

Kaymak Tabağı's focalisation, a male-conceived structure, precludes the representation of female experience. In addition, considering the domination of male authors in Ottoman Turkish literature, a male author most likely wrote *Kaymak Tabağı*. Thus, sex scenes are presumably shown to encourage male objectification in the guise of female focalisation throughout the narrative.

One day, Kaymak Tabağı tells Dilber that her "pussy" is itchy and she feels odd. Dilber warns her of not mentioning such things and tells her that if her mother hears it, she will be angry. Also, she remarks, "doing these things is sin" [*böyle şeyler yapmak günahtır*] (7). Dilber puts Kaymak Tabağı's mother forward as the Name of the Father in Lacanian terms. As Julia Kristeva points out, the child-father-mother link mostly takes shape with the father having the superiority over the former two in the Oedipal triangle. However, it may also vary depending on the matrilineality of society: a matrilineal uncle or a woman may occupy the father role (2000: 75). Even though Ottoman society is not a matrilineal society, Kaymak Tabağı's mother substitutes the father in his absence ad hoc. Hence, the mother replaces the symbolic father in the narrative. This replacement becomes more explicit, particularly at the end.

After the warning, Kaymak Tabağı begins to see Dilber as her rival inwardly: "However [Dilber] does not know that I knew the size of the dick

[she] takes in herself" [*Halbuki bilmiyor ki ben kendisinin yediği yarağın ölçüsünü bile bilirdim*] (7). This rivalry appears to be a displacement of and similar to the Electra complex, but still not quite the same. The Electra complex, introduced by Carl Gustav Jung in 1913, is frequently seen as the female equivalent of the Oedipus complex. It refers to the girl's sexual desire for her father and her competition with her mother whom she perceives as her rival. The possession of the father is comparable to the possession of the penis in the eyes of the girl. Thus, the Electra complex is more often than not regarded as "penis envy" (Scott 2005: 8). It is considered equal to castration anxiety in girls. I suggest that Kaymak Tabağı's 'inward' rivalry with Dilber, who has 'motherly' duties as the nanny, evokes the Electra complex. In this respect, her "penis envy" is frankly materialised by Hacı İbrahim's penis.

Kaymak Tabağı wants to experience sexual intercourse to satisfy her curiosity for penises. She then has her first experience with Nuri Cemal, a beautiful boy playing next to their garden. The emphasis on Nuri Cemal's youth and beauty, which is also self-evident from his name meaning "beautiful shining face", signals his sexual immaturity. Like Ali, he is not a 'man' or 'handsome'. Kaymak Tabağı does not raise any difficulties and opens her legs to Nuri Cemal:

> He, when seeing my pink-lipped pussy like a recently-blossomed rosebud between my cloudlike legs, his dick became so erect like a beam so to say.. After this by growing impatient he began to rub the head of his dick into the pink lips of my pussy.
> […]
> The more Cemal Bey rubbed his dick into the lips of my pussy, the more it was tickling my fancy and I was drooling, my eyes were going black. As for Cemal, he began to shiver [and] lost himself.

> And by tightening once or twice he inserted his dick into my pussy in a way that I could not understand where I was. In the meantime I uttered a scream. (9)[59]

In comparison with Ali, who contents himself with secretly looking at people and remaining a spectator, Kaymak Tabağı is represented as a self-determining protagonist with a strong agency.

Kaymak Tabağı wants to participate in what she sees. A few days after her sexual intercourse with Nuri Cemal, she again secretly looks at Dilber and Hacı İbrahim. She describes how Hacı İbrahim kisses Dilber's breasts by leaning her on the cushion and smells her from top to bottom. After lustful sexual intercourse, Hacı İbrahim feels tired and wants to rest. Yet, Dilber tries to convince him to carry on: "I am dying! Here it is, here I am dying insert [it] then rest when [it] is inside!" [*Ölüyorum! İşte, işte ölüyorum sok da içerisinde iken dinlen!*] (11) As she looks at them once again, her pleasure in looking transforms from scopophilic to narcissistic pleasure that prompts her to run out of patience and enter the room. She says: "Oh.. Bon appétit my puritan nanny!" [*O.. Afiyet olsun benim sofu dadım!*] (11) Dilber and Hacı İbrahim beg her not to tell anyone. Dilber even proposes that she can have sex with Hacı İbrahim too. Since this is already what Kaymak Tabağı wants, she opens her pink-lipped rosebud-like "pussy" to him. Nevertheless, he does not dare slide into her assuming that she is still a virgin. Instead of easing his worry, Kaymak Tabağı brings it to climax:

---

[59] O, bulut gibi bacaklarımın arasında yeni açılmış bir gül goncası gibi pembe dudaklı amımı görünce yarağı öyle kalktı ki adeta kiriş gibi.. Artık sabredemeyerek bacaklarımın arasına yarağının başı amımın pembe dudaklarına sürüştürmeye başladı.
[...]
Cemal Bey yarağını amımın dudaklarına sürüştürdükçe fena halde içim gıcıklanıyor ve ağzımın suları akıyor, gözlerim kararıyor idi. Cemal ise artık titremeye başladı gözleri döndü. Ve bir iki defa gerilerek yarağını amıma öyle bir sokuş soktu ki nerede olduğumu anlayamadım. O sırada bir feryat kopardım.

> "Come Hacı you do not like my rosebud-like pussy? Is Dilber's pussy better than mine?" I said. He said to me, "Missy you are virgin that is why I cannot dare". "Come and just fuck [me] I am not virgin! Come.." I said. (11-12)[60]

Hacı İbrahim approaches her to insert his penis into her vagina. Although Kaymak Tabağı first fears for the length of his penis, after being ravished she asks him to insert it completely. Ultimately, her 'inward' rivalry with Dilber is resolved by means of engaging in sexual intercourse with Hacı İbrahim.

Kaymak Tabağı continues to have sexual intercourse with Cemal Bey "by pleasing one another" [*yekdiğerimiz memnun ederek*] (13) every night for a year. However, one night, after Nuri Cemal's departure to Paris for his education, she decides to go to Hacı İbrahim's room to have sexual intercourse with him. When approaching his room, she hears her mother's voice and then sees her from the doorway sitting on Hacı İbrahim's lap with her fleshy "pussy". In contrast to Dilber and Kaymak Tabağı, who have had to convince Hacı İbrahim in order to have sexual intercourse with them, in this instance he is the one who tries to convince the mother by kissing and caressing her. As her mother grips his "dick", Kaymak Tabağı focalises, it becomes so erect that:

> […] [he] could not overcome his lust [and] by embracing my mother and leaning her waist on the cushion[,] he leaned his iron-like erect penis against my mother's pink-lipped pussy between her snow-white calves and [he] took her breasts into his mouth and began to suck

[60] "Gelsene Hacı benim gül goncası gibi amımı beğenmiyor musun? Dilber'in amı benimkinden daha iyi midir?" dedim. O, bana "Küçük hanım sen kızsın onun için cesaret edemiyorum." dedi. "Sen gel sikiver ben kız değilim! Gel.." dedim.

> them [.] My mother, on the other hand, was making Hacı sad by showing all sorts of coyness and coquetry in the meantime even my mother was also being defeated by lust [.] She groaned by saying oh my Hacı you will devastate me. I am dying! Insert my Hacı insert!. As they were hugging and kissing each other, I felt overwhelmed outside. I drooled. I felt that the lips of my rosebud-like pussy opened and closed.
>
> Because I also wanted to taste the pleasure they received in the meantime. (13-14)[61]

What Kaymak Tabağı sees makes her fall down to her knees due to her thirst for sex. She considers her mother equal to herself: "However, like me, my mother is also a creature that cannot get enough of fucking" [*Lakin annem de benim gibi sikişe doyar mahluk değil ki*] (14). When Hacı İbrahim and her mother start having sex a second time, Kaymak Tabağı shivers with ambition and lust in front of the door. She wants to enter the room and have sex with Hacı İbrahim as she did last time with Dilber. Nevertheless, she does not dare enter the room owing to the maternal bonding, and also the mother's takeover of the symbolic father. She fails to make him her own, because she has to give way to her mother overnight as necessitated by the Electra complex.

Kaymak Tabağı envies the sexual intimacy between her mother and Hacı İbrahim, and her envy turns into penis envy in the full sense of the word. I contend that her penis envy overlaps with her mother's penis envy in

[61] [...] şehvetine galebe edemeyerek annemi kucaklayıp belini mindere dayayarak demir gibi kalkmış yarağını annemin kar gibi beyaz baldırları arasındaki pembe dudaklı amının ağzına dayadı ve memelerini ağzına alıp emmeye başladı annem ise bin türlü naz ve cilve ederek Hacı'yı üzüyordu bu sırada annem dahi şehvete mağlup olarak ah Hacı'm beni mahvedeceksin. Ölüyorum! Sok Hacı'ım sok!. diyerek inledi. Onlar öyle birbirlerine sarılıp öpüştükçe dışarıda bana adeta bir hal geldi. Ağzımın suları aktı. Gül goncası gibi amımın dudaklarının açılıp kapandığını hissettim.

Çünkü onların almış oldukları o lezzetten ben de o sırada tatmak istiyordum.

the narrative. As Sigmund Freud claims, penis envy continues to exist in the unconscious as two desires: to possess a penis and/or to possess an infant (2001c: 179). Nevertheless, Lacan argues that even when the woman has an infant, it does not terminate the sense of the lack of a penis. In response to this, the infant tries to satisfy the mother's desire by identifying itself with the phallus (Evans 2006a: 121). This is how the infant enters the "dialectic of desire" in the Lacanian psychoanalysis. To that end, the infant desires the mother's desire, as she is the initial Other. Lacan famously puts it, "man's desire is the Other's desire" [*le désir de l'homme est le désir de l'Autre*] (2006c: 690). Yet, the desire here is a reference to the lack itself (Evans 2006b: 38). Drawing on Lacan, the desire to have sexual intercourse with Hacı İbrahim reifies penis envy both for Kaymak Tabağı and her mother, and transforms him into an object of desire in their eyes. However, Kaymak Tabağı's envy is not about *a* penis, but *the* penis – Hacı İbrahim's penis – as she desires her mother's desire [my emphasis]. That is to say, her desire for Hacı İbrahim becomes the *objet petit à* and intrinsically signifies her very lack of same.

Freud terms the Electra complex "the female Oedipus complex". In *The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex*, he initially argues that sexual development is simpler in girls because they do not undergo castration anxiety (2001c: 178-179). Yet, later in *Some Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes*, he declares otherwise, as the female Oedipal stage requires a shift in sexual object from female to male (2001d: 251).[62] Regarding the shift in sexual object, Nancy Chodorow informs us that the male and female Oedipus complexes are asymmetrical (1978: 127; 1989: 69). The girl enters the Oedipus triangle in a divergent

[62] Kristeva underlines the idea that Lacan's approach to the Oedipus complex and the question of incest is broader. The sex of the subject does not have a place in the question. Hence, the Oedipal triangle consists of "same", "other", and "Other" in Lacan (2000: 78-79).

relational scene in comparison to the boy (1978: 115). Julia Kristeva posits that the boy kills the father and desires the mother in a direct Oedipus complex. Accordingly, the boy simultaneously becomes both a "*symbolic subject*" and a "*desiring subject*" [emphasis in the original]. Like the boy, the girl's primary sexual object is the mother. She also kills the father in order to become a subject. However, by killing the father and desiring the mother, she undergoes an "inverted Oedipus complex". In order to experience the "direct Oedipus complex", she is obliged to change her object choice by detaching herself from the mother and desiring the father (2000: 79-80). Nevertheless, Chodorow claims, the shift in the sexual object is not the replacement of the girl's attachment to her mother by her father. The girl does not give up her pre-Oedipal relation with the mother entirely.[63] Instead, her relationship with the father is articulated in her relationship with the mother in which dependence, attachment, and symbiosis still persist. This articulation, Chodorow argues, makes female development and self-definition more complex compared to her masculine counterpart (1978: 92-93; 1989: 70).

The pre-Oedipal relation to the mother becomes important in the female *Bildungsroman*. The works of the British women authors to which Susan Fraiman refers in her book tell of "a struggle between rival life stories", so that the "major" narrative is being blurred and decentred via alternative stories regarding female destiny (1993: 10). *Kaymak Tabağı* also includes other stories of rivalry, which suggest a pre-Oedipal reading of the major narrative. Kaymak Tabağı's relationship with her nanny represents one example of rivalry, and the relationship with her mother closely reflects the Electra complex in which the daughter sees the mother as her rival. It is also

[63] Amber Jacobs discusses Melanie Klein and Luce Irigaray's different approaches to the mother-daughter relationship through the Electra myth. See Amber Jacobs. "The Potential of Theory: Melanie Klein, Luce Irigaray, and the Mother-Daughter Relationship." *Hypatia*, 22.3 (2007): 175–193.

reified in her treatment of Hacı İbrahim with whom she has sexual intimacy for ten hours without letting him take his penis out of her vagina after seeing her mother with him. From that night on, Kaymak Tabağı and Hacı İbrahim continue to have sexual intercourse regularly for more than two years until she becomes twenty-one and marries the pharmacist Hüsnü Efendi.

At the end of the narrative, Kaymak Tabağı states that she gives up everything and spends her life with her husband since then. In the classical *Bildungsroman*, Moretti argues, narratives must end with marriages, which is indicative of a social contract between the individual and society (1987: 22). The narrative closure with marriage signifies the protagonist's reconciliation with society. On that note, Kaymak Tabağı's marriage might first appear as reconciliation with the late Ottoman society in the process of becoming a woman. However, I contend that her reconciliation with society turns out to be renunciation of her extramarital sexual affairs and her embrace of social norms. According to Fraiman, becoming a woman is not "a single path to a clear destination", but "the endless negotiation of a crossroad" (1993: x). Kaymak Tabağı also goes through a crossroad by way of her extramarital affairs. Nevertheless, because these affairs are against the grain given the premises of the late Ottoman society, she is obliged to complete her development by complying with society via marriage at the end of the narrative.[64] Therefore, I contend that *Kaymak Tabağı* offers the psychosexual development of the young female protagonist whose Electra complex is, to a certain extent, resolved once her development is restricted to marriage.

[64] See Elif Akşit. "Being a Girl in Ottoman Novels." *Childhood in the Late Ottoman Empire and After*. Leiden: Brill, 2016: 93-114. Elif Akşit explores the ways in which the process of becoming differs in male and female authors' female *Bildungsromane* in Ottoman Turkish. She also underlines the difficulty of conceptualising "the girl" within childhood, because children, boys, and women are well defined, and are told to behave accordingly, but girls are different and therefore difficult to conceptualise (2016: 93-94).

Conclusion

Both *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* tell the stories of sexual development in the period of adolescence. These narratives address the Oedipal attachments of their protagonists, and can be read psychoanalytically. When compared to each other, it is quite striking that both narratives begin with the reminiscences of their protagonists' first sexual involvements and their later sexual experiences. The ways in which Ali and Kaymak Tabağı engage with their sexualities follow the same path via looking at other people engaging in sexual intercourse. In this way, they become acquainted with sex and their own sexuality. Their narrations of looking at others, however, turn into looking at the self retrospectively through their narratives once they grow to maturity. Both of them have to renounce certain parts of themselves in the process of their development. Kaymak Tabağı is depicted as being more self-aware and self-determining regarding her sexuality, yet the development deemed appropriate for her does not allow her to experience her sexuality as does Ali at the end. She is obliged to reconcile with society by renouncing her extramarital sexual affairs. Ali's renunciation, however, carries him to a 'reckless' life. Thus, the renunciation takes different turns in these narratives: the sexual restriction Kaymak Tabağı is exposed to changes into the sexual freedom for Ali as Schick suggests. Although these narratives share common characteristics with regard to theme and composition, the closures succeeding the developments and growths in maturity of their protagonists diverge significantly due to their gender difference.

Moreover, the expectation from the reader also differs based on the difference in their renunciations, and intrinsically in their developments. *Kaymak Tabağı* expects the reader to identify with the female protagonist, because she meets with the requirements of the society and sets an

affirmative example for the reader. *Anahtar Deliğinde* demands the opposite. Although Ali's life-style is not necessarily a dissenting example, as the narrative neither criticises nor praises the direction of his development, neither does it allow the reader's identification as is common in the classical *Bildungsroman*. Based on Morgenstern's definition of the *Bildungsroman* that suggests gazing into the real world by putting emphasis on the reader's development, his 'contentious' life-style keeps the reader at bay only through which the reader can complete its development as the *Bildungsroman* intends. Thus, the gender-biased difference between Ali and Kaymak Tabağı becomes self-evident also on the part of the expectations from the reader. Nevertheless, despite this difference, both *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* challenge the Ottoman Turkish literary canon with their intimate narrations of sexuality.

In addition, these narratives underscore the relationship between the notion of adolescence and modernisation in the late Ottoman context. As discussed earlier in this chapter, adolescence might largely be indicative of the late Ottoman period, a period of transition in which the Empire struggled with its passage into modernity. Although I have read both narratives psychoanalytically with regard to the sexual developments of their adolescent protagonists, my reading is not limited to the individual development stories. As examples of the Ottoman Turkish *Bildungsroman*, *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı* represent the expectations that the Empire had from Ottoman children and youth once they had grown into maturity, since they were seen as "the future of the Empire". The sexual investments of their protagonists are transformed into the social and cultural investments of the Ottoman Empire. On that note, the psychoanalytical readings of these narratives become an allegorical reading for the late Ottoman period. Such an allegorical reading represents the cultural and historical particularity of the

Ottoman Empire along with its ambitions, desires, and anxieties, all of which could perhaps be defined as the 'fantasmatic desire'. Here, the question of whose desire it is also becomes significant: whether it is the desire of the authors, of the texts or of the reader. I contend that the fantasmatic desire represented in these narratives is the desire of the culture in which the authors and the reader live and in which the texts were written. As it were, *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak* signify the 'psychosocial' dynamics in the late Ottoman culture. By portraying the psychosexual developments of their protagonists, these narratives frame adolescence in and of the Ottoman Empire in the process of modernisation, a process that was as transitional as adolescence.

Chapter Four

Sexual Politics in the Late Ottoman Empire

Many studies on sex and sexuality in the late Ottoman Empire cite the same quotation from *Maʿrûzât* (Reports) written by the prominent Ottoman bureaucrat and historian Ahmed Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895). With his work, he wanted to inform Abdülhamid II about the profound change that occurred in the perception of love and intimacy during the nineteenth century:

> With the increase of women lovers the number of boy-beloveds decreased and the sodomites seem to have disappeared off the face of the earth. Ever since then the well-known love for and relationships with the young men of Istanbul was transferred to young women as the natural order of things. (Halaçoğlu 1980: 9)[65]

This quotation became a popular way to indicate the change in Ottoman men's sexual inclination, an inclination that shifted from men to women in the nineteenth century. According to Serkan Delice, through the quotation, Ahmed Cevdet Paşa historicises certain sexual inclinations and essentialises opposite-sex relationships in the Ottoman Empire. Besides, the scholarship wittingly or unwittingly reproduced and naturalised his essentialism by citing his quotation without a critical note (2010: 119).

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[65] Zen-dostlar çoğalıp mahbûblar azaldı. Kavm-i Lut sanki yere battı. İstanbul'da öteden beri delikanlılar için maʿrûf u muʿtâd olan aşk u alaka, hal-i tabîʿisi üzre kızlara müntakil oldu. I benefitted from Ze'evi's English translation. See Dror Ze'evi. *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006: 164.

Contemporary scholarship has frequently regarded same-sex love and intimacy among men as the 'inevitable' consequence of the absence of women in the public sphere before the nineteenth century. İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu informs us that the reason for same-sex intimacy among men – and also among women – was gender segregation enforced by religious edict especially in cities (1968: 33). In addition, Kemal Sılay draws attention to the way in which gender segregation had an impact on artistic and literary representations due to the absence of women in society (1994: 79-80). The link between gender segregation and same-sex intimacy was not limited to Ottoman society. Dror Ze'evi attributes the marginalisation of women in the public sphere and the growth of male homo-social bonds, which might result in "homosexuality", to Islamic culture (2006: 4). Iranian modernists also assumed that same-sex desire was "a consequence of the unfortunate social arrangement of sex segregation" (Najmabadi 2005: 57). Ultimately, the disappearance of same-sex intimacy has been often seen as a result of the encounter with modernity by which women became more visible in the public sphere in the late Ottoman society as they did in other Islamicate societies. Khaled El-Rouayheb, however, remarks that although there might be a link between gender segregation and widespread pederasty in the pre-modern Middle East, male "homosexuality" was not the mere result of this segregation. Personal interest in boys also played a part (2005: 29-30). Indeed, believing that same-sex intimacy was simply the result of gender segregation, without considering one's own free will or preferences for sexual practices, makes us fall into the trap of heteronormativity by establishing opposite-sex intimacy as the norm.

Until the nineteenth century, there was neither a normative heterosexuality nor any concept of homosexual identity in Ottoman society. The categories that signify same-sex love and intimacy, such as *gulampare*

(male-lover), *zenpare* (woman-lover), *köçek* (male dancer), *mukhannes* (passive), *guzeshte* (young man with beard), *emred* (beardless youth), are not semantically akin to "the homosexual" in the modern sense (Arvas 2014: 148). David M. Halperin underlines the constructionist approach to the history of homosexuality that suggests homosexuality as a modern construction not because same-sex intimacy did not exist before 1869 – when the term "homosexuality" was used in print for the first time –, but because there was no such category that precisely included same-sex practices in the pre-modern and non-Western worlds as the term requires (2000: 89). Because homosexuality is a modern construction and modern gender categories are not invariably convenient for helping us to understand the unfixed and historically contingent Ottoman sexualities, the term "same-sex" is often chosen to avoid being anachronistic when describing sexual practices before the nineteenth century. However, Afsaneh Najmabadi explains that the term "same-sex" is nevertheless problematic, since it puts sex in the centre as the truth that describes these relationships and leads us to consider human relations within the boundaries of their "same-sex-ness" (2006: 17). Besides, all sexual intimacies might actually be regarded as same-sex intimacies before the nineteenth century, because the woman was seen as the "imperfect-man" model (Ze'evi 2006: 23). Therefore, the effort

> [t]o replace "homosexuality" with "same-sex practices and desires," while overcoming its nineteenth-century sexual burden, gives us a term that carries a binarized nineteenth-century gender-burden, anachronistically and inappropriately used for earlier times. (Najmabadi 2006: 17)

Previous to the modern construction of (homo)sexuality as an identity, male same-sex practices in the high classes of Greco-Roman antiquity were less restrictive in certain areas compared to the modern period (Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005: 11). In his influential work *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault explains how, for the Greeks, "love of one's own sex and love for the other sex" were not two opposites and exclusive choices (1992: 187). Yet, as Paul Veyne states, "[i]t is incorrect to say that the ancients took an indulgent view of homosexuality. The truth is that they did not see it as a separate problem" (1985: 26). In other words, they found the sex of the partner less significant compared to the sexual role. At this juncture, Delice warns us to be aware of the danger of making a sharp distinction between "so-called pre-modern sexual acts and modern sexual identities" (2010: 107). He refers to Judith Butler, who argues against Foucault's distinction between pre-modern and modern, and Delice also abstains himself from praising pre-modern sexual practices while resisting the modern regime of sexuality (2010: 121). Butler remarks that the pre-modern does not come before the modern; instead, the pre-modern has been reconstructed and fictionalised by the modern to tell its own narrative. She accuses Foucault of idealising the pre-modern in order to battle against the modern regime of sexuality (1999: 15-16). Similar to Butler, Halperin suggests restoring the history of sexuality by recognising the importance of transcending historical boundaries within a genealogical analysis of (homo)sexuality, because its modern understanding one way or another forms our understanding of same-sex desire and practices of the past (2000: 90).

Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's famous quotation has also been used by scholarship in a Foucauldian way to demonstrate the extent to which the expanding relations with Europe and modernity silenced specific sexual discourses, marginalised homo-erotic practices and heteronormalised love

and sexuality in late Ottoman society (Delice 2010: 119). Selim S. Kuru notes that during the nineteenth century, male same-sex love and intimacy were not freely spoken of particularly among the educated elite and authors. In the new literary genres such as the novel and the short story, women began to be represented as the love objects of men. Classical literary genres still maintained male beloveds in the late nineteenth century against the upcoming developing modernist literature. Yet, male same-sex love and intimacy mostly continued to exist in the form of the literary anecdote (2010: 7). Moreover, Kuru elsewhere claims that sexually explicit Ottoman Turkish texts are denigrated by "ahistorically subjective readings" that heteronormalised and marginalised "Ottomans" by depicting Ottoman Turkish literature as perverse due to the nationalist discourses (2007: 159). Likewise, Arvas suggests that heternormativity began to become more dominant in Ottoman Turkish literature and transformed the male beloved in classical Ottoman poetry into the pervert in the nineteenth century (2014: 145). In general terms, the *zeitgeist* of contemporary scholarship is that from the end of the nineteenth century onwards the marginalisation of same-sex intimacy due to the nationalist discourse and modernisation of literary genres indicated "a linear narrative history and fictions of morality" (Kuru 2010: 1-2).

I contend that discussions about Ottoman same-sex love and intimacy, and its disappearance take a turn depending on how one wants to position oneself in relation to the Ottoman past or to detach oneself from the prototype of national identity. This approach seems hypocritical, because it is about avoiding possible risks in struggling with transcending historical boundaries in the course of one's own identity construction and implicitly one's own sexuality. However, the change in the signification of sexual practices and the construction of sexuality as a significant part of identity,

should not intimidate us from going beyond the causality of gender segregation, modernisation and the emergence of nationalism. While accusing the nationalist discourse of forming linear narratives in terms of same-sex sexual history, scholarship also forms a linearity and draws a distinction between before and after Ottoman modernisation and the emergence of nationalism as Butler and Halperin criticise. Here, I suggest reconsidering the change in the understanding of same-sex intimacy and the construction of sexual identity in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries as the transitional period. In this period, there was a hybridity in sexual norms and roles that have been deconstructed and reconstructed in various ways and through a range of discourses. These discourses have been based on existing power structures up until today.

The discussions on same-sex love and intimacy in general and the discussions around Ahmed Cevdet Paşa's quotation in particular, continually revolve around the transformation of same-sex practices among men. Undoubtedly, there were also same-sex practices among women in the Ottoman Empire. However, it never became explicit in the male-dominated Ottoman Turkish literature and remained as "the *terra incognita* of Ottoman studies" [emphasis in the original] (Arvas 2014: 151). Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı report that they were not able to "locate a single instance in the Ottoman legal literature of a woman being accused of illegal or immoral sexual relations with another woman". The most informative sources on same-sex practices among women are the travel accounts written by Europeans (2005: 172-173). There are only few Ottoman Turkish sources that mention same-sex practices among women. For instance, in his book *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?* (How Was Istanbul Having Fun?), Refik Ahmed (Sevengil) (1903-1970) mentions that:

> This psychological sickness, which clinical medicine calls "love between the same gender," was common in the past among women, too. There were such wealthy women who made love to each other in the harems. They had several young and beautiful girls and women in their service in order to satisfy their sexual desires. They made these women take care of their private and secret affairs. (1927: 96)[66]

Drawing on this quotation, Arvas makes an inference that Refik Ahmed also differentiates Ottoman Muslim women from women in the Turkish Republic. Yet, Arvas also indicates that this sort of generic reading does not necessarily indicate that same-sex practices among women or "lesbianism" were considered as a psychological sickness or that sexual identity stemmed from gender segregation in Ottoman society (2014: 152). Hence, it only remains as another linearity that was formed regarding the change in sexual practices.

Deli Birader Gazali's literary composition *Dâfi'ü'l-gumûm ve Râfi'ü'l-humûm* (The Expeller of Sorrows and Remover of Worries) includes same-sex practices among women. Andrews and Kalpaklı state that in Gazali's work there is some recognition given to same-sex practices among women (2005: 171). They "tie dildos on their waists and grease them with almond oil and then start the job, 'dildoing' the cunt" (Kuru 2000: 235). Andrews and Kalpaklı's conclusion is that the story of dildo women functions to restore confidence to male audiences demonstrating that same-sex practices among women are not as satisfactory as a man and a penis. Sexual intercourse among women without a penis or replacements for penis

[66] Tıbbın müteşâbih'l-cins aşklar diye isim verip teşhis ettiği bu ruhî maluliyet eski kadınlar arasında da icra-yı hüküm etmekte idi. Nice zengin hanım efendiler vardı ki haremlerde birbirleriyle muaşaka ederler ve tatmin-i hevesât için suret-i mahsusada genç yakışıklı kızlar, kadınlar bulundururlar, hususi ve mahrem hizmetlerini onlara gördürürlerdi. I benefited from Sılay's translation. See Kemal Silay. *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court: Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1994: 92-93.

were not considered important (2005: 171-172). The fantasy that all women desire to be penetrated is emphasised, and there is even a story about a woman who "once sent her slave-girl to a spinning-wheel maker to order a dildo" (Kuru 2000: 235). Although Arvas agrees with Andrews and Kalpaklı and argues that same-sex love and intimacy among women was based on a male point of view for male audiences, he, on the other hand, indicates that – by the example of dildo women – Gazali does not reduce penetration to a male activity; the dildo woman is the clearest-cut example of penetrative sex among women (2014: 152).

In the ancient world especially, sex was considered as a penetrative act performed by adult free men on those who were socially inferior such as women, boys, and slaves/servants (Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005: 13). Eva C. Keuls formulates sexual practices within the frame of power relations in ancient Athens using the term "phallocracy" meaning "a cultural system symbolized by the image of the male productive organ in a permanent erection, the phallus" (1985: 1-2). Halperin indicates that sexual practices before the modern understanding of sexuality is based on the age-old classifications in terms of hierarchy and gender such as penetration versus being penetrated, superordinate versus subordinate status, masculinity versus femininity, activity versus passivity. In this respect, the pre-modern understanding of male same-sex practices privileges gender over sexuality, while the modern understanding of homosexuality privileges sexuality over gender (2000: 96, 91). Halperin notes that the notion of homosexuality, however, reduced all the nuances of same-sex desire, penetration and/or domination to a single unified phenomenon. It refers to both partners without distinguishing the sides of same-sex practices and without establishing a hierarchal relation between the partners at least on a semantic level. However, it does not necessarily mean that previous hierarchies do not exist

in homosexuality (2000: 110, 112).

Sexuality is always embedded within a power structure and implies domination. In the late Ottoman Empire, the realms of political, cultural and literary productions were dominated by a small group of Ottoman elite men for whom defining masculinity was not easy (Kuru 2010: 1). I contend that in this elite group of men exerting domination by using their pens, the pens might easily be regarded as phallic symbols in the writings. Regarding this literary vis-à-vis sexual domination, in this chapter I read Mehmed Rauf's (1875-1931) *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, which narrates same-sex practices among women by refusing its transformation into being an internal part of identity, namely lesbianism. Through my reading, I aim to depict the changes in meanings of sexual practices and construction of sexual identities at the turn of the century – a historically as well as sexually transitional period. I start with the (hi)story of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* (The Story of a Lily) and the polemics around the narrative. Next, I explain the theoretical framework I apply throughout my reading. Finally, I scrutinise Mehmed Rauf's approach to the polemical theme of lesbianism in his novel by comparing it with the discussions on same-sex practices and homosexuality I have presented so far.

(Hi)Story of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*

Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi is one of the most famous erotic and pioneering narratives of late Ottoman Turkish literature. It has two known editions: *Matbaa-i Bahriye* (the Navy Institute Press) published the seventy-two-page edition in 1910 in Istanbul, and the forty-four-page edition was published by *Hilal Matbaası* (the Crescent Press) without a publication date or place of publication (Birinci 2001: 285).[67] Despite the fact that both editions were published anonymously, literary circles of the period freely speculated that

[67] In my analysis, I will refer to the seventy-two-page edition.

Mehmed Rauf was the author. Mehmed Rauf was one of the most outstanding novelists of Ottoman Turkish literature; he was renowned for the first psychological novel *Eylül* (September), which was published in 1901. His literary skill is evident in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, which has a plain style and uses colourful language. Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu counts this novel as the first example of Ottoman Turkish adultery literature and argues that if "pornographic" parts are removed, it can be a good read (1967: 54). After *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, Mehmed Rauf's laureateship profoundly fell into disrepute (Tarım 1992: 43). It is often claimed that he wrote this "half-pornographic" novel just to make money and to deal with his economic difficulties (Karaosmanoğlu 1969: 22). İrvin Cemil Schick indicates that *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* is "narrated by a self-confessed rake, and Mehmed Rauf's contemporaries had no doubt that it was autobiographical" (2011: 214). The novel had a large audience when it was published. It sold out very quickly and earned a lot of money for the author and publisher. It was hand-copied and rented out to readers for prices ranging from ten to twenty even to fifty *kuruş* overnight. Its audience interestingly consisted of both men and women (Çapanoğlu 1967: 54). A woman reader from İzmir, Besime Hanım, even proposed to Mehmed Rauf after reading the novel (Birinci 2001: 287).

Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi was banned and recalled from the market on the 21st May 1910.[68] It is one of the few books that were prohibited during the period after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. Burcu Karahan points out that the reason for the prohibition might have been its profane language rather than its erotic plot. On the 28th May 1910, Mehmed Rauf sent a letter to the newspaper *Sâdâ-yı Millet* (Voice of the Nation) and denied that he was the author of the novel (2009: 175, 165). Nevertheless, he was taken

[68] For the decision of its recall in Latin script see Birinci, Ali. "Müstehcenlik Tartışmaları Tarihinde 'Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi'." *Tarih Yolunda: Yakın Mazînin Siyasî ve Fikrî Ahvalî*. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2001: 286.

to *Divan-ı Harb-ı Örfi* (the military court), as he was in the army at the time. In the court, Mehmed Rauf stated that he had compiled and translated it (Karakışla 2001: 20). Nevertheless, he did not indicate the source text for *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* (Karahan-Richardson 2011: 153). He was discharged from the army and sentenced to prison for eight months. The owner of *Hilal Matbaası*, Asım Bey and the distributor Ziya Bey were fined as well (Karakışla 2001: 20-21). After being discharged from the army, Mehmed Rauf continued writing erotic novels for money, none of which attained the success of his acclaimed canonical work *Eylül.*

Considering nineteenth-century translation practices in Ottoman Turkish literature, Burcu Karahan remarks that what Mehmed Rauf meant by "translation" is the imitation and adaptation of a foreign text (2009: 165). In fact, *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* is an adaptation of a French erotic novel *Le Roman de Violette*. It was also published anonymously and without a publication date in Belgium like many other nineteenth-century French erotic texts. Identifying the author of this French novel proved even more difficult than assigning authorship to its Ottoman Turkish adaptation. It had been assigned to several authors: Théophile Gautier (1811-1872), Victor Hugo (1802-1885), Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893), Alexandre Dumas père (1802-1870), and Marquise de Mannoury d'Ectot (1815-1899). Burcu Karahan-Richardson argues that *Le Roman de Violette* is a decadent lesbian story written from a female perspective. The extensive "female sensitivity", which distinguishes itself from usual erotica motifs concerning the selection of words, the changing positions in power relations etc., strengthened the possibility that *Le Roman de Violette* was written by a female author. Marquise de Mannoury d'Ectot was broadly accepted as the author of *Le*

Roman de Violette published in 1883 (2011: 156).[69] By comparing *Le Roman de Violette* to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, Karahan examines the ways in which Mehmed Rauf Ottomanised the French novel and how the narrative became estranged from its original author and genre (2009: 164). Although these two narratives are quite similar in terms of basic structure, as Karahan argues, Mehmed Rauf transformed *Le Roman de Violette* into a pornographic narrative told from a male perspective (2009: 174).

Reading *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* from within *Le Roman de Violette*

In her article "The Frame of Reference: Poe, Lacan, Derrida", Barbara Johnson analyses three texts – Edgar Allan Poe's short story *The Purloined Letter*, Jacques Lacan's reading of Poe's short story, and Jacques Derrida's reading of Lacan's reading of Poe's short story – in order to explore different modes of reading. She argues that any reading of the aforementioned texts would transform some of their elements while repeating the others in a sequence that is not fixed. This unfixed sequence creates "certain regular effects" whose functioning and structure constitute the basis of her reading of these texts. Johnson indicates that each of the texts both presents itself and the others, and also demonstrates "the fallacies" that are intrinsic to any kind of "presentation" of a text. These fallacies form essential elements in modes of reading (2014: 57-58). Hence, Johnson does not aim to validate the intersection of Lacan's and Derrida's readings of Poe's short story; instead, she draws attention to "how they miss each other" in terms of understanding, and the ways in which this missing makes room for interpretation (2014: 67). Accordingly, she turns Poe, Lacan, and Derrida into an allegory of modes of reading a text. In this respect, the text does not exist through its meaning, but

[69] Marquise de Mannoury d'Ectot wrote two other erotic novels; *Mémoires secrets d'un tailleur pour dames* (1880) and *Les Cousines de la colonelle* (1881), which are stories of the immorality of noble women (Karahan 2009:168).

through its reading. Reading becomes a way of establishing a relationship with the text, which is framed by the reader. Thus, thanks to its reader, the text turns out to be *performative*, rather than being *constative* [my emphasis] (Johnson 2014: 93).

Drawing on Johnson's reading, Mehmed Rauf's reading and framing of *Le Roman de Violette* is significant in the formation of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*. Here, his position as the reader of *Le Roman de Violette* allows us to scrutinise the ways in which Mehmed Rauf's reading transformed certain elements in the narration of *Le Roman de Violette* while repeating others in the sequence. In this chapter, my reading forms the basis for demonstrating how *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* presents itself and *Le Roman de Violette* including the "fallacies" of its representation – as Johnson suggests. Apart from Mehmed Rauf's framing of *Le Roman de Violette*, through his reading I move Johnson's discussion forward and demonstrate the adaptation process of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* as a cultural appropriation.

Although Julie Sanders regards adaptation and appropriation as intersecting and interrelating activities, she argues for maintaining certain distinctions between adaptation and appropriation based on the fidelity to source text (2009: 26). Pascal Niklas and Oliver Linder fundamentally suggest that adaptation and appropriation are not two divergent processes, but rather that appropriation was simply a part of adaptation (2012: 5-6). Linda Hutcheon refers to the term adaptation both as a product and as a process (2006: 7). Adaptation as a product is a transposition of a particular work or works adapted from one medium or genre to another, or a change of frame, and – implicitly – context. Moreover, adaptation as a double process invariably contains both (re)interpretation and (re)creation that "has been called both appropriation and salvaging" and that these are contingent on the perspective (Hutcheon 2006: 20, 7-8). In the process of adaptation, many

different factors such as ideological, social, historical, cultural, personal, and aesthetic ones come into play (Hutcheon 2006: 108). Correspondingly, some change is inevitable and it could come from the adapter, the audience, the contexts of reception and creation (Hutcheon 2006: 142). This transculturation or indigenisation could change the meaning and impact of narratives thoroughly from the adapted text to the transcultural adaptation including racial and gender politics (Hutcheon 2006: xvi, 147). Thus, appropriation as a part of adaptation functions as a tool that manifests cultural differences.

Along similar lines, Mehmed Rauf is very selective when it comes to the adaptation of *Le Roman de Violette* as a cultural and literary appropriation. As Hutcheon puts, adaptation "is both an interpretive and a creative act; it is storytelling as both rereading and rerelating" (2006: 111). As well, *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* has an extra layer that demonstrates the ways in which Mehmed Rauf interprets *Le Roman de Violette* as its reader, and then adapts and appropriates it to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* as its author. Therefore, this chapter proceeds on my reading of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, which is based on Mehmed Rauf's reading of *Le Roman de Violette*. In this way, I scrutinise the understanding of lesbian sexuality and its abnegation in the process of adaptation and appropriation of *Le Roman de Violette* in terms of Ottoman heteronormativity.

Biased Adaptation: Sacrificing Lesbianism on the Altar of Heteronormativity

The preface to *Le Roman de Violette* presents itself as a fiction. Marquise de Mannoury d'Ectot distances herself from her text (Karahan 2009: 172). The fictional author who is also the character-bound narrator, Christian, begins to speak:

> I have spent thousands of years in this earthly world, it would appear, and the spiritualistic component of my own being must have been successively transmitted in the continuity of human creatures, before it became my privilege to be one of the denizens of the planet of Mars, my present dwelling. (2012, Preface)[70]

Instead of a more spiritual distinction between the "earthly world" and afterlife, Christian displaces afterlife to another planet, namely Mars. This displacement undermines the conventional spiritual expectations of the aftermath to the "earthly world". Besides, the choice of the fictional author's name, Christian, subversively refers to Christianity, which, according to David M. Carr, "often has dealt with this tension by denying earthly desire" (2003: 86). Although the expression "continuity of human creatures" brings procreation and sexuality – ostensibly an earthly desire – to mind, Christian juxtaposes sexuality and spirituality and states that the spiritualistic part of his being provided the lineage. Furthermore, Carr underlines the link between sexuality and spirituality by arguing that they are not incompatible, but "intricately interwoven" (2003: 10). Even so, Christian's sexuality transcends the religious convention in the narrative and does not remain limited to procreation, as Christian doctrine requires. For this reason, the character-bound narrator Christian acknowledges the sins he committed during his "terrestrial incarnations". He associates these sins with his "most gratified feelings" for women in general and Violette in particular:

[70] I use the English translation of *Le Roman de Violette*. See Alexander Dumas, *The Romance of Violette*, Kindle Ed., The Library of Alexandria, 2012.

> She who now receives my slumbering sensations, numbed, alas, by the ethereal poetry of the ambient atmosphere in which I breathe when on earth, went by euphonious name of Violette. She gave me all the joys of that paradise promised to the faithful by Mahomet, and when she died my grief was unspeakable. (2012, Preface)

Violette, who used to be a virgin before meeting with Christian, substitutes heavenly pleasures and the promises of afterlife on earth. The reference to "Mahomet", the prophet Muhammad, shows that this substitution by means of sexual intercourse alters the idea that the afterlife is superior to life on earth. Hence, spirituality and earthly sexuality are considered equal.

In the fictionalised preface, Christian also specifies the target audience. He makes it explicit that *Le Roman de Violette* is not appropriate for "young ladies". He addresses the audience as follows:

> […] squeamish reader, and you, bashful lady, who are fearful of calling a spade a spade, you have had due warning; therefore tarry you a while, or else go no further, for these pages were not designed for you.
>
> Let only those follow me, who understand love, and practise thy sweet science, O voluptas! (2012, Preface)

On the other hand, the preface to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* is mostly based on the socio-political realities of the period when it was written. Mehmed Rauf addresses the audience only as the author of the narrative, and he does not identify himself with the narrator. He criticises *hommes de lettres* who write mostly about the cabinet, the parliament and the CUP in newspapers, thereby depriving the audience of literary works. Differently

from Christian, who elucidates his reason for writing as recalling his most delightful memories of his "earthly life", Mehmed Rauf explains his intention in writing the novel by stating that he wants to write a story that will give pleasure to audiences who have become tired of reading political texts. Yet, his story would turn into being political after all, since it is very relevant to sexual politics in the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. Aware of the possible critiques his work might receive, he starts a discussion about morality and manners. In this respect, he demonstrates a positivistic attitude that explains the woman-man relation through the filter of sexual urge (Gündüz 2013: 402). Besides, Mehmed Rauf indicates that morality and manners were invented to dominate people. In spite of this, he suggests that morality should reflect one of the indisputable needs of human nature, namely sexuality.

In *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, there is also a distinction between the earthly world and the afterlife:

> As the expression of our grandmothers, "Tomorrow in afterlife" if we receive a question as "What did you do on earth?" by God, what could we give as an answer? Of course many of us cannot say more than "I worked, ate, drank and slept!"; then there is no doubt that this community will tell these men "What a pity, such a shame, you have lived vainly!". Whoever could say "I have loved and have been loved" he is worthy of esteem; because only that man thoroughly understood and lived his life by appreciating his descend to earth! (5)[71]

[71] Büyükannelerimizin tabirince "Yarın ahirette" Cenab-ı Hak tarafından bize "Dünyada ne yaptınız?" diye bir sual vârid olsa ne cevap verebiliriz? Tabii birçoklarımız "Çalıştım, yedim, içtim ve uyudum!" sözlerinden başka bir şey söyleyemez; o zaman halkın bu adamlara "Vah vah, yazık etmişsin, beyhude yaşamışsın!" diyeceğine şüphe olmasın. Kim ki "Sevdim ve

Mehmed Rauf favours love over other earthly actions.[72] Nevertheless, the form of love he favours is not clear here. Considering the erotic motifs in the narrative, I suggest that he refers to sexual love though he also combines it with spirituality. The questions of loving and being loved also function to determine the target audience. Mehmed Rauf seems to agree with the fictional author Christian and makes it explicit that *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* is written for men who know how to love and be loved. The novel is not for young girls, or mothers, nor the ones who are morally as paranoid and fanatic as women. This statement suggests that moral sensitivity is attributed to womanhood. Furthermore, he also refers to Napoleon's famous saying about money and suggests that the world does not rotate around money, but rather focuses on a hole that is the reason for our existence in universe. The hole he refers to and rhapsodises over is the female genitalia. Mehmed Rauf likens female genitalia to "a unique, elegant flower", and he describes it as "women's most heart-robbing and pleasant device of lust" [*kadınların en dilsûz ve nûşin alet-i şehvetleri olan bu emsalsiz, latif çiçektir*] (6). He claims that in the East and in the West, from India to China and even to wild African clans, female genitalia is the only reason why life and the universe exist:

> If that hole did not exist, neither you nor me would exist in this world today, if it did not exist, nothing would exist in the world; even the

sevildim!" diyebilirse işte o şayan-ı tebriktir; çünkü ancak o adam hayatı hakkıyla anlamış, niçin dünyaya geldiğini takdir ederek yalnız o yaşamıştır!

[72] Similar lines appear in the very first pages of *Le Roman de Violette*: "These men in their passage through life, eat, drink and sleep; they indeed beget children, but they will never be able to say: "I have loved!" And surely is there anything worth living for, unless it be love?" (2012, Chapter One)

> world would not exist; nothing, nothing would exist; neither working, nor development, nor civilisation, and not even life… (7)[73]

On the one hand, the reference to Napoleon's saying about money emphasises the supremacy of spirituality over against materialism. On the other hand, Mehmed Rauf tries to prove that female genitalia are essential to materialistic progress. He also despises other authors who are not brave enough to write about this important and current theme of female genitalia. Mehmed Rauf praises the power of female genitalia by arguing that everyone is powerless and weak against them. However, contrary to what its author claims in the preface, *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* turns out – in fact – to be a praise of masculine potency (Karahan 2009: 172).

Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi starts with an inclusive sentence that intends to forge a link with the putative Ottoman men who are the target audience according to the preface: "I do not know if everyone is like me" [*Bilmem herkes de benim gibi midir*] (8). The male character-bound narrator immediately begins a 'manly' talk about women and describes how he becomes distracted in front of a beautiful woman (Karahan-Richardson 2011: 162-163):

> […] when I see a woman I like at first sight, I can visualise her body naked by using a little imagination; and in front of this beautiful scenery, I start watching the most eye-pleasing and provocative parts of this body for hours with great pleasure and lust. Especially, [certain body] parts envisage with their utmost glory and sovereignty, roundness of breasts like silver, seducing folds of hips, and, oh I

[73] O delik olmasaydı, bugün ne sen, ne de ben bu dünyada mevcut olmayacaktık, o olmasaydı, dünyada hiçbir şey olmayacaktı; hatta dünya olmayacaktı; hiç, hiçbir şey, ne çalışmak, ne terakki, ne medeniyet, hatta ne de hayat olmayacaktı…

> cannot write without shivering, and [that] beautiful womanhood flower. Is there anything else than this flower, even its dream gives cheerfulness to eyes by its innocent shape and I can never look at it long enough? Most particularly, if it is ornamented by shiny, colourful and arousing hair like flower petals… (8)[74]

As in the preface, Mehmed Rauf compares vaginas and pubic hair to flowers and petals respectively. Similar comparisons are repeated throughout the narrative. After his lustful daydreams about beautiful women, he begins to focus on a woman he sees on the Haydarpaşa ferry. According to Karahan-Richardson, this part of the narrative clearly demonstrates the difficulty that comes when one is translating and writing themes concerning love in an Ottoman context that are not equivalent to European kinds of love (2011: 163). Mehmed Rauf occupies the narrator with the issue of gender segregation in public spaces. He makes the narrator pose a rhetorical question: "Where do we encounter women at most in our lives? Either on ferries, or at the bridge, or in trains, don't we?" [*Bizim hayatımızda kadınlara en çok nerede rast gelinir? Ya vapurlarda, ya Köprü'de, ya şimendiferlerde değil mi?*] (9). Ze'evi points out the implications of technological innovations such as the steam engine and the train as well as new structures such as the Galata Bridge in the nineteenth-century shadow theatre plays (2006: 133). My assertion is that "the bridge" that Mehmed Rauf mentions is also the Galata Bridge. Although it is mostly used as a satirical symbol for Istanbul's

[74] […] hoşuma giden bir kadın görür görmez, ufak bir cehd ve tasavvurla, onun vücudunu çıplak olarak gözümün önüne getirebilirim; ve bu manzara-i letâfet huzurunda, bu vücudun en nazar-nevâz, en arzu-engiz kısımlarını kemal-i zevk ve şehvetle saatlerce seyr ü temaşaya dalarım. Bilhassa nazarımda olanca haşmet ve saltanatıyla tecessüm eden noktalar, göğsünün tedevvür-i sîmîni, kalçalarının şekl-i dil-firîbi, ve, ah titremeden yazamıyorum, ve şükûfe-i nisvâniyetidir. Bu şükûfenin hayalen bile olsun karşısından, nazarı tezyin eden şekl-i masumu kadar seyrine doyulmaz başka bir şey var mıdır? Bahusus, üstünü bir taç-ı muhteşem ve garrâ gibi, rengîn ve emel-nevâz tüyler tezyin ederse…

urban transformation both in cartoons and in shadow theatre plays (Brummett 2000a: 271), here it represents one of those rare public spaces where the encounter with the opposite sex is possible.

The narrator intensifies the gender segregation by using the pronouns "we" and "they" for men and women respectively:

> I generally look at mansions that come my way I think of the beautiful and stunning bodies of women who spend their lives behind these windows and how much I feel sorry about our lives we spend away from them and they spend away from us... (10)[75]

He writes a letter to the woman on the ferry through which he touches on another implication of gender segregation in Ottoman society: "there is no possibility to fall in love without letters in our lives" [*bizim hayatımızda mektupsuz aşk olmak imkanı yoktur*] (11). The narrator compares Ottoman society with European societies in terms of socialising with the opposite sex. He states that differently from Europe, in Ottoman society, a letter functions as a way of formally introducing two members of the opposite sex to each other. Additionally, the narrator notes that in Europe even after being introduced, these two people do not talk about love for weeks, even for months. However, in Ottoman society, he argues, if a woman answers a letter written by a man, it is not different from saying "I am yours, do whatever you want to do to me!" [*Ben seninim, ne istersen yap!*] (11). He does not find sincere those who talk about topics other than lust or love with the opposite sex. The narrator feels thankful that Ottoman people do not subject themselves to this torment. According to him, the only women that men

[75] Ben ekseriya gördüğüm köşklere bakarken bu pencerelerin arkasında sarf-ı hayat eden güzel ve müstesna kadın vücutlarını düşünür ve onların bizden ve bizim kendilerinden uzak geçirdiğimiz hayatımıza ne kadar teellüm ederim...

encounter are either their relatives or others whom one is allowed to love and lust over the instant that men encounter them – for these are women who do not keep themselves from men. Although he criticises Ottoman homosociality due to gender segregation in public spaces, he appreciates its easiness, which throws two people from the opposite sex together straightforwardly.

He sends three letters to the woman on the ferry. However, he does not get a reply until the third one. In the third letter, the narrator writes that he would be very happy and hopeful if she were to come to a rendezvous with him. She comes to the rendezvous point and gives him a letter:

> Sir,
> I regret to upset you with this letter; although I appreciate your commitment and affection towards me, I hereby declare that there is no possibility of there being any kind of relationship between us; because I am so disgusted by men, I cannot accept even the ones who are exceptional like you. I am certain that along with [this letter] that presents my sincerity I will earn your forgiveness.
> Farewell and respect. (15)[76]

He is devastated after reading the letter. While questioning the reason why she might dislike men, he has an epiphany and realises that this woman, who has a delightful and beautiful body, is also one of "those". At this juncture, "those" turns out to refer to lesbians. I contend that the enunciation of her

[76] Beyefendi,
Sizi mektubumla meyus ettiğime çok esef ederim; hakkımda gösterdiğiniz merbutiyet ve muhabbete çok minnettar olmakla beraber, aramızda hiçbir rabıtanın ihtimali olmadığını beyan ederim; çünkü erkeklerden o kadar müteneffirim ki sizin gibi müstesnalarını bile kabul edemem. Affımı şu gösterdiğim hulûs ile kazanacağıma eminim.
Veda ve hürmet

sexual orientation immediately after the discussion on gender segregation is not a coincidence. As I have argued in the beginning of this chapter, heterosexuality began to become a dominant sexual orientation in the nineteenth century. Thereafter, same-sex love and intimacy previous to the nineteenth century have been explained as the result of the absence of women in public sphere. In his narrative, Mehmed Rauf essentialises opposite-sex intimacies like Ahmed Cevdet Paşa.

Up to this point, the narrative does not bear resemblance to its French original. Mehmed Rauf problematises certain socio-cultural issues in Ottoman society and prepares the ground for the rest of the narrative that depicts the story from a male perspective. In doing so, he segregates men from women, the Ottoman Empire from Europe, and heterosexuals from homosexuals. Each of these segregations helps the narrator to identify himself with regard to the expected and desired image of Ottoman men. The narrator takes a stand on heterosexuality, and more specifically masculinity by setting homosexuality and femininity apart.

After learning that the woman on the ferry is a lesbian, in order to console himself he decides to visit one of his friends. When he arrives, a young girl – one of the relatives of his friend – opens the door. This young girl was orphaned after the deaths of her parents one after the other, and she was obliged to seek refuge in his friend's house. The narrator describes her body based on their previous encounter that was ten days before his current visit:

> […] this girl has a very beautiful and seductive face over her thin body, this charm cannot be even found in an untouched white lily that magnificently waves over its stem. Besides, this girl, whose innocence is self-evident, has promising and willing glances that

> struck me with lust and passion in my visit, which was a week ago; furthermore, the part of her blouse, which coincides with her chest, has spectacular and stimulating folds and draws a beautiful and flowery picture that while walking, these two pearl breasts as if swathed by two big chrysanthemums, move seductively […] (17)[77]

Apart from comparing her body to nature, the narrator relates the way he feels in front of her body also to a natural event. Her body makes him feel as if his presence had been struck by lightning and thunderstorms. Ultimately, her sexual attraction becomes a consolation for the narrator who has been rejected that very day. He wants to take revenge on the woman on the ferry by approaching this young girl, Zanbak. The narrator thinks that she would immediately accept his sexual invitation, since her tempting and promising glances were the expressions of her struggle with the need of love in her soul and the passion in her body. Yet, the narrator hesitates over seducing a fifteen-year-old girl. Zanbak's eroticised virginity ends the narrator's internal feud with a decision to have sex with her. He holds her hands and pulls her to himself and wants to touch his lips to her cheeks. In the meantime, he accidentally touches her breast, which so

> […] resiliently shoved my hand that I was surprised. My whole body was shaken by this only touch; on earth there are indeed women, who

[77] [...] bu kızın ince bir vücud üzerinde o kadar latif ve pür-mana-yı şuhî bir çehresi var idi ki, sakının üstünde ebyaziyyet-i bakiranesi ile kemal-i ihtişamla sallanan bir zambakta bu letafet belki bulunamaz. Sonra, bu masum olduğundan şüphe edilemeyecek olan kızın nazarları o kadar pür-vaad ve pür-hâhiş idi ki, bir hafta evvelki ziyaretimde, hâbide ruhumu derin bir sadme-i şehvet ve iştiyak ile sarsmıştı; sonra arkasında bluzun göğsü, memelerin hizasına gelen ciheti o kadar câlib-i nazar ve iştihâ bir tedevvür, o kadar latif bir teressüm izhâr ediyordu, yürürken, büyük iki krizantem şekliyle göğsünü ihâta etmiş olan iki inci meme o kadar müstesna sallanıyordu [...]

> have received from nature the fascinating gift of exciting sensual desires at the slightest touch. (19-20)[78]

After a short foreplay, which was "like as if she understood the reason of coming into the world," [*dünyaya geldiğinin sebebini anlamış gibiydi*] (20). The narrator and Zanbak tryst for the night. This is the part where *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* intersects with *Le Roman de Violette*, a novel that has a more straightforward beginning. After briefly mentioning his mistress whom he was not happy with, the character-bound narrator Christian begins to recount his encounter with Violette who used to work in the same apartment building where he lives. She escapes from the husband of her employer Monsieur Beruchet's sexual harassment and seeks refuge in Christian's house. Christian takes her to his bedroom and looks at her body attentively. Although he is charmed by the same kind of accidental touch, he initially allows Violette to explain how she is scared of Monsieur Beruchet.

When Zanbak and the narrator meet in the dead of night, Zanbak tells her life story which had been spent in reduced circumstances and orphanhood. Differently from Violette, Zanbak was not harassed sexually; the wives of the house exposed her to physical violence. She makes it clear that her only expectation is to rescue herself from this house, and she pins her faith on the narrator. Hanne Blank notes that "the virgin as an erotic object" has emerged in the modern period starting from the sixteenth century onwards. Classicised virgins were represented as sexually appealing and beyond reach – such as Athena whose rank and classical otherworldliness protect her virginity. On the contrary, lower-class virgins like the Servant Girl, who was as sexually appealing as Athena but did not have a similar

[78] […] o kadar salâbet ve elastikiyetle elimi itti ki, hayret ettim. Yalnız bu temasla bütün vücudum sarsılmıştı; dünyada öyle kadınlar vardır ki, tabiattan kendilerine temas edilir edilmez tahrik-i şehvet etmek sihir ve kuvvetini ahz etmişlerdir.

privilege, was worldly and her virginity was accessible. Although lower-class virgins frequently resisted aspiring seducers, their poverty and illiteracy made them defenceless against sexual predators (2008: 199-201).

In order to spend many nights instead of one with her, the narrator asks her to stay in his house. In return, Zanbak hugs his neck, and they kiss. The narrator caresses her teeth and tongue with the tip his tongue. Zanbak closes her eyes by unconsciously throwing her head back, with a shaky and deep voice:

- Oh, how sweet!... […] But only your kisses are sweet this much! I wonder if everyone kisses like this?
- The ones who love each other kiss like this… […]
- Ah, is that all? […] That is strange… It seemed like I used to feel different desires. As if this kiss – no matter how good it is – is only the beginning of love... […] It is not possible to describe… A complacency I have felt in my whole body, and a felicity sometimes I have sensed in my dreams… […]
- Then it means I am the first man who ever kissed you.
- Yes, my father used to kiss me but it was different.
- Then you are a virgin...
- What does virgin mean? (23-24)[79]

[79]- Oh, ne tatlı!… […] Lakin yalnız sizin buseleriniz bu kadar tatlı! Herkes de böyle mi öper acaba?
- Birbirini sevenler böyle öpüşürler…[…]
- Ay, bu kadarcık mı? […] Bu tuhaf… Bana başka arzular hissediyorum gibi gelir idi. Sanki bu buse ne kadar iyi olursa olsun aşkın başlangıcı gibi bir şey… […] Tarifi mümkün değil ki… Bütün vücudumda bir rehavet, bazen rüyalarımda hissettiğim bir saadet… […]
- Demek size öpen ilk erkek benim.
- Evet, babam da öperdi ama o başka türlü idi.
- Demek bakiresiniz…
- Bakire ne demek?

This conversation is a direct translation from *Le Roman de Violette*. When it comes to Zanbak's ignorance of the meaning of being a virgin, the narrator

> took a pity on this innocence who fully gave up and turned herself over to me, more precisely I respected her; it felt like it would be a murder to steal this treasure of nature, which she unknowingly obtained, like a thief from her. (24)[80]

In *Le Roman de Violette*, the association of defloration with a "crime" – not specifically with a "murder" – presumably symbolises a medieval crime called "raptus" which might be translated as rape, and it literally means "the theft of a woman" (Blank 2008: 155).

Neither Christian nor Mehmed Rauf's narrator sleeps with these young virgin girls the very same night, and both of them explain why they did not, as follows:

> Undoubtedly my audience understood why I postponed taking advantage of this happiness starting from that night; however if a woman who does not know men and refinement of these affairs very well, accidentally reads these lines and wonders, I take to give the necessary information as my duty.
>
> Beyond any doubt, it was not apathy that prevented me from taking pleasure, yet this poor girl was only a fifteen-year-old innocent child, [and] she was an innocent to the extent that possessing her without making her aware of it would be deemed as a real murder; and then, please get it known that I am a man who wants to taste all

[80] Kendisini bana bu kadar kâmilen terk ve teslim eden bu masumiyete acıdım, daha doğrusu hürmet ettim; bana öyle geldi ki, malik olduğuna vakıf olmadığı bu hazine-i tabiatı bir hırsız gibi kendisinden almak bir cinayet olacaktı.

> fineness, the most gentle pleasures and the elegant lust of these pleasures one by one; and innocence is such a flower that, it should be kept in its pot as long as possible and even if it is picked it has to be picked leaf by leaf; a rosebud needs a week to bloom. (25-26)[81]

Likening virginity to blooming is an old custom, it is not unique to Marquise de Mannoury d'Ectot or Mehmed Rauf. Virginity is defined in *Hali Meiđhad* (Holy Maidenhood, written 1190–1230) as

> the blossom which, if it is once completely cut off, will never grow again (but though it may wither sometimes through indecent thoughts, it can grow green again nevertheless). (Salih 2003: 23)[82]

When Zanbak moves to the narrator's house the next day, he recommends that she take a bath. After the bath, when he sees her within a bathrobe that exposes one of her breasts, he caresses it. Later, he extends his hand between her legs and becomes very excited in the moment during which he feels a pile of hair that is fine and flossy. I contend that the description of pubic hair functions to legitimise Zanbak's sexual maturity and readiness to sexual intercourse. Already, by means of this slight touch, Zanbak's body

[81] Şüphesiz kârilerim niçin bu saadetten bu geceden itibaren istifadede teehhürü lazım gördüğümü anlamışlardır; fakat kazara bir hanım şu satırları okuyup da bunu merak ederse, erkekleri ve bu mesâilin gavâmızını çok iyi bilmediğinden ona bu mesele hakkında kafi derecede izahat vermeyi bir vazife bilirim.

Şüphesiz, bu zevkten beni men eden şey arzusuzluk değildi, lakin bu kızcağız henüz on beş yaşında bir çocuk, kendini verdiğini bilmeksizin ona temellük etmek bir hakiki cinayet addedilecek kadar masum bir kız idi; ve sonra, lütfen bilinsin ki, ben aşkın bütün inceliklerini, en nazik zevklerini, ve zevkin en ince şehvetlerini ayrı ayrı tatmak isteyen bir adamım; ve masumiyet öyle bir çiçektir ki, sakında mümkün olduğu kadar fazla bırakmak ve koparılırsa bile yaprak yaprak koparmak lazımdır; bir gonca bazen inkişâf için bir hafta vakit ister.

[82] See Bella Millet, and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds. *Hali Meiđhad (Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and Ancrene Wisse)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990: 2-44.

becomes tense and startled. Her reaction proves to the narrator the extent to which her body comes into the world entirely for love and lust. Zanbak's sensitivity seduces him; he smells her vagina through a deep and long kiss. He places his mouth on her vagina and his "greedy lips" come into contact with a "feverish virginity".

Zanbak enjoys the narrator's exposure to her virginity and associates the pleasure she receives with death: "Oh my God… I died I am devastated…" [*Ah yarabbim… Öldüm, harap oldum…*] (33). At the same time, she senses that what they have done is something "wicked". Herein, the widely debated question of losing one's virginity takes place through a dialogue about womanhood – being a *tabiatın kadını* (woman of nature) and a *heyet-i içtimaiyenin kadını* (woman of society) – that starts between the narrator and Zanbak:

> When earth had been formed and women descended to earth beyond any doubt God accorded the same rights to women as he did to men. […] Man initially led off with family, he found a partner [for himself], woman had children; a few families gathered at somewhere, they constituted a clan, five-six clans gained a footing, they became socialised; in order to conduct and ensure an order of this society many laws were deemed necessary; here it is women's captivities and disasters had started since then. Because if [those] women were strong then, today the entire world still would be obliged to live according to their pleasure, that is to say laws that they enacted; however, since men are strong, due to the law which requires domination belongs to the strong one, women endured captivity… The law imposed on young ladies is the law of virginity, as to women is faithfulness. In other words, men of those times obligated young

> ladies to be virgins and women to be faithful in order to use them as they wish. While indoctrinating these laws to women as a result of their selfishness, men preserved their right to satisfy their desires; but in doing so, they did not think that they would exclude women from what had been determined for them. Here it is, women who forgot their soundness and tried to make men happy could not find anything other than shame as a quite painful lesson. (34-35)[83]

Zambak finds this very unjust, and the narrator continues:

> Yes, of course… Indeed it is a very big injustice, for this reason, some women raged and rebelled against this captivity and this injustice; they said that; "What does the society give me in return to this bondage life? Marrying a man whom I certainly cannot love, doesn't it? A man who gets hold of me at the age of eighteen, incarcerates me for his benefit, and makes me unhappy for my entire life… In that case, I prefer to live for my own pleasure, against social pressures, and do whatever I would like to do freely. Then, I will not be the woman of social pressures, but of nature." Here it is my dear, what we

[83] Dünya kurulduğu ve kadın dünyaya geldiği zaman şüphesiz Hâlik kadınlara da erkeklere bahşettiği hukuku kâmilen vermişti. [...] Erkek evvela aile ile işe başladı, karı buldu, kadının çocukları oldu; birkaç aile bir yere toplandılar, bir kabile teşkil ettiler, beş altı kabile bir yere geldi, bir heyet-i ictimâiye yaptılar; bu heyet-i ictimâiye muntazaman idare olunmak için birtakım kanunlara lüzum görüldü; işte kadınların esaret ve felaketleri o zamandan itibaren başladı. Çünkü o zaman kadınlar kuvvetli olsaydılar, bugün bütün dünya hala onların keyfini, yani onların koydukları kanunları takibe mecbur olacaklardı; halbuki, erkekler kuvvetli olduklarından, el-hükmü limen galebe kaidesine riayete mecbur kalan kadınlar da esarete katlandılar… Genç kızlara cebr edilen kanun bekaret, kadınlara cebr edilen kanun ise sadakat oldu. Yani o zamanın erkekleri kadınları istedikleri gibi kullanmak için genç kızları bakir[e] ve kadınları sadık kalmaya mecbur tutular. Erkekler, kadınlara bu kanunları vazʿ ve telkin ederken hodkâmlıklarının neticesi olarak, kendi ihtiraslarını istedikleri gibi teskin etmek hakını muhafaza etmişlerdi, fakat düşünmemişlerdi ki böyle yaparken, yani kendi ihtiraslarini kemal-i serbesti ile teskin ederlerken, kadınları da kendilerine tayin edilmiş vazifeden harice çıkaracaklar. İşte kendi selametlerini unutarak erkekleri mesut etmeye kalkan kadınlar gayet acı bir ders olmak üzere, ayıp ve hacâletten başka bir şey bulmadılar.

> just have done is wicked according to [judgements of] the society, but it is quite good and legitimate according to [law of] nature; because it is a satisfaction of our desires. Did you understand now? (35-36)[84]

This dialogue, which is shorter in *Le Roman de Violette*, functions to demonstrate the way in which a patriarchal society limits and forces women to behave according to certain rules and social pressures. The ones who follow these rules are called women of society, and the others are called women of nature. Similar to Zanbak's body and her innocence as well as the narrator's sexual arousal that have previously communed with nature, virginity and its loss are also discussed in relation to nature and justified by sexual instincts. Both Christian and Mehmed Rauf's narrator explain the social rules in society in a similar manner and ask Violette and Zanbak to decide what kind of women they want to become – a woman of nature or a woman of society. Both decide to be a woman of nature.

Zanbak declares that she wants to read and learn more, and again asks the narrator the meaning of being a virgin. The narrator defines virginity as "not ever being loved by a man":

> - There are different kinds of love, my angel… This morning I have loved you, although it was very sweet […] it cannot deflower your virginity. […] Virginity is a material and spiritual situation that is unique to young ladies like you who did not have any lover.

[84] Evet, elbette… Bu hakikaten büyük bir haksızlıktır, bunun için bazı kadınlar bu esarete, bu haksızlığa hiddetlendiler, isyan ettiler; dediler ki; "heyet-i ictimâiye bana cebr ettiği esarete mukabil ne veriyor? Şüphesiz sevemeyeceğim bir adamla izdivaç değil mi? Bir adam ki beni on sekiz yaşımda zapt edecek, kendi menfaatine hapsedecek, ve beni bütün hayatımca bedbaht edecek… O halde, ben kendi keyfime, heyet-i ictimâiyenin haricinde yaşamayı, hür olup istediğimi yapmayı tercih ederim. O halde, ben heyet-i ictimâiyenin değil, tabiatın kadını olacağım." İşte iki gözüm, bizim de şimdi yaptığımız şey heyet-i ictimâiyeye göre fena, fakat tabiata gayet iyi ve meşrudur; çünkü arzularımızın teskinidir. Şimdi anladın mı?

- Then what does "to be [one's] lover" mean?
- That [means] to take an action with a man, which helps the procreation of people. […] to be the lover of a woman means to come to the last letter in the alphabet of love. However, before that there are twenty-eight letters that should be learnt, the first letter is kissing.
- Oh, which letter was what you have done this morning? (39-40)[85]

Then, the narrator confesses that what he has done was very close to the last letter of the alphabet, as he went mad and skipped lots of letters because of his eagerness. But, he also explains that he wants to continue the alphabet of love as long as possible.

Blank suggests that virginity does not materially exist; it is invented and developed by humans, and it is socially designated (2008: 3, 5). Virginity is mainly female, and "virgins are, and always have been, almost uniformly female". Even the word "virgin" derives from the word *virgo* in Latin and stands for a girl or a never-married woman (2008: 10). In the narrative, because virginity is defined as "not being ever loved by a man" by the narrator, the loss of virginity corresponds to being loved by a man. Along these lines, the narrator explicitly and immediately refers to the insertion of a penis into a vagina, which "helps the procreation of people". As Blank writes, virginity is defined over its termination, and the loss of virginity is

[85] - Sevmek var, sevmek var meleğim…Bu sabah seni sevdim, bu her ne kadar çok tatlı idiyse de […] bekaretini izâle edemezdi. […] Bekaret, senin gibi hiçbir aşıka malik olmayan genç kızlara mahsus bir hal-i cismânî ve manevîdir.
- O halde "aşığı olmak" ne demek oluyor?
- Bu da bir erkekle, insanların çoğalmasına yardım eden bir harekette bulunmak demektir. […] bir kadının aşığı olmak saadet elifbâsında, son harfe gelmek demektir; halbuki, ondan evvel yirmi sekiz harf daha öğrenmek lazımdır ki, buse bunların ilk harfidir.
- Ay, bana bu sabah yaptığın hangi harftir?

more often than not marked by the insertion of a penis into a vagina. Yet, she poses the question of why this insertion has been regarded as the clear-cut act for the loss of virginity, especially other body parts, such as fingers, lips, breasts, tongues, anuses, etc. might be entailed in sexual activities without the need for a man and a woman. The insertion of a penis into a vagina is the only sexual activity that is not "essentially gender-neutral" and can impregnate a woman. Accordingly, Blank comes to a conclusion: virginity in relation to defloration and pregnancy is heterosexual at least in a traditional sense (2008: 9-10).

After its definition, the narrator touches on Zanbak's "virginity". Here there is an ambiguity in terminology. What the narrator actually refers to is the hymen, the existence of which was not even validated until the sixteenth-century in Europe (Blank 2008: 6). Hymen does not have an important function; like virginity, its importance is a given. As Blank asserts, where there is a vagina, there is also a hymen and "we are aware of hymens, because we are aware of something we call virginity" (Blank 2008: 33, 24). The narrator explains to Zanbak that hymen distinguishes girls from women; after its defloration, virginhood ends and womanhood begins. This distinction demonstrates the way in which the penis is given "the role of a mighty gatekeeper" that transforms a girl into a woman by means of its penetration (Ergun 2013: 277). Such a normative understanding of virginity also exists at a semantic level: the equivalent of hymen in Turkish is *kızlık zarı* (girlhood membrane), which contains the word *kız* (girl) that is frequently used as a substitute for a more medical term *bakire* meaning "female virgin" (Parla 2001: 79). This semantically normative use also shows how women's sexual prowess and sexuality are recognised only by means of virginity/hymen (Ergun 2013: 279).

By reading Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898), Jacques Derrida

highlights the liminality and the in-betweenness of the meaning of the hymen that signifies both "membrane" and archaically "marriage". As it is, "there is hymen (virginity) where there is no hymen (copulation), and there is no longer hymen (virginity) when there is hymen (marriage)". Thus, the meaning of the hymen is undecidable, "[i]t is 'both one and the other', and 'neither one nor the other'" (Descombes 1980: 151-152). Derrida speaks of the "undecidability" of the hymen, which dissents from "the either/or logic" – binary oppositions as follows (Johnson 2004: xviii):

> [T]he *hymen* is neither confusion nor distinction, neither identity nor difference, neither consummation nor virginity, neither the veil nor unveiling, neither the inside nor the outside, etc. […] [emphasis in the original] (Derrida 1981: 43)

According to Derrida, the importance of the word hymen is not in the lexical richness, in the semantic infiniteness of the word hymen or in the mutually opposite layers of its signification, but in its composition or decomposition, which stems from its "syntactical *praxis*" [emphasis in the original] (2004: 229). The hymen stands between the inside and the outside of a woman, and its undecidable meaning results in another unclear relationship – that existing between desire and fulfilment:

> It is neither desire nor pleasure but in between the two. Neither future nor present, but between the two. It is the hymen that desire dreams of piercing, of bursting, in an act of violence that is (at the same time or somewhere between) love and murder. If either one *did* take place, there would be no hymen. But neither would there simply be a hymen in (case events go) *no* place. With all the undecidability of its

> meaning, the hymen only takes place when it doesn't take place, when nothing *really* happens, when there is an all-consuming consummation without violence, or a violence without blows, or a blow without marks, a mark without a mark (a margin), etc., when the veil is, *without being*, torn, for example when one is made to die or come laughing. [emphasis in the original] (Derrida 2004: 223)

When it comes to the hymen, there is no longer any difference between desire and fulfilment (Derrida 2004: 219). Here, orgasm is achieved between the anticipated desire and its ultimate fulfilment due to the suspended spatiality and temporality of the hymen. In this respect, Derrida implicitly mentions the relationship between orgasm and death as part of his discussion about the hymen by applying to Mallarmé's work *Mimique* (1897). It refers to Paul Margueritte's (1860-1918) *Pierrot Murderer of His Wife* (1881), in which Pierrot murders his wife Columbine by tickling her to death; after her "spasmodic death", she rises from the dead and also tickles her husband to death. In the end, Columbine breaks out in laughter, which might be counted as "the moment of simultaneous pleasure and death" (Aydemir 2007: 196). Rodolphe Gasché indicates that the event narrated by the mime of *Mimique* could be considered as a hymen – the marriage of Pierrot and Columbine whose deaths due to orgasmic spasms symbolise the consummation of their marriage (1983: 164). As Derrida writes:

> […] the crime and the orgasm (what Bataille calls dying laughing and laughing [at] dying) take place such that in the final analysis what happens is nothing, no violence, no stigmata, no traces; the perfect crime in that it can be confused only with the heights of pleasure [*jouissance*] obtainable from a certain speculation. […] Here, then, is

> the apparent production of the spasm or, let us already hazard the word, of the hymen. (2004: 212-213)

Consequently, the difference between the hymen and the spasm is abolished and both the pleasurable and the murderous become undecidable (Aydemir 2007: 198). Also in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, "the moment of simultaneous pleasure and death" occurs through the narrator's first contact with Zanbak's hymen. After repeating his intention to keep Zanbak a virgin as long as possible, he reaches "the secret of womanhood," which astonishes Zanbak. When the narrator touches "the soft surface of the flower mound" with his finger, she begins to react, utters inarticulate exclamations, and sighs. When she recovers she says:

> - I am dying… […]
> - Are you dying? […] On the contrary… Actually now you are beginning to live... (43)[86]

Suddenly Zanbak gives a cry of astonishment, and seizes with both hands the unknown object – the penis – that causes her surprise, as if the veil is torn asunder. As the narrator's penis is inserted into Zanbak's vagina, she starts writhing and shaking. She says that if the narrator is afraid of hurting her, he should not be afraid. Suddenly, she shouts out with a victory cry, and later groans: "for God's sake stronger, tighter… Kill me […] I swear I am dying… Ah, ah… You take my life…" [*Allah aşkına daha kuvvetli, daha sıkı… Beni öldür […] valla billa, ölüyorum… Ay, ay… Canımı alıyorsun…*] (45).

[86] - Ben ölüyorum… […]
- Ölüyor musun? […] Bilakis… Asıl şimdi yaşamaya başlıyorsun…

The orgasm is commonly named as "the little death" (Bataille 1986: 239). During both sexual intercourse and dying, it is difficult to express strong pleasure or severe pain at a linguistic level; expression is mostly done by "onomatopoeic conglomerations of letters meant to evoke the sighs, gasps, groans, screams, and rattles concomitant to the described actions" (Gorer 1965: 174). However, the similarity between sex and death is not limited to the utterance of sounds. Georges Bataille argues, "the domain of eroticism is the domain of violence, of violation" (1986: 16). His argument applies to death as well. Philippe Ariès informs us that – in the eighteenth century – similar to sexual intercourse, death evokes the idea of transgression, which detracts people from their daily lives by having them embark on an irrational, violent, and beautiful world (1974: 57). Furthermore, Geoffrey Gorer indicates that sexual intercourse and birth were unmentionable during the Victorian period; however, when that society became sexually released from Victorian restrictions in the twentieth century, the notion of death then became less "mentionable" especially in Anglo-Saxon societies. Death replaced sex and turned into a taboo in the twentieth century (1965: 171-172). Regarding the transgressions of sex and death, Bataille draws a parallelism by giving an example from the Bible: "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not perform the carnal act except in wedlock" (1986: 42). I contend that the idea of transgression found in both death and sex appears in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*: when Zanbak asks the narrator to kill her, what she actually refers to is sexual intercourse "out-of-wedlock," which breaks the old and new taboos – sex and death. Therefore, Zanbak's transformation from a girl into a woman by piercing of the hymen leads to a transgression – the symbolic death of the virgin Zanbak.

Next morning, although the narrator wants to have sex with Zanbak again, he feels obliged to forbear, as a fresh wound crumples her. Generally,

the loss of virginity revolves around blood and pain, which are frequently counted as the signs of a penetrated hymen. For thousands of years in Europe, it has been presumed that first sexual intimacy leads to a wound in a woman's body. Indeed, defloration is a hurtful act, if not violent. Soothing baths and styptic waters to stop bleeding and reduce inflammation used to be recommended (Blank 2008: 90). Also, when Zanbak wakes up, the narrator recommends that she have a bath. In *The Taboo of Virginity*, Sigmund Freud indicates that the pain of defloration is not only physical, but there is also a deeper pain stemming from an unavoidable "psychic wound" (Blank 2008: 109). Because the loss of virginity has appeared as a transformation throughout history, from Avicenna to Freud, the wound derived from first sexual intimacy that occurs by the insertion of a penis into a vagina counted as the turning point of the life of any woman. The loss of virginity – regardless of one's gender – is assumed to be a ritual transformation "that transforms a boy into a man, a girl into a woman, a child into an adult" (Blank 2008: 90, 97). Generally speaking, the virgin little girl becomes a "sexually awakened" woman after her first sexual experience. In other words, sex turns the ignorant into the knowledgeable and the unwilling into the eager (Blank 2008: 199).

The more Zanbak gains experience in sex, the more her knowledge of different sexualities advances in the narrative. Regarding his experience two days ago, the narrator explains to her that there are some women who hate men, but have admiration for women. He also mentions the Greek lyric poet Sappho. Yet, compared to *Le Roman de Violette*, Mehmed Rauf touches only briefly on Sappho. I contend that as he is in favour of heterosexuality, he chooses not to mention Sappho and female same-sex desire in detail. Mannoury d'Ectot allocates several pages to the subject in a more historical and detailed manner. Besides, Violette advances her knowledge about female

same-sex desire by reading Théophile Gautier's famous novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835). Both Violette and Zanbak ask the same question:

> - Ah, what can women do themselves?
> - They can do what I did to you yesterday with my finger, [and] the day before yesterday with my tongue and they receive pleasure from it… As you certainly must have heard, we call these kinds of women elegants or tribades. (49-50)[87]

Here, it is significant to indicate that Mehmed Rauf's narrator does not enunciate the word "lesbian", but he prefers to use "*zürefa*" and "*sevici*", words that refer to female same-sex love and intimacy.

Following this conversation, both Violette and Zanbak remember women who have been interested in them. Violette remembers Countess Odette de Mainfroy's, one of the old clients of her employer, whereas Zambak remembers Naciye, one of the acquaintances of her aunt. Nevertheless, the ways Violette and Zanbak react to the question of lesbianism are different from each other. When Christian asks if she would be afraid of making love with a woman, Violette does not see a reason to be afraid, and she asks if Christian has a plan in his mind. He does not deny that he would "feel amused to see how a woman sets about it, to make love to another woman." Christian proposes Violette to get in contact with Countess Odette de Mainfroy. Violette asks if he would not be jealous of seeing her with a woman. Christian replies:

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[87] - Ay, kadınlar kendi kendilerine ne yapabilirler?
- Sana dün parmağımla, evvelsi gün ağzımla yaptığım şeyi birbirlerine karşı pekala yapabilir ve telezzüz ederler… Bizde de bu nevi kadınlara zürefa, yahut sevici dediklerini elbette işitmişsindir…

> Of a woman, why should I be jealous of a woman? She will only excite your amorous desires, and I shall get a much better reception when I come to satisfy them (2012, Chapter Four).

Christian does not take lesbian relations seriously, as it has been mentioned above; a 'real sexual' relation is often defined with the insertion of a penis into a vagina. In response to Christian's reply, Violette asks: "But if it were a man?" He gives a biased answer: "That's another matter. If you deceived me with a man, I should kill you!" Bataille suggests that if the lover is not able to possess the beloved, he might think of killing her rather than losing her (1986: 20). Christian has a similar inclination in the narrative.

Zambak reacts quite differently than Violette when the narrator remarks that the acquaintance of her aunt might find Zanbak sexually attractive. She says: "Oh God forbid!" Later, it turns out that the woman who likes Zanbak is the woman on the ferry, Naciye. The narrator makes a plan "to teach her a lesson" [*ona bir ders-i ibret vermek*] (51) and asks Zanbak to write a letter to her. When Naciye receives Zanbak's letter, she promises to visit her on the same day. Before Naciye arrives, the narrator hides himself inside a wardrobe in order to watch them together. As Christian, Mehmed Rauf's narrator underestimates sexual intimacy between women. After undressing and having a bath together, Naciye kisses Zanbak's vagina:

> This caressing is a victory of [a] woman who enters into rivalry with men; however, she has to perform this task skilfully, swiftly, and in a way without making her partner feel any regret. (65)[88]

[88] Bu nevâziş, erkeğe rekabet eden kadının bir muzzaferidir; yalnız, maharet ve süratle, ve usul ile, halk olunmuş olduğu bu vazifeyi nezdinde ifa etmek istediği kadına hiçbir esef vermeyecek surette ifade edebilmesi lazımdır.

Upon the request of Naciye, Zanbak applies what she just has learnt from her. After a while, the narrator creeps into bed and applies his mouth to Naciye's vagina. Naciye does not believe that it is Zanbak, and she confesses, "it is not possible that it is you who gives me this much pleasure…" [*lakin mümkün değildir ki bana bu kadar zevk veren sen olasın…*] (70). She tries to straighten herself up to see who it is, but the narrator prevents her by pressing her breasts with his hands. His moustache, which he has been keeping at bay in the beginning, now begins to tickle Naciye's vagina. She shouts and becomes breathless, devastated and exhausted. Right after, the narrator inserts his penis into Naciye's vagina. Although she tries to resist the narrator, later she likes this intimacy and agrees to the narrator's sexual power. Blank indicates that lesbian women are frequently considered as the ones who "never had the right man", or never came across "the magic of the 'right' male wand" (2008: 195). Mehmed Rauf also implies a similar consideration through the forceful sex scene with Naciye. The sexual support given to a heterosexual woman Zanbak – during her decision-making to become the *tabiatın kadını* – is not given to a lesbian woman Naciye who rejects the social and sexual limitations of patriarchal society. Instead, she encounters the anger of the narrator who shows his bellicosity and forces her to acknowledge male domination and heterosexuality. This forceful scene is in praise of masculine power (Karahan 2009: 176). He remarks that no matter how satisfactory the sexual intimacy between two women, if there is not a contact of a penis with a vagina – more specifically if there is not an insertion of a penis into a vagina – the pleasure is incomplete. In the narrative, Zanbak remains in a position where she functions as a medium for the narrator's desire for Naciye (Karahan-Richardson 2011: 165). Thanks to Zanbak, the narrator reaches his aim at being with Naciye a week later after having been rejected by her. Naciye's growing passion for Zanbak helps him to keep her

on a tight leash.

Although a similar plan is made in *Le Roman de Violette*, Christian neither pursues the goal of taking revenge on a woman because she is a lesbian nor tries to heteronormalise Countess Odette de Mainfroy. Unlike *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, *Le Roman de Violette* does not end here. After the forceful sex scene, it evolves in a different direction. Christian, Violette and Countess Odette de Mainfroy make an agreement that Violette would always be Christian's and could be with Odette only when Christian allows it in his presence. Besides, Violette does not allow Christian to "make a complete love" to Countess Odette; he could only use his eyes, his hands or his tongue, but not "the other thing". Hence, as it is indicated in one of the articles of their agreement, Christian cannot play the part of a man with Countess Odette.

In the second half of the narrative, for Violette's acting training, Christian and Odette find an actress Florence who is "one of the most active tribades in Paris". In order to avoid a possible sexual relationship between Violette and Florence, an affair between Odette and Florence starts before Florence is introduced to Violette. This lesbian affair between Florence and Odette begins to dominate the plot. Florence is depicted as a masculine virgin that regards sexual intercourse as a relation of domination, and she is against the idea of being possessed by someone. Although the relationship between Florence and Odette might be regarded as resistance to the male domination from the viewpoint of Florence, like Naciye, Odette still acknowledges the male superiority in sexual intercourse in response to Florence's question:

- Do you think, then that a man in that respect is our superior?

> - Indeed I do. We but light the fire. We do not put it out. […] Luckily we have some inventions which supply the place of what nature refused us. Have you not heard of dildoes? (2012, Chapter Nine)

Odette shows her dildos, one of which was "the production of the great Benvenuto Cellini" (1500-1571) and used to be owned by Diane de Poitiers (1499-1566). Florence deflowers her own virginity through this dildo, named after Diane. Karahan-Richardson notes that this defloration scene happens because of Florence's apprehension of domination, which she rejects through lesbianism (2011: 161).

The second part of *Le Roman de Violette* is not included in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*. According to Karahan-Richardson, by excluding this part, Mehmed Rauf develops a physically and sexually strong character-bound male narrator. Although Naciye initially rejects him, he stands firm and forcibly transforms her into a heterosexual woman in the end of the narrative (2011: 172-173). Karahan-Richardson suggests reading and contextualising *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* as a continuation of the early Ottoman Turkish novels in terms of adaptation techniques and character formation (2011: 149, 153). She argues that Mehmed Rauf's narrator does not manifest himself as a "new" character, and weaknesses in the idealisation of the narrator and the depreciation of women evoke the early Ottoman Turkish novels (2011: 168-169). Furthermore, she underlines the "opposition" between female characters Zanbak and Naciye drawing on the early Ottoman Turkish novels: "ideal women and *femme fatales*" who are representative of love, submissiveness, social norms, tradition, and degeneration, sexual pleasures, moral hazard for Ottoman men, respectively. Karahan-Richardson refers to Mehpeyker in *İntibah* (Awakening) – written by Namık Kemal and published in 1876 – as the precursor of the latter group of female characters

who is punished by death once she discovers her sexuality or freedom like her fictional fellows. Yet, Naciye's punishment in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* is not death, but rape, which can be seen as a 'spiritual' death. Karahan-Richardson indicates that Mehmed Rauf does not differentiate himself from his literary precursors with regards to character formation in *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* (2011: 171, 173).

Although Burcu Karahan-Richardson reads *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* as the continuation of the early Ottoman Turkish novels due to its depiction of a male-dominant society by not allowing Naciye to experience her passion as she wishes, I find associating Naciye with *femme fatales* protagonists in the early Ottoman Turkish novels, to a certain extent, problematic. When it comes to her passion for Zanbak, Karahan-Richardson's association of Naciye with precursor *femme fatales* in relation to the discovery of female sexuality, which is mostly based on extramarital and heteronormative sexual intercourses, is beside the point. In *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, experiencing extramarital sexual intercourse, and being punished for it, are not problematised in the same way as in the early Ottoman Turkish novels. Contrary to most of the early examples, Mehmed Rauf does not criticise Naciye's extramarital experience and makes her appreciate and acknowledge the satisfaction of a penis. Furthermore, it is difficult to argue that Naciye is really transformed to a heterosexual woman, as the narrator states that he pulls Naciye's strings by means of her growing passion for Zanbak. It is my contention that Mehmed Rauf is not explicitly opposed to same-sex desire among women, but is against its construction as part of identity that might harm the masculine superiority in Ottoman society. As mentioned above, same-sex desire had not been reacted to 'immorally' in pre-modern Ottoman Turkish literature, and after the emergence of heteronormativity – due to modernisation and the alteration of society since the second half of the

nineteenth century – it was explicitly silenced if not altogether banned. In this regard, homosexuality was invented as a new category, and European "immorality" was held responsible for it (Arvas 2014: 158). Naciye's 'homosexuality' or 'lesbianism' is seen to come from modernisation. Yet, Naciye's passion for Zanbak is not the result of Ottoman modernisation or modernity. Put differently, having same-sex desire among women does not bring modernity, but homosexuality does. What Mehmed Rauf takes a stand against is not same-sex desire among women per se, but its transformation into being an internal part of identity. He allows Naciye to experience her desire as long as she does not identify herself as a lesbian. Bearing these arguments in mind, I contend that Mehmed Rauf departs from his literary precursors because of the very same reason that Karahan-Richardson alleges that he does not.

Conclusion

Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi is the most popular erotic narrative of late Ottoman Turkish literature. Apart from the fact that it was written by a renowned author of the Ottoman Turkish literary canon, its sexually provocative style and the fact that it treated the subject of lesbianism, which had been overlooked in pre-modern Ottoman Turkish literature, make it distinctive among other erotic narratives from the same period. In this chapter, I have juxtaposed *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* against its French original. By means of this juxtaposition, I have discussed how lesbian sexuality was at one time understood and then later rejected in the process of the adaptation of *Le Roman de Violette* to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*. My contention is that Mehmed Rauf's framing of the French original is hostile to lesbianism and looks for a way to appropriate *Le Roman de Violette* so that the topic would be acceptable to Ottoman society at the turn of the century. Mehmed Rauf puts

masculinity and heterosexuality first and uses lesbianism to demonstrate the superiority of the penis and heterosexuality. Yet he does not intervene in the sexual practices among women as long as they do not compete with and subvert masculine sexual power. His appropriation of themes such as virginity, womanhood, sexual intercourse, and lesbianism are depicted in such a way as to favour Ottoman heterosexuality, which had become the norm in the formation of sexualities, and marginalised non-normative sexualities. As I have suggested in the beginning of this chapter, the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries constituted a sexually transitional period during which modern discourses on gender and sexuality began to permeate the late Ottoman society. This permeation changed the meanings of sexual practices and resulted in the construction of various sexual identities. In this context, *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* demonstrates the oscillation between sexual practices and sexual identities both by narrating same-sex practices among women and by refusing to define these practices with regards to the construction of sexual identities.

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire's decline, originating in the eighteenth century, escalated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This decline and the modernisation attempts to prevent the Empire's fall often corresponded to questions of masculinity in Ottoman Turkish literature. Historically contingent and socially constructed definitions of masculinities carried specific meanings concerning the imperial power and domination, which echoed in fiction during and after the conflicts and struggles the Ottoman Empire experienced at the time. Representations of masculinities found their way not only into the Ottoman Turkish literary canon, but also into popular erotic narratives of the twentieth century. Therefore, these narratives are significant historical and cultural artefacts that inform us about the ways in which the Empire's decline and transition to modernity prompted social and political anxieties in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the narratives that I have read as part of this dissertation, these anxieties were reified through male bodies ranging from the body of a 'sexually wounded' eunuch to the body of a hypersexual man, who struggles for an excessive compensation for his masculinity. In either way, the endeavour to prevent the Empire's fall by means of modernisation turned into an endeavour to 'make a diagnosis' of masculinities and deal with social and political anxieties via writing/narrating about masculinity. Therefore, this dissertation has unfolded the social, political, and cultural anxieties with regard to the Empire's decline and transition to modernity by taking notice of the formation of masculine subjectivities in twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives.

As mentioned in the introduction, these narratives can be regarded as the No Man's Land of Ottoman Turkish fiction on several accounts. They reflect the experience of marginality, liminality, and the betwixt-and-betweenness of the period in which they were written. Twentieth-century popular erotic narratives were marginalised from the Ottoman Turkish literary canon; they became unavailable to those without access to Ottoman Turkish after the alphabet reform of 1928. In addition to their marginalisation from the literary canon, these narratives also embody a liminal terrain that is both betwixt-and-between and transcending historical boundaries concerning sexual practices and roles, and the construction of sexuality as an identity in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the liminalities contained in the corpus of popular erotic narratives are not limited to sexual liminalities, but they also reflect a political liminality of a transformation from the Empire to the nation-state. In this dissertation, drawing on their marginality, liminality, and betwixt-and-betweenness, I have read twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives in relation to the historical context in which they were produced. Accordingly, my reading of the narratives within the scope of this dissertation has been shaped by their historical context and relies on cultural materialism.

I have contended that masculinity as well as the political and literary representations thereof become allegories that signify the conflicts and struggles of the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, popular erotic narratives facilitate interrogation of the representations of masculinities and their politicisation with regard to the changes occurred in the Empire and the implications of modernisation. On the other hand, these narratives do not passively reflect the historical and societal context in which they were written, but they demonstrate how social and political developments were perceived and represented in literature at the time. Furthermore, popular

erotic narratives played an active role in the formation of new discourses on gender and sexuality. That is to say, these narratives do not only demonstrate representations of new and comprehensive discourses on gender and sexuality, but they also, in turn, shape these discourses. In other words, reading twentieth-century popular erotic narratives is significant not only because of the social and political realities they illustrate, but also because of their potential in moulding discourses on gender and sexuality, and implicitly challenging social norms and cultural formations of masculinities. Newly emerging discourses on, and various constructions of, gender and sexuality lie at the heart of this dissertation. In this respect, popular erotic narratives offer dissident readings through which discourses on gender and sexuality reveal new manifestations of masculine subjectivities.

The narratives within the scope of this dissertation provide different reflections of issues concerning the Ottoman Empire's decline and modernisation attempts in relation to masculinities. For instance, modernity is fetishised in *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Haremağasının Muâşakası*. Both narratives allegorically represent the Empire's social and political frustrations as the frustrations of masculinity. On that note, the loss of imperial power turned into the loss of protagonists' masculinities. The Empire's encounter with modernity and modernisation attempts dispute and alter masculinities from hegemonic Ottoman masculinity to the eunuch's liminal masculinity. *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı*, on the other hand, tell the stories of the sexual development of adolescent protagonists in their passage to adulthood. Given that the period of adolescence is a transitional period in one's life, I have contended that it might closely be associated with the late Ottoman period, a period that is as transitional as adolescence due to the Empire's modernisation. Last but not least, *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* exhibits the changes in sexual practices and the

permeation of modern discourses on gender and sexuality in late Ottoman society. Hostility towards lesbianism and foregrounding heterosexuality, on the one hand and the indulgence in female same-sex practices as long as these practices are not part of one's identity on the other prove the fluidity between sexual practices and construction of sexual identities. I have discussed the extent to which representations of masculinities are changing, unfixed and variable. These representations take different shapes and allegorically embody the social and political developments of the period. It is my contention that masculinity became a domain of contestation in fiction during the Empire's decline and modernisation. Thus, this dissertation has demonstrated the extent to which sexual, social, and political developments were intertwined in the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire.

Reading works outside of the literary canon – such as popular erotic narratives – offers a chance to look at Ottoman Turkish fiction in a different light. For this reason, instead of focusing on the canonised works, I have looked at marginalised narratives that have the potential to challenge the Ottoman Turkish literary canon, especially the suppositions with regard to gender and sexuality in the Ottoman Empire. Hence, popular erotic narratives of the twentieth century are of capital importance to scrutinise the Ottoman Empire and its literature from an unconventional angle that makes room for reconsideration of the collective memory thereof. Thus, this dissertation is a pioneering work that extensively reads the examples of twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives with a specific focus on the formation of masculinities, which is rare compared to the number of studies on women in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, this dissertation contributes not only to the study of Ottoman Turkish fiction, but also refines the understanding of gender and sexuality in the Ottoman Empire.

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Summary

The emergence of Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives coincided with the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908. Thereafter, the publication of these narratives continued for around two decades until they were prohibited in the early years of the Turkish Republic on the grounds that they would damage public morality. Following this prohibition, the alphabet reform of 1928 made previously published narratives inaccessible to those who were not literate in Ottoman Turkish. In the long term, popular erotic narratives of the late Ottoman period have remained overlooked and often marginalised, even in modern times. This dissertation comprehensively reads examples of Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives. It provides insight into newly emerging discourses on gender and sexuality in the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. In addition to investigating the emergence of new discourses on gender and sexuality through which the transition from sexual practices to construction of sexual identities unfolded, this dissertation is intended to demonstrate the Ottoman Empire's political transition to modernity as well as to the nation state in relation to those newly emerged discourses. Popular erotic narratives within the corpus of this dissertation provide a basis for allegorical readings of the Empire's social, cultural, and political anxieties in the beginning of the twentieth century. This dissertation examines the interactions between social transformation and popular erotic narratives.

It is significant to note that popular erotic narratives do not merely reflect historical and social developments in late Ottoman society. This dissertation treats these narratives as cultural artefacts that represent the ways in which these developments were perceived and resonated in fiction of the

given period. Thus, the historical context in which they were produced becomes significant when analysing these narratives. Reading erotic narratives by contextualising the historical period helps us look at the struggles of the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire from a different standpoint. In this way, the analyses of these erotic narratives play a significant part in revisiting the collective memory of the Ottoman Empire. Chapter One, therefore, is an introductory chapter that tackles historically and culturally specific experiences of modernity in the Ottoman Empire. It focuses on three important realms: education, the press, and urban change in Istanbul during the period in which twentieth-century popular erotic literature emerged. This chapter prepares the ground for the further discussions in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Two is devoted to two narratives, *Kesik Bıyık* and *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası,* both of which were published during years of war. It exhibits the extent to which the Empire's loss of imperial power and modernisation attempts were allegorically represented as the loss of hegemonic masculinity. In doing so, this chapter reads these narratives allegorically – by applying psychoanalytic literary criticism. Both narratives represent castration anxiety in relation to the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties by using symbolic and literal castration motifs. *Kesik Bıyık* touches upon the way in which hegemonic Ottoman masculinity hung by a thread- via moustache trimming- that suggests the Empire's emulation of the West in the process of modernisation. *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Haremağasının Muâşakası*, on the other hand, narrates the effort to attain masculinity by an artificial penis imported from Europe. Here, the compensation for the eunuch's liminal masculinity is comparable to the Ottoman Empire's struggle to regain its imperial power by means of modernisation. Therefore, both narratives link the Empire's political situation in the beginning of the

twentieth century to the question of masculinity.

Chapter Three focuses on two development narratives, *Anahtar Deliğinde* and *Kaymak Tabağı*. It also takes its cue from psychoanalytic literary criticism that deals with Oedipal attachments of the narratives. Both narratives revolve around the stories of the sexual development of the protagonists, who secretly look at people engaging in sexual intercourse. Looking at people then turns into looking at the self in the process of personal growth. The narrative *Anahtar Deliğinde* turns into a mirror through which the protagonist's retrospective self-representation of his psychosexual development can be observed, whereas its narration becomes the mirror stage in the sense of Lacan. In addition, *Kaymak Tabağı* tells rivalry stories with regard to the Electra complex. The young female protagonist narrates her sexual development that is ultimately limited to marriage. While discussing psychosexual developments of the adolescent protagonists, this chapter also compares the notion of adolescence to the late Ottoman period. The reason for such a comparison is the transitional feature of the late Ottoman period caused by the Empire's modernisation. On that note, adolescence, a period of dynamic transition from childhood to adulthood, becomes an allegory for the late Ottoman period throughout both narratives. Thus, this chapter discusses the ways in which the notion of adolescence plays along with the late Ottoman period by the development stories.

Chapter Four looks at Mehmed Rauf's adaptation of *Le Roman de Violette* to *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*. It first discusses the changes that occurred in sexual practices and construction of sexual identities in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. The purpose of this discussion is to demonstrate the extent to which modern discourses on gender and sexuality permeated Ottoman society. In this respect, the juxtaposition of *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* and *Le Roman de Violette* shows that Mehmed Rauf's oscillation between

sexual practices and sexual identities in his adaptation stems from the changes in the meaning of sexual practices and is due to the permeation of modern discourses on gender and sexuality. Also, by looking at Mehmed Rauf's adaptation, this chapter scrutinises the ways in which his reading of *Le Roman de Violette* transformed or ignored certain elements such as homosexuality or lesbianism in the narration of *Le Roman de Violette* as a cultural appropriation.

In conclusion, Ottoman Turkish popular erotic narratives are significant historical and cultural artefacts that inform us about the ways in which the Empire's decline and transition to modernity prompted social and political anxieties in late Ottoman society. This dissertation, therefore, is intended to unfold these anxieties by closely reading these narratives. In this respect, the emergence of modern discourses on gender and sexuality in the Ottoman Empire are not only relevant to the discussions concerning identity formations in their own right. By utilising these discourses, erotic narratives provide an unconventional look at the twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. Ultimately, reading these narratives through critical lenses offers a novel contribution to the collective memory of the Ottoman Empire.

Samenvatting

De opkomst van Ottomaans Turkse populaire erotische verhalen viel samen met de invoering van de Tweede Grondwet in 1908. Dit soort verhalen werden gepubliceerd tijdens de twee decennia die volgden, totdat, in de vroege Republiek Turkije, publicatie verboden werd op grond van schending van publieke moraal. Na dit verbod volgde ook nog de alfabethervorming van 1928 waardoor de verhalen niet langer toegankelijk waren voor mensen zonder kennis van Ottomaans Turks. Het eindresultaat is dat populaire erotisch verhalen van de late Ottomaanse periode vaak over het hoofd werden gezien en dat tot op de dag van vandaag nog steeds gebeurt. Deze dissertatie bestudeert een aantal van deze Ottomaans Turkse populaire erotische verhalen in detail, en biedt inzicht in nieuwe discoursen over gender en seksualiteit die opkwamen in het Ottomaanse Rijk van de twintigste eeuw. Deze dissertatie schijnt niet alleen een licht op de discoursen over gender en seksualiteit waarin de overgang van seksuele gebruiken naar de constructie van seksuele identiteit plaats vond, maar heeft ook als doel om te laten zien hoe de politieke overgang naar moderniteit en natiestaat in het Ottomaanse Rijk zich verhoudt tot deze nieuwe discoursen. De populaire erotische verhalen waar in deze dissertatie naar wordt gekeken vormen de basis voor een allegorische interpretatie van sociale, culturele, en politieke angsten in het Ottomaanse Rijk aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Deze dissertatie onderzoekt het verband tussen sociale veranderingen en populaire erotische verhalen.

Het is belangrijk om te benadrukken dat populaire erotische verhalen niet simpelweg een weerspiegeling vormen van historische en sociale

ontwikkelingen in de late Ottomaanse samenleving. Deze dissertatie behandelt deze verhalen als culturele producties die weergeven hoe deze ontwikkelingen toentertijd ontvangen werden en weerklank vonden in fictie. De historische context waarin deze verhalen werden geproduceerd speelt zo een belangrijke rol in hun analyse. De interpretatie van deze verhalen met verwijzing naar de historische context geeft ons een nieuwe invalshoek om problematiek in het Ottomaanse Rijk van de twintigste eeuw te benaderen. De analyses van deze erotische verhalen spelen zo een belangrijke rol in het herzien van het collectieve geheugen van het Ottomaanse Rijk. Hoofdstuk Een is daarom een inleidend hoofdstuk dat de historisch en cultureel specifieke ervaring met moderniteit in het Ottomaanse Rijk belicht. Het hoofdstuk behandelt drie belangrijke gebieden: onderwijs, de pers, en stedelijke ontwikkelingen in Istanbul gedurende de periode in de twintigste eeuw waarin populaire erotische literatuur opkwam. Dit hoofdstuk legt het grondwerk voor verdere discussies in de volgende hoofdstukken.

Hoofdstuk Twee kijkt naar twee verhalen, *Kesik Bıyık* en *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*, die beiden tijdens oorlogsjaren werden gepubliceerd. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien in hoeverre het verlies van keizerlijke macht en pogingen tot modernisatie in het Ottomaanse Rijk allegorisch weergegeven werden als het verlies van hegemoniale mannelijkheid. Dit verband wordt zichtbaar door middel van allegorische interpretatie – en door het toepassen van psychoanalytische literaire kritiek. Beide verhalen verbeelden castratieangst in verhouding tot sociaal-politieke angsten in het Ottomaanse Rijk door middel van symbolische en letterlijke castratie. *Kesik Bıyık* verkent onzekerheid in Ottomaans hegemoniale mannelijkheid via het trimmen van een snor waarmee wordt gesuggereerd dat het Ottomaanse Rijk het Westen nabootste in modernisering. *Zifaf Gecesi: Bir Harem Ağasının Muâşakası*, daarentegen, verhaalt een poging om

mannelijkheid te bereiken door middel van een kunstmatige penis die uit Europe is ingevoerd. De manier waarop een eunuch probeert te compenseren voor liminale mannelijkheid is vergelijkbaar met de manier waarop het Ottomaanse Rijk worstelde om keizerlijke macht te herstellen via modernisering. Op deze manier leggen beide verhalen een verband tussen de politieke situatie in het Ottomaanse Rijk aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw en het vraagstuk omtrent mannelijkheid.

Hoofdstuk Drie richt zich op twee ontwikkelingsverhalen, *Anahtar Deliğinde* en *Kaymak Tabağı*, en maakt daarbij gebruik van psychoanalytische literaire kritiek met betrekking tot elementen van het Oedipus complex in deze verhalen. Beide verhalen vertellen de seksuele ontwikkelingen van de hoofdpersonen, die beiden stiekem observeren hoe anderen seks hebben. Het kijken naar anderen verandert echter in het kijken naar henzelf in de voortgang van hun persoonlijke groei. Het verhaal *Anahtar Deliğinde* vormt een spiegel waarin zichtbaar wordt hoe de hoofdpersoon met terugwerkende kracht zijn psychoseksuele ontwikkeling weergeeft, terwijl de vertelling zelf verandert in een spiegelstadium zoals Lacan dat beschreef. Daarnaast vertelt *Kaymak Tabağı* verhalen over rivaliteit in de zin van het Elektra complex. De jonge vrouwelijke hoofdpersoon beschrijft haar seksuele ontwikkeling die uiteindelijk beperkt wordt tot haar huwelijk. Terwijl dit hoofdstuk de psychoseksuele ontwikkelingen van beide jongvolwassen hoofdpersonen bespreekt, vergelijkt dit hoofdstuk ook het concept van jongvolwassenheid met de late Ottomaanse periode. De reden voor deze vergelijking is het overgangsaspect van de late Ottomaanse periode dat voortkwam uit de modernisering van het Ottomaanse Rijk. In die zin kan jongvolwassenheid, een dynamische overgang van kinderjaren naar volwassenheid, gezien worden als een allegorie voor de late Ottomaanse periode in beide verhalen. Dit hoofdstuk bespreekt op deze manier hoe het

concept van jongvolwassenheid van toepassing is op de late Ottomaanse periode in de interpretatie van deze ontwikkelingsverhalen.

Hoofdstuk Vier beschouwt Mehmed Rauf's *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi*, een aanpassing van *Le Roman de Violette*. He hoofdstuk bespreekt eerst de veranderingen in seksuele gebruiken en de constructie van seksuele identiteit die plaats vonden in het Ottomaanse Rijk van de negentiende eeuw. Het doel van deze bespreking is om te laten zien in hoeverre moderne discoursen over gender en seksualiteit door waren gedrongen in de Ottomaanse samenleving. Door *Bir Zanbağın Hikayesi* en *Le Roman de Violette* naast elkaar te plaatsen wordt duidelijk hoe Mehmed Rauf tijdens het proces waarin hij het originele verhaal aanpaste heen en weer bewoog tussen seksuele gebruiken en seksuele identiteiten als gevolg van veranderingen in de betekenis van seksuele gebruiken en de mate waarin moderne discoursen over gender en seksualiteit doorgedrongen waren in de Ottomaanse samenleving. Dit hoofdstuk kijkt ook kritisch naar de manier waarop de interpretatie van Mehmed Rauf bepaalde elementen van *Le Roman de Violette*, zoals homoseksualiteit en lesbianisme, veranderde of negeerde in een proces van culturele toe-eigening.

Tot slot, Ottomaans Turkse populaire erotische verhalen zijn betekenisvolle historische en culturele producties die inzicht bieden in de manier waarop het verval van het Ottomaanse Rijk en de overgang naar moderniteit de aanzet gaven voor sociale en politieke angsten in de late Ottomaanse samenleving. Deze dissertatie heeft daarom als doel om deze angsten bloot te leggen door middel van een nauwkeurige en grondige studie van deze verhalen. De opkomst van moderne discoursen over gender en seksualiteit in het Ottomaanse Rijk draagt in die zin bij aan meer dan alleen een bespreking van identiteitsvorming. Erotische verhalen geven door middel van deze discoursen een ongebruikelijk inzicht in het Ottomaanse Rijk van de twintigste eeuw. De kritische interpretatie van deze verhalen levert zo

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Curriculum Vitae

Müge Özoğlu was born on 4 June 1987 in Istanbul, Turkey. She completed her BA degree in the department of Turkish Language and Literature at Yıldız Technical University in 2009, graduating as the third best student. She wrote a BA thesis on Emine Semiye's articles in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (The Newspaper for Women). During her BA years, she taught Turkish as a second language at Yıldız Technical University and worked as an assistant editor at Everest Yayınları, one of the biggest publishing houses in Turkey. In 2010, she obtained the foundation diploma for postgraduate students at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and specialised in cultural studies and literary theory. In 2011, again at SOAS, she acquired her MA degree in the department of Comparative Literature (Asia/Africa). In addition to studying theoretical approaches to literature, she majored in Arabic and Turkish literatures. She wrote an MA thesis entitled "A Comparative Study on Jameson's Three World Theory and 'National Allegory': *The Yacoubian Building* and *The Flea Palace*" under the supervision of Dr. Ayman El-Desouky. In her MA studies, she tackled issues concerning national allegory, representations of collective memory, and gender and sexuality in literature. Her interest in these issues later led her to work on the construction of the collective memory of the Ottoman Empire via erotic fiction in her doctoral work. She completed her PhD dissertation entitled "No Man's Land: Gender and Sexuality in Erotic Narratives of the Late Ottoman Empire" at Leiden University under the supervision of Prof. Ernst van Alphen and Dr. Petra de Bruijn.