NATIONAL IDENTITY AND OTHERNESS IN THE 19TH CENTURY HISTORICAL NOVEL

SERKAN YILMAZ

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NOVEL

BY

SERKAN YILMAZ

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Name/Surname : Serkan Yllmaz

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ÖZET

Bu tez 19. yüzyıl tarihi romanını ve Oryantalizmi ulusal kimlik inşası bağlamında birlikte incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Her ikisi de insan temsillerine odaklandılar, ancak temsillerin doğruluğu ikisi için de temel bir problem oluşturdu. Avrupalılık değerleri etrafında merkezlenen ulusal kimlikler ilk olarak Batı Avrupa'da ortaya çıktı. 19.yüzyıl boyunca Orta Avrupa'ya ve son olarak Doğu Avrupa'ya yayıldı. Avrupalı ulusal kimliklerini oluşturmaya çalışırken, her toplum kendine özgü Oryantalizmini yarattı ve bu edebiyata da yansıdı. Bu teorik çerçevede, Batı, Orta ve Doğu Avrupa'yı temsilen seçilmiş üç roman ulusal kimlik inşası ve kendi Oryantalizm türleri bağlamında analiz ediliyor. Birinci bölüm, İngiliz yazar Edward Bulwer-Lytton'ın *Leila; or The Siege of Granada* romanını Edward Said'in Oryantalizmi ile inceler. İkinci bölüm, Macar yazar Mór Jókai'nin *Halil The Pedlar* (orijinal başlık: *A fehér rózsa or The White Rose*) romanını Andre Gingrich'in Sınır Oryantalizmi kapsamında inceler. Üçüncü bölüm ise Türk yazar Namık Kemal'in *Cezmi* romanını Usama Makdisi'nin Osmanlı Oryantalizmi kapsamında inceler. Ayrıca, üç bölümdeki kimlik inşası ve ötekileştirme konularının analizleri Stephen Greenbatt'in 'self-fashioning' konsepti ve çeşitli feminist eleştirmenlerin fikirleri ile geliştirildi. Bunlara dayanarak, Avrupalılık çevresinde geliştirilen kimliklerin bir tehlike ve tehdit unsuru olarak algılanan ötekinin varlığı ile inşa ettiği görülüyor. Yani hem Avrupalı hem de Doğulu kimlikler, yazarlar tarafından inşa ve temsil edildiler ve bu nedenle gerçeği yansıtmadılar.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tarihsel roman, Oryantalizm, Sınır Oryantalizmi, Osmanlı Oryantalizmi, Ulusal kimlik, Kimlik inşası

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to examine the 19th century historical novel and Orientalism together in the context of national identity construction. Both focused on the representations of human beings, but the accuracy of these representations posed a fundamental problem for both. National identities that were centred around European values first emerged in Western Europe, spreading during the 19th century to Central Europe and finally to Eastern Europe. In trying to build European national identities, each society created its own specific Orientalism that was reflected in literature. Within this theoretical framework, three selected novels representing Western, Central and Eastern Europe are analysed in the contexts of national identity construction and their own kind of Orientalism. The first chapter discusses the English author Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila; or The Siege of Granada* through Edward Said's Orientalism. The second chapter examines the Hungarian author Mór Jókai's *Halil The Pedlar* (original title: *A fehér rózsa* or *The White Rose*) within the scope of Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism. The third chapter analyzes the Turkish author Namık Kemal's *Cezmi* in the context of Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism. In addition, analysis of identity building and othering issues in all three chapters were developed via Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning' and the opinions of various feminist critics. Based on these, it is seen that the identities that were developed around Europeanism were constructed with the existence of an 'other' who was perceived as a danger and a threat. Therefore, both European and Oriental identities were constructed and represented by the authors, and thus did not reflect reality.

Key words: Historical novel, Orientalism, Frontier Orientalism, Ottoman Orientalism, National identity, Identity building

Dedicated to my beloved mother,

Nihal.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The historical novel and Orientalism dealt with the representations of human beings. They both arose in Europe during the 19th century and focused on creating a European identity. The historical novel became popular by the time which Empires were weakening and the nationalism and nation-states were rising. It aimed to generate curiosity among people in order to raise interest in national histories, teach history through the novel and convey messages about the present. So, providing moral and intellectual improvement for the reader was the starting point of the genre. Having been heavily influenced by the French revolution, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, Europeans associated themselves with these values and developed national identities that were compatible with the European values. Therefore, "the historical novel played a significant role in the creation of both national identities and a pan-European identity" (Hamnett, 2011, p. 4). Orientalism aimed to construct a superior identity for the West as it was otherizing the East and labelling it as the inferior other of the West. They described the East as underdeveloped and the complete opposite of themselves. So, Orientalism's purpose was creating a perceived inferior other who lacked the European improvements and the values it brought to the nations and reinforcing the superiority of the West over the East.

While the historical novel author narrated the story of people from the past, the Orientalist wrote about the people from the East. Thus, they both examined the unknown. Yet, the historical novel lost its interest during the second part of the century because of the recently emerged department of history both as academically and scientifically. It provided more plausible sources. Thus, historical novels lost their goal of moral and intellectual improvement. Further, even the historical texts credibility was doubted since history had already passed and the textual information

was produced through the historian's point of views and it might not totally reflect the reality. The historical novelist looked at the texts and learned history through these and produced the novel over this textual information. The perceived factual information was mingled with a fictional plot by the author. However, even while the historical texts' credibility was doubted, it cannot be considered that the historical novel would reflect the past truly. Although the historical novel lost interest in Western Europe where the genre appeared first, its popularity spread to the other regions of the continent from Central Europe to Eastern Europe during the second part of the century. Likewise, Orientalist texts were written by the European travellers who were sent to the East and the Westerners learned the East through these texts which were written in European frames. Thus, the textual information was made up by the Orientalist and did not reflect the East completely and objectively. Both the historical novel author and the Orientalist produced biased texts that were grounded around Europeanness. That is to say, the historical novels which became popular in different regions of Europe during different periods of the 19th century, included each region's own Oriental discourse in them. Nevertheless, both the historical novel and Orientalism incorrectly represented the past and the other in European frames and did not reflect reality. It could also be stated that the historical novel was inherently Orientalist in itself owing to containing false representations of the past and the people who were not Europeans.

Sir Walter Scott, who will be explained in the next section of this chapter, was considered as the pioneer of the historical novel and he also influenced other authors "to search for their own national histories for poignant transitional moments parallel to those in Scottish history" (as cited in Hamnett, 2011, p. 92). Other European expressions of the historical novel could be seen in "Italy, Spain, and Russia"

the 19th century

(Hamnett, 2011, p. 92). There were also examples from "Central Europe" or "within the Habsburg and Russian Empires, Poland, Hungary, Czech Bohemia" (Hamnett, 2011, p. 93). Thus, this research will study three 19th century historical novels written in three different empires on Europe which are namely; British, Austrian and Ottoman empires. While the examples from Western and Central Europe were widely examined together in the context of the historical novel, Turkey on the East as bordering Europe was not included in these works. So, this research will study the Western, Central and Eastern European historical novels together. As the British Empire was at its peak through its colonies all over the world, the Austrian was improving its domination on Central Europe. Yet, Ottomans were in a period of decline and losing control on the Balkans. Although the British were at its height, the empires had their shares of the modern phenomenon of nationalism of the 19th century. The nations in the empires began to develop national consciousness and eventually a national identity. This led them to create an opposite identity which they saw as a threat to their perceived superiority so as to construct a positive identity for themselves. Edward Said's Orientalism got involved at this point and provided a basis for the theoretical part of this thesis. Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Leila; or, The Siege of Granada* (1838), Mór Jókai's *Halil The Pedlar; A Tale of Old Stambul* (1854), also known as *The White Rose*, and Namık Kemal's *Cezmi* (1880) will be analysed thoroughly in the context of Orientalism and national identity building. The three authors were particularly selected because of the nations they belonged to, their representations of their nations and their political backgrounds. They lived in three different empires that were located on the different regions of Europe. Hence, gathering three different authors from different backgrounds together, provided a space to discuss how the historical novel and Orientalism evolved during the different

terrains in 19th century Europe. Bulwer-Lytton represented England which was at its height through colonialism and Imperialism in Western Europe. Jókai represented Hungary that was crushed between Western and Eastern Europe and was occupied by the Austrian and Ottoman empires for a long time and started to develop national consciousness and an independent European identity with the 1848 revolution in Central Europe. Namık Kemal represented Ottoman Turkey which bordered Europe and was in a period of Ottoman modernization, also known as *Tanzimat*, and in a process of building a modern identity, on Eastern Europe. So, all the authors were heavily influenced by the recent developments in Europe and they reflected them on their novels. It was the nationalism in regard of the 19th century. All the nations were in the process of building national identities in the empires. The effect of the French Revolution, the Enlightenment and modern European identity they brought up with could be observed in all. Thus, modern European identity formed a basis for all the nations on the continent of Europe. However, each nation created its own Orient and other in order to construct a superior identity. In this direction, Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila* will be analysed in the context of Edward Said's Classic Orientalism in the first chapter. Jokai's *Halil* will be discussed through Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism in the second chapter and Namık Kemal's *Cezmi* will be examined via Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism in the third chapter. Each chapter will cover the literary background of the author, the historical background of the novel and the theoretical analysis. Therefore, this thesis also aims to bring three different types of Orientalisms together and display an overall analysis of how the national identities centred around the modern European identity, how the nations created their own others and how Orientalism kept changing over the years within the scope of the 19th-century historical novels. Feminist criticism of Luce Irigaray, Sandra Gilbert and

Susan Gubar will also be applied to support the theme of otherization and orientalising since it would not make sense to exclude women while discussing the issue of the 'other'. Also, Stephen Greenblatt's idea of 'self-fashioning' will be examined as discussing the identity building of both the nations and the individuals to have a better insight into the human autonomy on identity construction. This study could also be seen as a comparative literature project that shows how three historical novels from England, Hungary and Turkey connected with the theme of modern national identity construction during the 19th century.

1.1. A theoretical approach to the historical novel

Historical novel writing dated back to the beginning of the 19th century. Yet, literature and history relation was older than that. History could be seen even in the ancient Greek poems in verses. It was also included in the Chivalric novels, which were the precursors of the novel form, in the middle ages. For German author Alfred Döblin, a historical novel was not history but only a novel (Göğebakan, 2004, p. 13). So, the fictional elements or the details that were not emphasized in history should be the main concern of it. Also, Edward H. Carr who was a historian claims that historical facts never straightforwardly came to the historian since they had already been recorded by somebody else and transferred us through their minds. Thus, the historical documents only reflected the point of view of the recorder and the historian could only interpret them just like the novel writer did (Göğebakan, 2004, p. 31). In this context, both history and novel might contain fiction in it. While the historian was supposed to look accurate in his work, the author should be consistent in the story he depicted. Similar to the historian, the author reflected a point of view and ideology. However, the historical and political depth could not be found in the novels before the 19th century.

According to Georg Lukács, the author of *The Historical Novel* (1962):

the so-called historical novels of the seventeenth century… are historical only

as regards their purely external choice of theme and costume. Not only the

psychology of the characters, but the manners depicted are entirely those of

the writer's own day. And in the most famous "historical novel" of the

eighteenth century, Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, history is likewise treated as

more costumery: it is only the curiosities and oddities of the milieu that matter,

not an artistically faithful image of a concrete historical epoch. (Lukács, 1962,

p. 19).

Thus, writing correctly about the circumstances and the environment was not enough

for a novel to be accepted as historical. Then, what is historical fiction and what are

the conditions for a novel to be seen as historical? Writing both consistently and

artistically about a historical period or an event could be the answer. Lukács also

stated that the historical novel began with the Scottish author Sir Walter Scott's

Waverley (1814), that was about a Jacobite uprising in Scottish history, in the 19th

century. For him "Scott's greatness lies in his capacity to give living human

embodiment to historical-social types. The typically human terms in which great

historical trends become tangible had never before been so superbly,

straightforwardly and pregnantly portrayed" (Lukács, 1962, p. 35). So, giving a

humane perspective to the historical events started the idea of historical novel and the

novels written before Scott lacked "precisely the specifically historical, that is,

derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their

age" (Lukács, 1962, p. 19). Thus, the personality of the characters that were portrayed

in accordance the era in which they live was a significant aspect of the historical

novels and what Scott did in his novels was handling the important incidents and

issues such as; uprisings in *Waverley* and patriotism and English identity in *Ivanhoe* (1819) through the ordinary characters. By doing this, "the author is telling his public what shaped the modern Scottish nation, what distinguishes it from the English experience…" (Hamnett, 2011, p. 92). The real and important figures as the royalty or the aristocracy rarely appeared in the novels. Lukács explains this as:

> Scott thus lets his important figures grow out of the being of the age, he never explains the age from the position of its great representatives, as do the Romantic hero-worshippers. Hence, they can never be central figures of the action. For the being of the age can only appear as a broad and many-sided picture if the everyday life of the people, the joys and sorrows, crises and confusions of average human beings are portrayed (Lukács, 1962, p. 39)

Then, common people's experiences of the specific period gained importance in the historical novel and the historical characters were mostly secondary characters since their lives cannot represent the social reality of the period. He also stated that when a big character showed up in the novel, the reader was able to see it through the eyes of the ordinary people (Göğebakan, 2004, p. 44). Therefore, they were able to comprehend the period and what the people possibly experienced back then.

Also, Lukács indicated that the most important reason why common people began to matter was the French revolution and the sense of nationalism it brought to the European continent. The economic hardships and ineffective ruling of the King caused the anti-absolutist pursuits between the people and it resulted in people's victory by declaring the first French republic. This was the first time for the ordinary people to have a voice in their regime and this experience gave rise to the formation of a national perspective. The French Revolution created distress among other European monarchies who feared the republican sentiments for the possibility of

spreading around there too. This led to the Napoleonic Wars between France and other Empires and Napoleon's occupations strengthened the nationalistic feelings of the monarchies against France. Lukács explained the significance of these events on the constitution of national consciousness:

> It was the French Revolution, the revolutionary wars and the rise and fall of Napoleon, which for the first time made history a mass experience, and moreover on a European scale. During the decades between 1789 and 1814 each nation of Europe underwent more upheavals than they had previously experienced in centuries. And the quick succession of these upheavals gives them a qualitatively distinct character, it makes their historical character far more visible than would be the case in isolated, individual instance (Lukács, 1962, p. 23).

Thus, common people gained a place in history for the first time. Scott used this historical consciousness to create a new type of novel which is the historical novel. This was accepted as the first type that commoners' perspective is at the centre. Lukács (1962) remarked that "it is no accident that this new type of novel arouse in England" (p. 31) since the Industrial Revolution in England occurred a hundred years earlier than the ones in Germany and France, the bourgeoisie in which Sir Walter Scott included, achieved to have a voice in society much earlier. The economic, political and ideological changes alongside the bourgeoisie revolution created consciousness among the working class as well. Scott's "world-view ties him very closely to those sections of society which had been precipitated into ruin by the industrial revolution and the rapid growth of capitalism" (Lukács, 1962, p. 37), so he tried to find a "middle way" (Lukács, 1962, p. 37) for the class struggles and "out of the struggle of the Saxons and Normans there arose the English nation, neither Saxon

nor Norman" (Lukács, 1962, p. 37). Therefore, the Industrial Revolution of England and the French revolution evoked the self-awareness of both the working class and the commoners, and the Napoleonic wars raised the nationalistic views in Europe. These major changes and mass experiences created a historical perspective and they found a place in the novels of Sir Walter Scott as the pioneer writer of them, at the beginning of the 19th century. Lukács (1962) indicated that he "portrays the great transformations of history as the transformation of popular life. He always starts by showing how important historical changes affect everyday life… aims at portraying the totality of national life in its complex interaction between "above" and "below"" (p. 49). Hence, historical novel authors have mostly inclined to deal with the period of historical crisis such as; revolutions, wars and conquests since these are huge turning points for the peoples and aimed to generate national consciousness through these in society. Then, the meaning of a nation and how nations were formed could be discussed at this point. Benedict Anderson (2006) defined the nation as "an imagined political community" (p. 6) since the members of this community consider themselves as connected yet, most of them will never know each other so, the sense of national identity among them is only imagined. Through the developments of the Industrial Revolution, these imagined nations created their textual productions in their own national languages and "print-language is what invents nationalism" (Anderson, 2006, p. 136) eventually. The collective experiences of the people were put in writing with the invention of the printing press and it resulted in the mass readership who were taught about the nation through the texts including the historical novels. Therefore, "nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist" (cited in Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

Another significant feature Lukács indicated about the historical novel was the characterization. The author might select real historical people, or he could create fictional characters as Scott did. He said, "the principal figures in Scott's novels are also typical characters nationally, but in the sense of the decent and average, rather than the eminent and all-embracing" (Lukács, 1962, p. 36). So, Scott's characters were fictional and average English people who were neither socially nor individually at extremes. Also, the characters assisted to reflect the history and what people might live in those times. That is to say, the characters represented "something larger and more meaningful than themselves" (Jameson, 1974, p. 191). This was called as *typicality* by Lukács. The characters were mostly typical ones in the historical novel because they could represent the whole society or even a nation by their typical characteristics. Individualistic features made it difficult to display social situations and the era, but typicality was universal and could be seen in the other novels that took place in the same period. This also aroused the feeling of realism in the reader due to the similarities between the typical characters in the novel and the real people of the specific era. Then, it could be said that the era and the conditions which shaped history were more important than the characters in the historical novels. So, the typical characters were able to reflect the larger picture better. Besides, the historical novel might provide a space for the authors for attributing positive or negative features to the characters who represented a social group in order to state their own ideologies and political opinions by typicality (Göğebakan, 2004, p. 49). Then, it can be said that the historical novel was a political novel too.

1.2. Orientalism and its evolution through the 19th century

By the 19th century, European empires such as; Britain and France had already become imperial powers through their colonial interests mainly in Asia and Africa.

The empires began to search for new natural resources they could exploit with the development of Industrialization. The colonies served for the empires' pursuits. However, these powers needed to build their intentions in the colonized lands on solid ground. Thus, they came up with reasons to justify their actions as developing the East and educating them with European values. Edward Said thoroughly examined the Western empires' self-justifying acts on colonialism in his *Orientalism* (1978). He explained the term as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident" (Said, 1978, p. 2). These distinctions divided into two by the European system and negative features were attributed to the East or the Orient while the positives were about the West or the Occident. Thus, the superior West felt a sense of entitlement on controlling and educating the inferior East. These binary oppositions could also be addressed as the self and the alien in the imperial context since the Western powers saw the East as the inferior other who should be educated and taken care of because they were "irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, "different"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, "normal"" (Said, 1978, p. 40). Hence, the West built its identity accordingly. Said stated that Western marginalization of the East went back to ancient times. Even in the old Greek epics, the East "speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination, which is depicted as victorious over Asia, that hostile "other" world beyond the seas" (Said, 1978, p. 56). Then, it could be said that the relation between literature and history always contained an ideological perspective. After the start of colonization and imperialism, this otherization turned into a religious one. So, Christianity was favoured over the Eastern religions such as; Judaism and Islam. Said exemplified this by the Western poet Dante and his attempt to interpret human existence based on their centre which was now Christianity in

Inferno. He combined the "mundane reality with a universal and eternal system of Christian values" (Said, 1978, p. 68) and divided people into two. The Christians were in heaven and the rest was in hell as the sinners. Thus, the religious context also reinforced this otherization by heaven and hell binaries. While these binaries aided the West to build a positive self-perception, it created a negative look towards the East.

The religious distinction between the West and the East secularized through the Enlightenment. The Christian West and the Muslim East binary became the civilized West and uncivilized East. The empires opened institutions in the colonies and sent their officials there in order to learn about the East. This study provided the Westerners with the knowledge that helped them to have power over the East. Many European Universities had the department of the Oriental studies by the 19th century. It could be said that the East was undermined to an academical field of study by the West. Said explained this knowledge and power dichotomy by Michel Foucault's notion of discourse. The studied knowledge by Europe was produced as textual information and presented to the Western audience to create a certain consciousness about the Orient.

> My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action.

This is not to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but that it is the whole network of interests inevitably brought to bear on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion when that peculiar entity "the Orient" is in question…It also tries to show that European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self (Said, 1978, p. 3).

Therefore, Said defined Orientalism in three different ways which are respectively; an academical area that should be studied and known by the West, a style of thought based on the epistemological and ontological differences of the West and East and an institution which administrated the Imperial pursuits of the empires and justified the colonialism through the Orientalist idea of rescuing the inferior other. The West's representation of the East as the uneducated, child-like and needy helped them to reinforce their perceived superior image as well. They acknowledged themselves as Europeans and constructed themselves a European identity by otherizing the East. Thus, it can be stated that both the European and the Orient identities were constructions of the West. This construction of the perceived superior Western identity became a starting point for the idea of Europeanness for the West, and they consolidated this view via dealing with the East and "making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (Said, 1978, p. 3). So, they had power over the East. They put emphasis on the oppositeness of the two imaginative lands which were ideologically separated into two so as to announce their civilized culture and acknowledge themselves as developed and superior in contrast to the East. Then, it could be briefly said that Orientalism is "a system of representing the Orient" by the West (Said, 1978, p. 70).

Furthermore, it was noticed that Orientalism, which appeared as Western imperial powers' attempt of justification for colonialism, was not sufficiently inclusive and different types of Orientalisms were propounded to develop Edward Said's concept through time. One of these was Andre Gingrich's "Frontier Orientalism". While Said's criticism concentrated on the colonialist Western empires that divided the world into two as the West and the East, Gingrich focused on the other powers like Habsburg empire and the nations on Central Europe which were not colonialists but had significant power over the region. Therefore, "the concept of "frontier orientalism," as developed by Andre Gingrich, addresses Said's oversight of the region by placing the Central European nations at the heart of the East-West divide." (Sabatos, 2014, p. 15). By doing so, he scrutinized the perceptions of the Central European nations towards the East and their formation of national identity by otherizing the bordering Orient which happened to be the Ottoman Empire. However, Orientalism of the nations in Central Europe differed from that of the Western empires like Britain and France since they used it as a justification for the colonies while Central Europe used it as "a means of preserving cultural identity" (Sabatos, 2018, p. 3). Both Central Europe's geography and complex history should also be stressed at this point because "most of the Balkan peninsula was actually part of the Ottoman Empire and therefore an integral part of the Orient itself, at least from a Western point of view, until the second half of the nineteenth century (Beller-Hann, 1995, p. 223). Parts of Austria and Hungary were also occupied like the Balkan countries by the Ottomans. That is to say, those places were also Orients themselves and this caused a specific kind of Orientalism to develop in Central Europe which was bordering Ottoman Empire.

> In Frontier Orientalism, the metaphoric Oriental is first of all a Muslim, and
> rarely a Chinese, Hindu or Japanese: these are more frequent in the imagery of
> classic orientalism or among other global powers. Wherever it exists, frontier
> orientalism does not represent any relation towards distant major colonies
> overseas; the Oriental is specifically close, Muslim Oriental…The Oriental is
> perceived as striving for urban life; he knows writing and history. He has
> religion, albeit the wrong one; he therefore has culture, albeit an
> incomprehensible one... (Gingrich, 1996, p. 120)

Central European nations used Frontier Orientalism as a method for protecting their culture from the old enemy and they marginalized them as the threating other so that they could build their own national identity. Hence, it can be stated that it also led them to create national consciousness by constantly reminding them of the perceived Muslim Ottoman threat. "Frontier Orientalism is thus a relatively coherent set of metaphors and myths that reside in folk and public culture" explained Gingrich (1996) (p. 119). As the elements of local identity; the common Ottoman occupation past and fights against the Turks created a field of metaphoric reminders among the Central European nations (Sabatos, 2014, p. 31). So, the Ottoman threat and construction of a local identity raised the nationalistic feelings in Central Europe "which is less the case with colonial elite orientalism" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 121) but they "have one basic ideological common denominator: they both refer to Muslims who "cannot represent themselves" as Said paraphrased Marx" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 121). In this regard, Frontier Orientalism included the Central European nations in the Habsburg empire and their nation-building process via orientalising the Muslim Ottomans.

Also, another type of Orientalism that focused on different geography is Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism. The Ottoman Empire, that was heavily under

Western influence, was in a modernization period during the 19ᵗʰ century and they entered into the process of Westernization which was centred around the ruling elite of Istanbul. They began to send Turkish travellers to the periphery of the empire in order to observe them there. As a result of it, they saw the different cultures of the Ottoman subjects which were mostly the Arab nations in the empire. The ruling elite criticized the culture of the subjects and labelled them as backward and uncivilized. Makdisi (2002) defined Ottoman Orientalism as "a complex of Ottoman attitudes produced by a nineteenth-century age of Ottoman reform that implicitly and explicitly acknowledged the West to be the home of progress and the East, writ large, to be a present theatre of backwardness" (p. 769). Thus, the civilized and uncivilized dichotomy could be observed in the Ottoman empire too. Just like colonialist Europe's mission of educating and improving the Orient, Ottoman elite wanted to educate their underdeveloped Arab subjects and gather the whole empire around an Istanbul centred Ottoman identity so that they were able to catch up with the recently rising nationalism ideology of the 19ᵗʰ century. This also displayed the Western influence of Ottoman politics. By the mission of improving the backward subjects, the Ottoman elite announced their perceived superior identity and put a distance between the uncivilized subjects and civilized Istanbul which formed a bridge between the backward East and the modern West. So, it could also be said that the Ottoman elite wanted to constitute a modern identity connected with Istanbul which was a city with a European past through its history. Istanbul was named as Constantinople and was the capital of East Roman Empire until its conquest by the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, it laid a foundation for constructing a unique identity and Ottoman Orientalism aided to locate the empire between the East and the West. While they

internalized the Western modernization, they also wanted to emphasize their differences.

> Just as European Orientalism was based on an opposition between the Christian West and the Islamic Orient, the Ottomans believed that there were some essential differences that distinguished them from the West – especially a notion of Islam…Islam in this vein served to signify the empire's modern historical and cultural difference from the West in an era of otherwise rampant westernization (Makdisi, 2002, p. 769)

Thus, the Ottoman elite accepted and internalized the Western modernization while they stressed their Islamic identity. However, they also emphasized the Istanbul centred superior identity as they were indicating the backwardness of the Arab periphery "as places to become Ottomanized but not yet Ottoman" (Makdisi, p. 770). So, the Ottoman elite constructed a modern Islamic identity between the developed West and the undeveloped East. Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism "points, in conclusion, to a hitherto-neglected aspect of the studies of Orientalism" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 795).

1.3. Feminist criticism in the context of Orientalism

In addition, another significant representation of the Orient in all types of Orientalisms is associating them with femininity since the West is identified with the male and the East with the female in the Orientalist context. Thus, Orientalism has a gender aspect too because of its inclusion of patriarchal perspective. Just like favouring the male over female, the Orientalists associated the favoured male with the West and the unfavoured female with the East. Said explained this as:

> Orientalism itself, furthermore, was an exclusively male province; like so many professional guilds during the modern period, it viewed itself and its

subject mailer with sexist blinders. This is especially evident in the writing of travellers and novelists: women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy (Said, 1978, p. 207)

The East was not only childlike, depraved, irrational but feminine as well. Europe created these stereotypes to justify the colonialism and built the inferior other to establish control over the East. Similarly, women were another place to subjugate for men. They constructed the woman as the inferior other and attributed the negative features to them. So, the women being the inferior other was a reason enough to feminize the East for the West (Ueno, 1997, p. 4). Like the West's otherization of the East to maintain power over it, the patriarchy otherized women to keep their superiority over them. While the West took control of the irrational and childish East, the patriarchy took control of the irrational and childish women. Also, Orientalist representations of the Eastern women as passive, lustful, weak and vulnerable strengthened the West's construction of masculine identity which was associated with superiority for themselves.

According to French Feminist Luce Irigaray, the women were dominated in the patriarchal system since they were not able to think for themselves. They were given certain personas by the men. She stated, "mother, virgin, prostitute: these are the social roles imposed on women" in her article "Women on the Market" (Irigaray, 1977, p. 186). Women were undermined to a certain kind of typicality by the men as the Orient was done by the Occident. Their individuality was reduced to a single type of image. This also could be narrowed down to the women who were from the East. They were not only women but Orients too. This also added more stereotypical images to them. Oriental women "express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing" (Said, 1978, p. 207). Also, women were

ontologically divided into two by the patriarchal thought just like the world's division into two as the West and the East by the Orientalists. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979) indicated that "the images of 'angel' and 'monster' have been so ubiquitous throughout literature by men" (p. 812) in their book *The Madwoman in the Attic*. While the Eastern woman was attributed with inferior characteristics, the Western woman was represented as the ideal woman according to the Western norms. Therefore, it can be said that the Orientalist idea of separation of the world into two was supported by the division of the women of the two worlds as angel and monster in accordance with the West and the East binary. Then, the East in the Imperial world and the women, mostly the Eastern women in this regard, in the patriarchal world were represented as the marginals so as to maintain power over the other and build a positive identity.

1.4. New Historicist approach to national identity construction

Orientalism, then, is an idea of constructing a positive identity for the self as describing the other and creating an identity for them in order to keep control over them. On the other hand, the otherized who got influenced by this dominant Orientalist ideology, create their own unique identity for distinguishing themselves from the authority like in the Ottoman Orientalism or preserving their culture from the other like in Frontier Orientalism. So, they also create an identity for themselves while they orientalise their perceived other. In this case, Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning' could be discussed as well.

Historical novels first appeared as a consequence of the rising nationalistic feelings and revolutions in Europe in the 19th century as mentioned earlier. This developed the idea of the nation-states and the construction of national identities. Western empires started to build a perceived superior identity based on the colonized

East which they saw as their inferior other or the Orient. History, then, is an important factor in analysing a historical novel and it cannot be separated from the literary texts, their authors, the period in which they lived and the historical background of the novels' setting. Stephen Greenblatt whose book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (1980) is thought as this perspective's beginning. It could be described as:

> a method based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period. That is to say, new historicism refuses (at least ostensibly) to 'privilege' the literary text: instead of a literary 'foreground' and a historical 'background' it envisages and practises a mode of study in which literary and non-literary texts are given equal weight and constantly inform or interrogate each other (Barry, 2002, p. 172).

Greenblatt worked on the Renaissance era and examined the lives of people who were living in the period of European colonization. He mostly pointed out to "the marginalization and dehumanizing of suppressed Others" and concentrated on "evoking the quality of lived experience rather than 'history'" (Barry, 2002, p. 172). Thus, New Historicism examined the big incidents in history such as colonization and analyses how people were affected by these just like the historical novel which told the ordinary people's stories and experiences. According to New Historicism, identity was a social construct and social factors like religion and politics shaped it. In the 19th century Orientalist context, Europe colonized and otherized the East and this caused them to have an identity crisis under the imperial rule. Greenblatt claimed that power controlled identity and this caused the East to build an identity according to the West's perceiving of them. Greenblatt called this way of identity building as 'self-

fashioning' because the selves fashioned themselves "according to the generative rules and conflicts of a given culture" (Greenblatt, 1990, p. 15). People's race, class, gender and national identities shaped who they are. So, Orientalism which appeared as a result of the otherization of the East led both the West and the East to self-fashion their identities according to the dominant powers and ideologies of the era. Then, while the historical novel author aimed to give a message through history, the new historicist critic saw the literary text as a historical narrative and attempted to investigate it by studying the author's historical background, the relation between the power and the marginalized in his period, the social and political codes of the time and in what ways the literary work represented them.

Furthermore, New Historicism had intertextual elements. It studied a specific period and how the power relations of the period shaped the literature produced and these "literary texts relate to one another in contexts that are inseparable from the cultural and historical moment" (Middeke, Müller, Wald & Zapf, 2012, p. 204). Thus, studying a text required a further study of the previous texts and their relevant historical backgrounds. Also, Greenblatt stated that literary texts were "collective social constructions" (As cited in Middeke et al., 2012, p. 204). A literary text was shaped around the social and political codes of its period, but these were also consequences of the previous social and political life of the specific period and the power relations between the authority and the others were influenced by the past. Therefore, particular references to the previous literary texts could be observed since "new historicism emphasizes cultural intertextuality" (Middeke et al., 2012, p. 204). Also, the authors were usually influenced by the old canonical texts that reflected their era and represented the people of the time. "The concept of influence does not really emerge until well after the deaths of Sidney, Spencer, and Shakespeare"

(Weiner, 1991, p. 245). So, intertextual elements could also be seen in historical

novels.

2. BRITISH ORIENTALISM IN BULWER-LYTTON'S *LEILA*

One of the purposes of the historical novel was defining a national identity for the countries. It began with Walter Scott and spread around Europe from Hungary to Turkey as explained earlier. However, "…in England and France the need was less great, because a stronger political unity and clearer national identity already existed before the nineteenth century" (Hamnett, 2011, p. 7). The issue of English national identity construction was not the case for Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila* too. Yet, the historical novels also aimed to give a message about the present through the past. So, the author's message will be discussed in the chapter. He narrated the Reconquest which was a significant period for the Western civilization for both Europeanizing and Christianizing the region. He constructed the Western identity via Orientalizing the last inhabitants, who were the Muslims and the Jews, of the area. He represented them with stereotypical features which did not reflect their actual characteristics completely and provided a limited and biased representation of them. These orientalist stereotypes and the typical characterizations of the historical novel authors will be discussed together.

The novel has a double plotline as it is understood from the title. In one, Lytton dealt with the siege of Granada, a significant medieval historical event that affected many different nations such as; Jews, Muslims and Christians in Spain. In the other, he narrated a secret romance between Leila, a Jewish woman and Moorish Muza, a Muslim Prince. It took place in Granada that was under the influence of Christian Reconquest. Leila's father Almamen who worked for the royals changed his loyalty between the Moors and the Christians. He tried to save her daughter's Jewish legacy and kept her away from Muza. So, he handed Leila into the Christian Monarch by an oversight. Then, she was made to convert to Catholicism by Queen Isabella and her

assistant Donna Inez. Also, Don Juan, Prince of Spain fell in love with Leila and this left her among three men who happened to have different religions namely; Judaism, Islam and Christianity. Leila's struggle between both three men and three religions drew parallels to the religious fights for Spain and eventually Christianization of it.

In this chapter, *Leila or the Siege of Granada* by Edward Bulwer-Lytton will be analysed in the context of Orientalism. The novel will be examined in three sections. Firstly, information about the author and the Victorian period including the political situation and the Jewish situation of the time will be given. Author's look at nationalism and colonialism will also be discussed in the chapter. Secondly, the historical background of the novel will be provided. 15th century Spain, the start of Spanish nationalism and the otherization felt by the Jews and Muslims during the Christianization period will be clarified. Thirdly, the otherization and the characters' construction of identity will be examined mainly through Edward Said's Classic Orientalism and supported by Luce Irigaray and Stephen Greenblatt's theories. References to the representations of the other in the canonical plays in the novel will be discussed with examples as well.

2.1. Edward Bulwer-Lytton and 19th-century England

Edward Bulwer-Lytton was born in 1803 to an aristocratic family during the reign of George III of the United Kingdom. He began his political career as a member of House of Commons in the Radical party in 1831. Then he moved to the Whigs which represented the liberal side in Britain. After having served eleven years in the government, he quitted his job and focused on his literary works and in 1851, during Queen Victoria's reign, he returned to his job in the government as a member of House of Lords in the Conservative Tory party which supported the imperialist and colonialist rule of the state. He objected to the abolition of the East India Company

and stated that "England is essentially a colonizing country – long may she be so! – to colonize is to civilize" (Mitchell, 2003, pp. 210, 211) in a speech in 1838. He got offered a position as a Secretary of State for the Colonies which gave him power over the colonies, particularly British Columbia that he established in 1858. "The motivating factors behind colonialism are… economic gain, religion, nationalism, and national prestige, a sense of civilizing mission" (Motyl, 2001, p. 95) and he was clearly in favour of "the development of the Empire" (Judge, 2009, p. 153) and was "a conservative nationalist" (Judge, 2009, p. 153). Then, it could be stated that he was an Orientalist who examined the era in an Imperialistic look. This was noticeable in *Leila* too. Even though he criticized the marginalization of the minorities at some points, he used stereotypical characters and showed distinct differences between the Western Christians and the Eastern Jews and Muslims.

Bulwer-Lytton's interest in nationalism could be observed in his literary works as well. One year after Queen Victoria ascended the throne, he published *Leila* which took place in the period of Reconquest. After the conquest was completed, Queen Isabella of Spain financially supported Christopher Columbus to sail away for new discoveries and it resulted in the foundation of the Spanish colonies in the Americas which formed the Spanish Empire and started its expansion and golden years. Lytton's "frequent perversion of history in order to make it analogous to Victorian conditions is more important than his intended accuracy" (Dahl, 1967, p. 61). Also, he "insisted that the subject matter of a novel should ideally relate immediately to contemporary society, thereby becoming accessible to a wide readership" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 111). Reminding the English people of a Christian Queen figure, who had taken their old lands back and expanded their territories might both support his political party's interests in British colonization and Queen Victoria's position as a

monarch who would expand the lands in control of England. So, supporting his political opinions in his historical fiction created a new genre. He "was inaugurating the political historical novel" (Dahl, 1967, p. 61). He was not only writing about historical incidents that had an impact on people but also applying them into the Victorian conditions to promote his political interests. His precursor Scott was not intellectual enough and his historical novels were lacking philosophy and ethics according to Bulwer-Lytton. He wanted to add a moral depth which was relatable both to the history and the present conditions of the period (Dahl, 1967, p. 60). Also, while Scott was concentrating on a romantic narrative that was built on a historical event, Bulwer-Lytton was focusing on being "more historically informative and morally enlightening" (Dahl, 1967, p. 60) and thought romance "should be an aid to history, not history to romance" (Dahl, 1967, p. 60). Thus, historical information which was related to the Victorian-era politics and supported by a romantic plot constituted the core of Bulwer-Lytton's historical novel. He considered historical fiction as a genre that dealt with ethical questions and relevant to the politics of present:

> It should have ethical content or moral utility that applicable to the present. Historical writing, he thought, was of particular moral importance because history itself a moral teacher. If correctly analysed (hence the urgency of accurate history), it can provide lessons for the present. Secondly, Bulwer believed that though the costumes, characters, scenery, and background of various ages differ, the basic political situations, social groupings, and causative forces remain constant. He who knows modern psychology and modern politics can explain the past by comparison. In his histories and historical novels, then, Bulwer uses an analogical method: he explains history

by comparing it to contemporary life by reading the political and social conditions of his own time into past eras and there commenting on them. In this way he weakens his historicity but provides his readers with an excellent presentation on his views on Victorian England. Thus, they establish not only the fashion of introducing historical scholarship into fiction but also the technique of historical fiction as a means of commenting on current social, political, or personal problems (Dahl, 1967, p. 62).

If the otherization of the Jews and the tragic end of the novel was considered, it should be looked at what sort of moral lesson could be deduced from them and the context of the Victorian period. The Reform Act supported by Lytton as a supporter of Whig party, "granted Jews and Catholics the right to vote in parliamentary elections" (Schreiber, 2003, p. 80) and "the Board of Deputies of British Jews was recognized by the government" (Schreiber, 2003, p. 80) in 1832. Also, Benjamin Disraeli, a convert who was a good friend of Bulwer-Lytton, got politically involved and became a prime minister in 1868. He was also an author and "introducing the modern political novel" (Dahl, 1967, p. 61). So, the Jews began to be recognized both politically and socially in 19th century England. Contrarily, the Jews in Christian Spain suffered a lot and were forced to leave or change their religions. Therefore, while Queen Isabella selected an intolerant way towards the Jews, the other minorities and the colonies at the beginning of her reign, the other Queen might lead a more inclusive and tolerant way towards all the minorities and the colonies at the beginning of hers. Further, his all novels "deal with times of great political crisis (Note the word "last" in the titles: *The Last Days of Pompeii; Rienzi, Last of the Roman Tribunes; The Last of the Barons; and Harold, Last of the Saxon Kings;* Boabdil in *Leila* is the last Moorish king of Granada" (Dahl, 1967, p. 67) and they display "many of

Bulwer's religious and political biases" (Dahl, 1967, p. 67). Dealing with a big crisis of a period is also compatible with Lukács's description of a historical novel. The novel was published only one year after Queen Victoria's succession to the throne. Similarly, it was about Queen Isabella's taking the throne of Spain. So, both reality and fiction were in a period of transition. The treatment towards the minorities, specifically the Jews, in Queen Isabella's reign was brutal. However, the author was a member of the Whig party that supported the religious freedom of minorities. Then, it could be stated that Bulwer-Lytton was conveying a message related to his political party's interests in his historical novels. Therefore, the historical context of the novel is ought to be examined to comprehend the concept of otherization.

2.2. The Moors, the Reconquest, and the rise of Spanish nationalism

The Iberian Peninsula hosted many nations during its history. It belonged to the Christian Visigoth Kingdom, who was considered as the first rulers of Spain, until the Moorish invasion of the land. After the Moorish army occupied the Peninsula, they named it as Andalus and the Islamic rule of the land, which was about to last 781 years, began under the Umayyad Empire (Payne, 2008, pp. 43, 74). Nevertheless, the Christian reconquest of the Peninsula started several years later with the foundation of the Kingdom of Asturias. According to Stanley G. Payne (2008), a historian of Spain, "The "Grand Narrative" of Spanish history, as it took full form in the nineteenth century, defined a national identity and a kind of historical purpose and mission, the origins of which were purportedly laid by the Visigoths and developed more extensively by the kingdom of Asturias" (p. 44). So, it could be stated that the Reconquest was the starting point of building a national identity for the Spanish. Thus, nationalism and the otherization it brought could be observed in the novel. These were also the starting point of forming national consciousness which caused the

historical novel to emerge as Lukács indicated. Within the years, Christians expanded their territory. Through the end of the 1400s, the Emirate of Granada, under the rule of Boabdil El Chico, was the last place that the Moors controlled and that was undermined to a tributary state (O'Callaghan, 2004, p. 3). In 1469, Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon's marriage was arranged to "create a political union" (Kamen, 2014, p. 13). This resulted in the unification of two Catholic kingdoms and "Spain took shape as a unified kingdom over an ethnically diverse area" (Motyl, 2001, p. 505). As a consequence of this powerful union, the last Moorish Emirate Granada fell, and the ultimate Catholic Kingdom of Spain took full control of Al-Andalus. Following this, Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand declared the Alhambra Decree, an intensified version of the Spanish Inquisition that was established in 1478 and conducted by the anti-Semitic friar Tomás de Torquemada. It approved the deportation of the Jews who were living in Spain. The rest of the Jews who stayed in Spain had to convert their religion to Catholicism so as to keep living in Spain and the ones who were deported left all their properties and belongings behind.

Even though the Jews under the Muslim rule had relatively better conditions such as having been "allowed to practice their religions, subject to certain conditions, and to enjoy a measure of communal autonomy" (Lewis, 1984, p. 20), they were still struggling with being the other in the Islamic society. They "were required to pay a special tax—no Muslims paid taxes—and to observe a number of restrictive regulations…they were forbidden most public displays of their religious rituals" (Menocal, 2009, Mother Tongues section). Naming the non-Muslims and asking them to a special tax was also a way to remind them that they are the other in the country. It was almost a "badge of humiliation for their unbelief, or by way of mercy for protection" (Ahmed, 1975, p. 293). Meanwhile, with the progression of Reconquest,

Muslim dominance gradually diminished in the Iberian Peninsula and Spanish nationalism began to rise. "The development of Spanish nationalism is tied to the state-building process by the monarchy dominated by Castile" (Motyl, 2001, p. 506). So, the marriage of the two Catholic monarchs started the idea of unified Spain under Catholicism. Following the marriage, they requested the Jews and Muslims to leave the country under the terms of the Alhambra Decree. However, many of them converted in order to get away with the brutal laws for practising Judaism and Islam and they secretly kept on practising. This led to a Christian identity crisis since "Christian identity and Christian privilege were defined by insisting on their distance from the Jew (and the Muslim)" (Nirenberg, 2002, p. 1088). To eliminate this, Ferdinand and Isabella used the papal bull they requested to establish an Inquisition in Spain for controlling the crypto-Jews and Muslims. However, they were not alone as they made decisions. Tomás de Torquemada was also behind those. He was commissioned as the Grand Inquisitor and was responsible for leading the brutal Inquisition towards the non-Christians and torturing them. The Christian identity was developed under the authority of the Church and took both the Jews and the Muslims as the alien to build an identity. Hence, crypto-Jews and Muslims were seen as a threat for a unified Catholic Spain since "the overall success of the nation lies in, or at the very least is intimately connected with, the successful control of the national economy" and they "place the economy under the control of the nation" (Motyl, 2001, pp. 137, 138). All in all, attempting to create both religiously and economically unified Spain to construct a national identity resulted in a cruel otherization felt by the Jews and the Muslims.

2.3. Orientalising of the Jews and Muslims and the identity construction of Christian Spain

In his *Orientalism*, Edward Said argued that one way to build an identity for the West is to otherize the Orient and construct a positive image for themselves via attributing negative images to the East. One way to make this distinction for Europe was to continuously feminize the East. Weakness, backwardness, penetrability and madness were all characterized with femininity while the opposites were attributed to masculinity. Women were to men as the Orient was to the Occident. The last Emir of Granada, Boabdil El Chico was depicted with feminine traits too. Because of the immense stress he felt under the siege, he developed mental problems and it caused him to hallucinate. Due to his mentally weak character that was almost hysterical, he was easily manipulated by Almamen and believed in his sorceries which were actually only natural sciences. He was described as a weak man who could even be deceived by a child (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 90). Therefore, Boabdil El Chico was depicted as a weak and easily manipulated ruler which were usually associated with femininity. Nonetheless, the Christian King Ferdinand was represented as the opposite of the Emir. He was the one who manipulated people and had power over them. Unlike Boabdil El Chico, he did not fall on to the trap of Almamen and did not believe in his fake support and beat Almamen in his own game. In addition to this, the Moorish ruler lost the battle with the Christian King Ferdinand owing to his inabilities in the fighting. After the battle, he cried for his defeat. "The tears gushed from his eyes, and he covered his face with his hands" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 252). However, just after the defeat, Ferdinand put his hand upon the Emir's shoulder and consoled him. "Brother and Prince. Forget thy sorrow; and may our friendship hereafter console thee sorrows" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 249). Hence, the Muslim ruler received the defeat with an immense shame as the Christian King responded to his situation in a very noble way by comforting him. Also, the Emir's mother Ayxa

La Horra told him "Ay, weep, like a woman over what thou couldst not defend like a man!" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 252). The Moorish leader was weak and had got feminine characteristics just like the Western point of view towards the East. "An Orientalist gender paradigm in which the "masculine" West sexualizes and possesses the "feminine" East, is fundamentally constant throughout Orientalist discourse" (Hosford & Wojtkowski, 2010, p. 12). So, Boabdil El Chico represented the feminized East with his weak, sensitive, powerless and mentally unhealthy traits while King Ferdinand represented the masculine West with his strong, tough, powerful and rational image.

Additionally, another aspect of Western power over the Orient was the stereotypes. The overgeneralized views, which are mostly negative, on a specific group of people might end up with inaccurate social perception and homogenise and deny the diversity in that group. Edward Said (1978) mentioned about stereotypes too in his *Orientalism*. "…as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of "the mysterious Orient"" (p. 26). Both Jews and Muslims had their shares of stereotypes in the novel.

There were many Jewish stereotypes in *Leila.* Sheila Spector indicated that Jewish characters in early English fiction were based upon four archetypes. They were namely; the evil magician, Shylock, the wandering Jew and the convert (Kaiserman, 2018). All of these stereotypes could be found on the Jewish characters of the novel. Firstly, the evil magician could be applied to Leila's father Almamen. In spite of being a Jew, he disguised himself and pretended to be a Muslim to get his revenge on them whom brutally killed his father. He fooled them by making them

believe in his superstitious powers. However, he was just very good at using natural

sciences.

> Almamen took from his breast a phial and dashed it on the ground – It
>
> broke into a thousand shivers: a mist rose over the apartment – it spread,
>
> thickened, darkened, as a sudden night; the lamps could not pierce it. The
>
> luminous form of the Hebrew grew dull and dim, until it vanished in the
>
> shade. On every eye blindness seemed to fall. There was a dead silence broken
>
> by a cry and groan; and when, after some minutes, the darkness gradually
>
> dispersed, Almamen was gone. (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 115)

Therefore, the depiction of Almamen was completely compatible with the evil

magician stereotype. He was using his tricks to beat his enemies. Then drew his long

robe and disappeared. Secondly, Shylock stereotype was excessively used in the

novel. Shylock was also a key character in Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of*

Venice (1596). He was a Jewish moneylender. In the 16th century, Jews were not

legally present in England. So, usury was a common occupation among them. In

Leila, almost all the Jewish characters were associated with gold and property.

Almamen's father was "butchered by the late king, Muley Abul Hassan, without other

crime than his reputed riches; and his body literally cut open, to search for the jewels

it was supposed he had swallowed" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 86). So, it was believed

that the Jews must have hidden their valuable things all the time just like they hid

their identity. Crypto-Judaism was quite common under the Spanish Inquisition. To

have gotten away with it, Jews were disguising into a converso identity which meant

converts who kept living under Christian Spain. (Menocal, 2009). The image of a

hiding Jew was well accepted regardless of their wealth or identity. After King

Ferdinand and Almamen made an agreement to deceive the Muslims together, the

Christian King stated "Gold is their God, and the market place their country. They sympathize only with the rise and the fall of trade" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 20). Also, he was afraid of providing equality between the Jews and the Christians since he considered that Jews "would be soon buying up our kingdoms" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 61). Thus, an economic anti-Semitic image could be easily captured in the novel. Another significant character with a Shylock stereotype was Ximen who was Almamen's servant. He looked forward to the death of Almamen so that he could have all his wealth. "All mine if he dies! Said he; all mine if he does not return! All mine all mine! And I have not a child nor a kinsman in the world to clutch it away from me!" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 153). Therefore, Ximen was portrayed as a disloyal Jewish who did not even care about his own community when it came to money. Plus, another Jewish character who was portrayed as unfaithful to the Jewish community was Elias. He was a wealthy merchant and even encouraged Almamen on his mission to rise. Nonetheless, when Almamen's plans began to fail, he greedily made his own plans to save his own wealth. He even threatened Ximen to reveal information about Almamen if he was not giving money to him for his escape. That is to say, almost all the characters were depicted with a Shylock stereotype who only valued money and gold. Thirdly, the wandering Jew was applicable to all the Jews in the novel. For instance, Almamen went back and forth between the Moorish and the Christian kingdoms in order to find a permanent location for the Hebrews. As a result of his failure, the whole race was destined to wander around again or Leila wandered around her Jewish home, her Muslim lover Muza and the Christian Kingdom not only geographically but emotionally as well. Lastly, the convert stereotype was obviously Leila. The feminine traits of Leila made her an easy target of the conversion. All along with the novel, she was an object of conversion. In the beginning, she was

introduced as a Jewess. Later, she was mentioned as "a deist in belief" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 129) due to her father Almamen's brainwashing on Judaism. She did not know much about religion even though she believed in God. Then she was converted to Christianity because of her being a hostage in a Christian kingdom of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand and eventually, she was called "my sweet convert" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 156) by her Christian lover Don Juan as a justification of her identity. So, Leila's weakness and submissiveness which were associated with her femininity combined with her religion and created the easily convertible Jewish girl stereotype.

For the Islamic world, the harem was the most common stereotype. This Oriental cliché which included the harem and the dancing boys and girls could be seen in *Leila* as well. When Boabdil El Chico spent time in his palace Alhambra, the room turned into a lustful place just with a clap of his hands. Many slave girls appeared including Amina, the Emir's favourite:

> She (Amina) alone approached the king, timidly kissed his hand, and then, joining her comrades, commenced the following song, to the air and very words of which the feet of the dancing-girls kept time, while, with the chorus rang the silver bells of the musical instrument which each of the dances carried (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 15)

Therefore, the image of a voluptuous chamber of an Eastern palace, which was known as the harem too, could be seen in the works containing the Islamic world. They were represented as exotic and lustful. Also, Boabdil's himself said that "…the laws of the Eastern life confined to the narrow walls of a harem…" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 177). Hence, the Muslims of the novel were undermined to single harem imagery.

Another Islamic stereotype was the image of the veil. "The meaning of the veil is naturalized—it is made to seem like an unquestioned given, as if it is an inherent aspect of the state of being a Muslim woman. In this way, the mythology of the veil encodes a political and ideological message within the symbol of the veil and then fixes it there" (Jarmakani, 2008, p. 166). All the Orient women including the slaves in the harem and Leila wore veils. It could be seen when Leila "in obedience to the queen's request, threw up her veil" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 119). Almamen also gave her hostage to the Christian monarchs "without removing her veils" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 55). Most significantly, Granada as an Islamic city was associated with the veil when described. "The spray of Arabian fountains glittered in the moonlight; while, above, rose the castled heights of the Alhambra; and on the right those Vermilion Towers, whose origin veils itself in the furthest ages of Phoenician enterprise" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 9). Thus, the veil was used as an exoticized oriental image for the Muslim and Jewish women.

Attributing certain negative images to the Jews and Muslims was a way to construct a positive identity for Europe as mentioned earlier. Michael Galchinsky who works on Jewish studies claimed as:

> In 19th c. English literary history it is virtually always true to say that when non-Jews were write about Jews, they're really writing about themselves. Quite flexibly, Jews were made to represent selfish materialism, legalism and the market…For these writers the Jew was a projection of fears and hopes for those ideologies and institutions which defined their own secularized Christian existence (Galchinsky, 1997, p.31)

This opinion could also be applied to Muslim images. Also, it was similar to Edward Said's idea of "the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self" (Said,

1978, p. 3). "The East becomes the repository or projection of those aspects of themselves which Westerners do not choose to acknowledge" (Barry, 2002, p. 193). as Peter Barry explained Said's Orientalism. So, it could be said that Oriental stereotypes were the results of the West's identity building.

Moreover, like the East's otherization as the Orient by the West, women were otherized by the men. The Orient figure as the other even resembled the women's position as the other to the men as previously mentioned. The West's look towards Oriental women was only about their sexuality and their submissiveness. Therefore, women were also undermined to certain images that were attributed by men just like the Western stereotypical images given to the East. In *Leila*, it could be seen that the women characters had only got secondary roles to the men even though Leila was an eponymous character. Luce Irigaray (1985) indicated that "women thus has value only in that she can be exchanged" (p. 176). Leila as "a virgin woman, is pure exchange value" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 186) under the control of men. She was portrayed as she had not got an individual value as a person, yet she only had value as a commodity among men. Irigaray stated:

> …the commodity obviously cannot exist alone, but there is no such
> thing as a commodity, either, so long as there are not at least two men to
> Exchange. In order for a product –a woman? - to have value, two men, at least,
> have to invest (in) her. (Irigaray, 1985, p. 181)

So, Leila was exchanged by two patriarchal figures. One was her Jewish father Almamen and the other was the Christian King Ferdinand. Leila was exchanged as a commodity under their political deal which was keeping the Jewish rights as equal with those of Christians. The crypto-Jew Almamen was in disguise under the Moorish dynasty to leak information to the Christian Kingdom and left Leila as a hostage until

the mission was accomplished. Women "always pass from one man to another, from one group of men to another" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 171) and Leila's role as a commodity is an example of this exchange. Another imposed role was the prostitute. Amine, who was a dancer in the harem of Boabdil El Chico, could be applied to this type since harem was constituted by the imprisoned girls who were forced to entertain the Muslim elite in the palace. She was mostly referred to as "his favourite slave" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 76) who was responsible for entertaining the Emir in the voluptuous harem of him. She was always obedient to him no matter what. "I will obey thee, then, even if it displease" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 77). Amine replied while the Emir struggled with pessimistic thoughts about the siege. In the novel, her image as a slave who eagerly obeyed the Emir in the harem was the same Western perspective discussed in Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Irigaray (1985) said, "They have value only because they have already been appropriated by a man" (p. 186). Hence, Amine's exchange value was considered in the category of the prostitute. She was not as valuable as virgin Leila for being already used. However, she still had got value as a useful body in the market. Further, the other three women were Ayxa la Horra who was the mother of Boabdil El Chico, Donna Inez who was a Christian nun and Queen Isabella, the queen of the Christian kingdom. Their role "as mother, remains on the side of reproductive nature" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 185). All the three women were mothers and their value as commodities were finished and the only role left for them was motherhood. Apart from these, all the women in the novel were depicted with weak features, submissive behaviour or over-sensual. For instance, in accordance with the common stereotype for Jewish girls, Leila was easily convertible as mentioned earlier. She was submissive to the demands of the patriarchal society. Also, Queen Isabella was depicted as over-emotional. After the conquest of Granada, she was

described as "…the emotion and excitement were too much for her compassionate heart, heroine and queen though she was; and, when she lifted her eyes upon the calm and pale features of the fallen monarch, the tears gushed from them irresistibly…" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 250). Amine was depicted as a submissive woman who worked for the Emir. She accepted her unfortunate situation as a slave. Then, both the East and the women drew parallels in the context of otherization. They were both seen as the inferior other by the West and the Patriarchy. While the West marginalised the Orient to keep control over them and build an identity for themselves, the Patriarchy did the same to maintain power over the women and build a superior identity.

Bulwer-Lytton's choice to use stereotypical images of the East could also be explained with Lukács' term typicality. As he stated, representations of a whole nation with typical features, helped to transfer their universal images. Individual characteristics prevented conveying the experiences of a society. Thus, oriental images of the Jews and the Muslims might be used to represent the struggles of the minorities in general during the Reconquest in 15th century Spain. However, through these stereotypes, the author also undermined the minorities to a single image in the eyes of the European reader.

Furthermore, Stephen Greenblatt discussed human autonomy in the construction of the identity in his work *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* and he claimed that power controlled the identity and it could be manipulated. He stated, "self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something, perceived as alien, strange, or hostile. This threatening Other – heretic, savage, witch, adulteress, traitor, Antichrist – must be discovered or intended in order to be attacked and destroyed" (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9). Also, there must be an authority to which the individual related and constructed a self since self-fashioning "involves submission to

an absolute power or authority situated at least partially outside the self – God, a sacred book, an institution such as church, court, colonial or military administration" (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9). In Almamen's condition, the threatening other was the Muslims at the beginning, then it became the Christians after the rise of Reconquista because "when one authority or alien is destroyed, another takes its place" and the power he believed in was Judaism (Greenblatt, 1980, p. 9). He identified himself with the religion and its people. Thus, the collective memories of the whole race shaped his identity too. He saw his daughter's crying and said "they are the witness of thy race! Our daughters are born to weep, and our sons to groan!" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 32). He characterized himself and Leila with sorrow due to the whole race's both past and current experiences. He constructed his identity by describing the threatening others as well. He stated, "the Moors had treated this unhappy people with a wholesale and relentless barbarity" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 42) and emphasized the sadness of his race and how they were treated by the Muslims. Then, he said, "I was the worst enemy of the Moors, till I found the Nazarene more hateful than the Moslem" (Bulwer- Lytton, 1865, p. 222). Hence, Almamen fashioned his identity according to the authority.

Another significant identity of the novel was the Grand Inquisitor Tomás de Torquemada's. He started the Inquisition to do away with the crypto-Jews and Muslims to secure the Christian identity of the nation. Ironically, he himself was not a Christian by birth. He was "a former Jew" (Falk, 1996, p. 508) and he "came from a family of Jewish conversos. Troubled in his family, at war with himself" (Falk, 1996, p. 508). Even tough Bulwer-Lytton did not mention this fact, he wrote about how he and the King formed "a vast and wide scheme of persecution, not only against Jews, but against Christians whose fathers had been of that race, and who were suspecting

of relapsing into Judaical practices" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, pp. 133, 134). He also mentioned how he "connived at the griping avarice of the king, because it served to give to himself, and to the infant Inquisition, a power and an authority which the Dominican foresaw would be soon greater even those of royalty itself" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 134). His hateful and conniving personality was reflected well. So, Torquemada was aware of his ethnical Jewishness and developed a converso identity to "protect the self socially and psychologically from over-identification with the other" (López, 2016, para. 4). Another Jewish convert was Hernando del Pulgar who was a 15th-century author and one of the queen's advisors. (Castro, 1971, p. 80). He appears in the novel as a minor character. Like Tomás de Torquemada's, his convert statue was not mentioned in the novel, but his support of the Christian monarchy was adverted. Although he supported the Christian monarchy, he showed sympathy towards the Jews unlike Torquemada in reality. He was among the people "who really felt the scruple of purity of blood" (Castro, 1971, p. 75). So, he supported Christians and Jews living together.

Additionally, intertextual elements could be seen in the novel. Most significantly, the characterizations as Shylock as it was stated earlier in the part of the Jewish stereotypes. "… *The Merchant of Venice* occupies a critical position in the English imagination and in the national character" (Ragussis, 1995, p. 58). Thus, many Jewish characters in English literature were derived from Shylock and his stereotypical features since "no portrait of a Jew can exist in English without reference to it, and the English imagination seems unable to free itself of Shakespeare's texts" (Ragussis, 1995, p. 58). Almamen, Ximen and Elias were examples of it. Also, "Bulwer Lytton's *Leila, or the Siege of Granada* and Thackeray's *Rebecca and Rowena* were two of the novels that updated the

Shylock/Jessica plot of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* to depict spiritual Jewish women leaving their materialistic fathers' houses to marry a charismatic Christian suitor" (Galchinsky, 1999, p. 172). While Jessica voluntarily converted and escaped with her Christian lover, Leila was manipulated to convert to marry Don Juan, the Christian prince. The negative image of the Jew remained for a long time in history and this affected the literary texts produced. Thus, Bulwer-Lytton might be influenced by Shakespeare's Shylock and Jessica plot since literary texts were collective social constructions as Greenblatt said and the Jewish situation cannot be thought independently of the old literary texts. So, Shylock and Jessica plot could be observed in Almamen and Leila's story.

Also, there were some allusions to *Hamlet* in the novel. Both Boabdil El Chico and Hamlet were orientalised by the authority and they were depicted with feminine traits. Their pessimistic, manic-depressive and hysteric mood were overtly exposed to the reader. "I was with the dead! My father appeared before me" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 85) says the Moorish ruler, who saw his dead father, probably because of the immense stress he experienced under the siege. He was described as an educated person and "a philosopher" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 89). but at the same time, weak and an easily manipulated ruler like Hamlet (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 89). They both got traumatized by their uncles. Claudius took the throne by marrying Hamlet's mother. Likewise, Boabdil stated, "my uncle, El Zagal, usurped my birthright" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 18) and took the throne. As a consequence of these traumas, both characters got into a state of madness. Boabdil was even defined as "a kind of Hamlet" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 90) who "could be fooled by a child" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 90). Both were hindered by the authority and orientalised as weak and hysteric which were usually associated with femininity. Thus, it could be said that

Bulwer-Lytton might be influenced by the representations in the canonical plays of Shakespeare as he was writing his historical novels.

Further, Jonathan Dollimore's analysis of Desdemona in *Othello* (1601) could be applied to Leila and her ending up as the other for everybody. After she was given as a hostage for the agreement between her father and the Christian King, she was forced to convert. She started as the "daughter of the great Hebrew race" (Bulwer-Lytton, 1865, p. 33) but ended up as a threat to the Jews and is murdered by her own father. Dollimore (1991) indicated that "Desdemona's thoughts unnatural involve a threefold transgression of…country, race and class, three of civilization's most jealously policed domains" (p. 156). Likewise, Leila who was an obedient daughter represented the educated Jewish community of Spain. However, she became an internal threat to the community by her conversion. Dollimore explained this with the Freudian term 'displacement' which meant "one person or event is represented by another which is in some way linked or associated with it" (Barry, 2002, p. 71). In Othello, Turks were the external enemy who threatened the Christian values and Desdemona was the internal enemy who threatened the patriarchal values. Similarly, Leila threatened not only the Jewish values via her easy conversion but also patriarchal values via her disobedience to her father. Thus, Dollimore's analysis of Desdemona might be applied to Leila as she permitted "a rehearsal of the violence and retribution not as yet unleashed on the enemy" (Dollimore, 1991, p. 156). Also, Greenblatt (1990) clarified that "self-fashioning always involves some experience of threat, some effacement or undermining, some loss of self" (p. 9). So, what Almamen felt was the fear of alienation and a threat of losing a sense of self, a part of his identity and attempted to eliminate this by attacking the alien.

To conclude, Edward Bulwer-Lytton published *Leila; or The Siege of Granada* in an era when the British Empire was at its strongest through its colonies all over the world. He supported Britain's colonial pursuits in the world as a politician and an Orientalist since it was expanding the empire's economy but "Bulwer's view of the empire was not restricted to its importance to the British economy; he saw it as the centre of national interest and national identity" (Al-Yasin, 2010, p. 67). Therefore, the empire and its colonies were representing an identity which centred around Britishness and Bulwer-Lytton contributed to this thought as an author as well. His historical novels conveyed a message to the current politics as said earlier. So, the novel contained relevant messages. In *Leila*, he told the history of the Spanish Empire which started the European Imperialism and colonization in the world in the 15th century. It was a crucial period in the history of colonialism and Orientalism. He narrated a romance that took place in the Spanish Reconquest that was a turning point for all the Jews, Muslims and Christians of the peninsula. It was a prominent era for the European identity too since it started the Christianization of Western Europe and consolidated this identity through the colonization of the Americas. When the historical context and the author's period viewed together, the transition process in the two could be seen. Bulwer-Lytton's representation of Queen Isabella's taking the throne and her attitude towards the minorities can be compared to Queen Victoria's ascending and her attitude towards the minorities. Also, both Queens symbolize European Imperial powers. Then, the orientalising of the Jews and Muslims during the Reconquest and a Christian Spanish identity construction might share similarities with British colonization and constructing a British identity by orientalising the Imperial subjects. In this regard, the novel was examined through Edward Said's Classic Orientalism. Typicality in Lukácsian terms was aiming to tell the human

experiences at all levels but Bulwer-Lytton could not avoid looking from a European perspective and failed to represent the non-Europeans fully and objectively. It resulted in stereotypical representations of the Muslims and the Jews. Also, the situation of the women was analysed via Luce Irigaray's Feminism and the characters' construction of identity was examined by Stephen Greenblatt's notion of 'self-fashioning'. The author's inspiration from the canonical plays was also discussed in the context of intertextuality.

3. FRONTIER ORIENTALISM IN JÓKAI'S *HALIL/THE WHITE ROSE*

This chapter will discuss Mór Jókai's *Halil The Pedlar* (published in Hungarian as *A fehér rózsa* or *The White Rose,* 1854) in the context of national identity building. Unlike Bulwer-Lytton, Mór Jókai pursued a goal of defining a national identity for Hungary, because while such countries as England and France had already constituted a strong sense of nationalism, Hungary was still developing its national consciousness after centuries of external domination by the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires, due to its position on the border between these empires. Thus, Jókai's use of mythical constructions of the Turks and his interpretation of the present through the metaphoric past will be examined by Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism.

The novel starts with some description of the Eastern world and Muslim dominated countries and the distinctions between the Shias and the Sunnis. It deals with the Tulip era of the Ottoman Empire which came to an end by Patrona Halil's rebellion. The reforms of the Sultan Achmed III, the new Westernized lifestyle of the ruling elite and the extravagancy of the palace during the war with Persia resulted in a rebellion that was led by an Albanian origin janissary Halil. The rebels' opposition towards the new changes achieved to dethrone the Sultan and replaced him with his niece Mahmud I who was obligated to act accordingly with the janissary leader Halil. However, this did not last long and the new Sultan managed to suppress the janissaries and murdered Halil and his supporters. This chapter will discuss the novel in three sections. The information about the author, the 19th century Hungary and the start of the Hungarians' national identity building process will be explained in the first section. The second will continue with giving information about the 17th century Ottoman empire in order to provide a historical background of the novel and the national identity construction of Hungarians will be analysed in depth through the

otherization of the Turks in the last section. Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism, Luce Irigaray's concept of women as a commodity and Stephen Greenblatt's 'self-fashioning' will be used to analyse the otherness of the Turks and the identity building of the Hungarians.

3.1. Mór Jókai and 19th-century Hungary

Austrian Empire was founded in 1804 after the influence of the First French Empire that was established following Napoléon Bonaparte's demolishment of the first French Republic. The empire was located in a big part of central Europe and it included the Kingdom of Hungary as an independent Kingdom in their internal affairs yet, it was depended to the empire under the Habsburg dynasty. Mór Jókai was born in the kingdom. He began his career as a lawyer and continued with writing. He was greatly influenced by Walter Scott and indicated that "the first novel I read was a Hungarian translation of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*" (As cited in Doğan, 1997, p. 54). Then, he was also influenced by the French Revolution and the concept of nationalism it spread throughout Europe. He was supporting the independence movement of Hungary and played an active role in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. This revolution was a late influence of the French revolution of 1789 and it was grounded on the idea of nationalism unlike the other revolutions of 1848 in Europe since their starting point was the class distinctions in society (Doğan, 1998, p. 398). Hungary had been struggling under both the Ottoman and Habsburg dynasties since the 16th century. After a long war between the Muslims and Christians, Hungary completely came under the Habsburg rule. All these foreign dominations caused the Hungarians to experience an identity problem. The French Revolution of 1848 also made a huge impact on society and made the Hungarians look for their own revolution and independence movement. The revolution led the Kingdom into an independence war

from the Habsburg dynasty. However, Hungary came under the domination of the Habsburgs in the end. "The Revolution and the subsequent War of independence decisively shaped historical consciousness in Modern Hungary" (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2004, p. 266) since it caused Hungarians to develop an identity crisis and they began to search for a place for themselves in Europe. Jókai who took a role in the revolution was also supportive of the creation of national consciousness among people in order to raise awareness for having a national identity on the way of independence. He supported the rebels who tried to depose the Habsburg dynasty. However, after the failure of the war, he lived as a political suspect for the next fourteen years. He wrote most of his novels in this period including *Halil The Pedlar*. The rebels wanted to realize nationalistic reforms like making Hungarian the official administrative language and swiftly modernize and democratize the independent country. "In Hungary, as in all of East-Central Europe, cultural nationalism preceded or accompanied the aspirations of political nationalism" (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2004, p. 267). Thus, many writers began to produce literature with patriotic themes. National museum and libraries were established to implement the new policy of independent Hungary. Plus, groups were started to be formed in which intellectuals gathered to discuss the political issues and offer solutions.

> The literary movements of the 1840s, led by an intellectual group that was more radical than the bourgeoisie and the liberal nobility, played a leading role in the revolutionary events in Pest. Petőfi, Mór Jókai, Dániel Irínyi, József Irányi, and many other adherents of this "March Youth" — named after the title of a poem by Petőfi — belonged to a table society in Café Pilvax, where the editors of the Pesti Divatlap (Pest Vogue) and representatives of several other literary papers gathered… (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2004, p. 268)

Jókai and the other intellectuals who were not happy with the current administration offered their own revolutionary solutions in twelve points. These demands included the freedom of the press, equality before the law in religious and civil matters, a responsible government, annual meetings of the parliament, national security, equality of taxation, a national bank and so on. These modernization and democratization period of Hungary was likened to Ottoman modernization period named Tanzimat which will also be covered in the next chapter (Fodor, 2002, p. 44). After a brief period of success, Habsburg dynasty started campaigns to weaken Hungary and requested help from the Russian Czar to invade the country once more. The strong union of Austria and Russia beat them and Lajos Kossuth, the leader of the revolution "fled to Turkey with hundreds of army officers" (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2004, p. 270). As a result of the failed revolution, many people were executed and many of the recently declared reforms annulled. However, the effects of the revolution kept its influences on people. Particularly, Hungarian nationalism provided a solution to Hungarians search for an identity after the domination of Ottoman and Austrian empires for hundreds of years. Even though the Austrian empire took back control of Hungary, the sense of nationalism among people was already on the rise. Also, the 1848 Revolution caused an economic crisis and the lost war with Prussia heavily shattered the empire. After all these incidents, the Habsburg dynasty started to lose its power in central Europe. This weakening led them into transforming the rule on the area. Thus, the Austro-Hungarian empire was formed in 1867. By this compromise, Kingdom of Hungary was able to take back their old rights which were lost after the failed revolution, reactivated the twelve points the intellectuals offered and they were no longer a subject of the empire but a part of a dual kingdom under the Habsburg dynasty's rule.

In spite of struggling a lot to gain their independence from the Habsburgs, Hungary's formation of national identity was also based on the Ottoman invasion they experienced during the 16th century. "The 150 years of Turkish rule fundamentally changed the ethnic composition of Hungary. As a result of demographic losses including deportation, the number of ethnic Hungarians in existence at the end of the Turkish period was substantially diminished" (Csepeli & Örkény, 1996, p. 249). Therefore, Hungarians were faced with the threat of being a minority in their own land at the end of the Ottoman rule (Motyl, 2001, p 221). Even though the 1848 Revolution was a revolt against the Habsburg rule, the perceived other was still the Turks in the literature of the time. The revolution's nationalistic influences could be seen in literature, specifically, on Jókai's works.

> the heroic-mythical immortalization of these years was carried out above all in
> Mór Jókai's late romantic novels. This member of the "March Youth"
> described the events of 1848–49 from continually new angles during his long
> life, always pursuing a self-created mythology (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer,
> 2004, p. 289)

The effects of the revolution could be seen in his novels including *Halil The Pedlar* which will be discussed in depth. Also, "its Catholicism linked Hungary to the West" (Motyl, 2001, p. 221). Habsburgs' both religion and culture were more relatable to the Hungarian identity than the Ottomans'. So, remembering the Ottoman rule and Turkish culture during the independence war, raised the nationalistic sentiment and created a common foundation among the Hungarians. In addition to this, Jókai "was able to connect 1848 to perennial Hungarian values and attitudes" (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer, 2004, p. 289). The morals of Catholicism alongside Hungarian nationalism

could be observed in his novels. Thus, Turks created a complete other in terms of both religion and nation for the Hungarian identity.

3.2. The Turkish threat and the rise of Hungarian nationalism

Ottoman rule in Hungary began with the battle of Mohács in 1526 and lasted until their liberation from the Turks by the Austrian Empire and came under the rule of the Habsburg Dynasty in 1541. The battle and the subsequent domination of Ottomans was a turning point for the Hungarian identity and self-perception since Hungarian culture was born with the internalization of Christianity and one could physically be a Hungarian, but he spiritually was a Christian and the spirit mastered the body (Doğan, 2007, p. 8). Their internalization and self-identification with Christianity led the Europeans to consider Hungarians as 'the guards of Christianity' and 'the soldiers of the Christian faith' by the time the Turks and the Hungarians encountered in the battle of Mohács. The lost battle resulted in a major trauma for Hungarians (Doğan, 2007, p. 9). The 158 years of Turkish rule was quite determinative on the Hungarian identity. Turks constituted the perceived other for Hungarians from the beginning of the lost battle of Mohács. It continued during the Habsburg rule, the 1848 revolution and the independence war. Hence, it could be stated that "The East Central European imagery of the Turks…as a case in which politically weak yet European-identified cultures have been shaped through an indirect relationship with a non-Western and Muslim but hegemonic and imperialist "Other"" (Sabatos, 2014, p. 13). Then, not only Hungarians' Christian identity but the historical relations with the Turks too affected the formation of their national identity.

Eastern Europe was lost to Habsburgs in 1699 and with rapid growth of Europe through the Industrial revolution and the Renaissance, the Ottoman Empire lost its economic and political dominance to Europe and eventually entered a period of

decline. Emperor Mustafa II was dethroned by the Janissaries and his brother Ahmed III was enthroned instead. He appointed the officials according to the Janissaries requests and mostly dealt with internal problems in his first years. After the strategical losses such as; Hungary and Belgrade, Ottomans had to acknowledge the Western dominancy in the West. With the Grand Vizier Damat Ibrahim Pasha's efforts, the Peace Treaty of Passarowitz was signed between Ottoman and Habsburg dynasties and the Ottoman Empire began a peaceful era named Tulip period. The conflicts on the borders were left to the governors and both cultural and artistical activities were started to take place in the city. In the wake of the European dominance in the West, Ottomans oriented themselves to the European culture. The Sultan and the Grand Vizier started new reforms to Westernize the empire. Ambassadors were sent to European cities in order to keep the peace policy with Europe and observe the recent technological and martial developments there. Some economic reforms were also introduced "to balance the budget, raise taxes, and reduce the number of janissaries on state payrolls" (Zarinebaf, 2010, p.54). After having lost the domination over central Europe, the Ottoman Empire turned its pursuits towards Iran, a Shia populated empire ruled by the Safavid dynasty which had been Sunni populated Ottoman empire's traditional enemy. Although the Ottoman forces were defeated by the Persian army, "the populace of Istanbul was still paying war taxes, and provisions for the military" (Zarinebaf, 2010, p. 55). Meanwhile, the new luxurious lifestyle of the Istanbul elite was continuing. They "experimented with European clothing and furniture styles and purchased printed books from the empire's first (and short-lived) press" (Bulliet et al., 2009, p. 539). Also, there was a "craze for high-priced tulip bulbs that swept Ottoman ruling circles" (Bulliet, et al., 2009, p. 539). This tulip frenzy gave the period its name as well.

Like Ottoman's domination of Hungary, Greece and Albania were under the Ottoman rule for long periods. So, there were many different minority groups living in the empire. In order to raise a more trustworthy army, Ottomans created a system of devshirme. By this, "elite military corps within the Ottoman Empire selected out of the devshirme, the boy-levy of Christian children from the Balkans who were compelled to enter Islam and then raised and trained to be soldiers of officials according to their aptitudes" (Glassé, 2002, p. 236). Thus, people who were converted to Islam in their early youth would be more faithful to the army when they were adults. This army created by the converted boys was called the Janissary. Nonetheless, the army that was aimed to be loyal was not successful. A Janissary named Halil started a revolt against the Ottoman rule owing to the high taxes and the great change on the everyday life of the city which was quite westernized and became extravagant. He and the other rebels "demanded the closure of the shops and the implementation of justice and shari'a (Islamic law)" (Zarinebaf, 2010, p. 55). Halil was an Albanian origin mariner who was working in a warship named Patrona which he was named after. He also started a failed rebellion in the ship and sentenced to death yet, he escaped to Istanbul and became a peddler there. "Patrona Halil became part of the Albanian network of urban gangs made up mostly of underclass single and marginal man, many of whom were public bath attendants or former janissaries" (Zarinebaf, 2010, p. 55). The minorities were also overwhelmed with Jizya tax. So, "some poor Greek and Armenian artisans also joined Patrona Halil" (Zarinebaf, 2010, p. 55). Consequently, the rebels were supported by some minority groups and specifically the religious people who were still paying war taxes while the elite ruling class was throwing money around for their recently adopted westernized activities.

Jókai's own experiences with 1848 Hungarian Revolution, the people's desire for independence from the Habsburg dynasty, the subsequent independence war and the new reforms drew parallels with Patrona Halil's revolt towards the Ottoman empire. With the rise of nationalism in the 19th century, Hungarian people looked for a place in which they were able to represent themselves according to their national identity. Similarly, conservative Ottoman people could not identify themselves with the westernized elites' new reforms and lifestyle. So, they searched for a change. Also, the nobles "paid no taxes. The immense majority-the peasantry-lived in feudal bondage. The taxes of the serfs maintained the state, and their dues and labour services supported the nobility" (Deme, 1972, p. 71) in Hungary until the revolution. Likewise, both the minorities and the common people were paying high war taxes in the Tulip era in the Ottoman Empire. Then, all of these similar historical backgrounds might lead Jókai to deal with specifically this period in *Halil the Pedlar*. He reminded the old brutal Ottoman regime to create national consciousness during the uprisings against the Austrian Empire.

> The image of the Turks in nineteenth-century Central European literature is striking both for its continuity from past centuries, and for its evolution from the depiction of a direct personal threat to a largely metaphorical figure of foreign oppression… The mix of historical and invented elements in novels such as Jókai's The White Rose… shows the ambiguous role of Ottoman culture for Hungarians: as part of their national past, but at the same time, a culture distant enough to be fictionalized with barbaric stereotypes. The identification of the Turks with Islam overshadowed the attempts at a more sympathetic approach, but it became increasingly clear that the true enemy of national freedom was Austria (Sabatos, 2014, p. 127)

Hence, the current Austrian threat was remembered through the old Ottoman threat. Jókai used the Islamic and Ottoman past in Hungarian's national identity building process so that remembering the threatening other in their history would aid them to preserve their identity and cope with the current threat.

3.3. Orientalising of the Turks and the identity construction of Hungary

Hungarian Orientalism towards Turks could be observed in *Halil The Pedlar* too and it can be explained via Andre Gingrich's theory of Frontier Orientalism. Charles Sabatos explained Gingrich's concept as:

> For Central Europeans like the Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks, whose political and national independence was under direct menace from (and often overpowered by) Ottoman invasions, the Turks had an even more profound impact on the formation of their history and identity. In East Central Europe, in contrast to the expansive Western empires, the image of the Turk was not a discursive justification for imperialism or colonialism but a means of preserving cultural identity when the homeland was threatened or occupied by the Ottomans. (Sabatos, 2014, p. 15)

Throughout the book, Turks were reflected as the threatening others who abused the minority groups in the Empire. Cristian Greek Janaki and her daughter Irene were represented as the victims of the Ottoman rule and Muslim Halil, who was mostly referred as the Turk even though he was originally Albanian, was displayed as ignorant, violent and resistant to the rule. Yet, the Turks were represented as "brutal and cruel enemies who do not respect human life or human dignity" (As cited in Sabatos, 2014, p. 101). While Halil was taking Janaki to his home, they encountered a drunk janissary who attacked Janaki for no reason, on the way.

the Janissary suddenly barred the way, seized him by the collar with his

horrible fist, and dragged the wretched creature towards him.

"Khair evetlesszin domusz!" ("Not so fast, thou swine!") "a word in thine ear!

I have just bought me a yataghan. Stretch forth thy neck! I would test my

weapon upon thee and see whether it is sharp." (Jókai, 1901, p.21)

Thus, the janissary tried to kill Janaki for either being a non-Muslim or grapping his

money and did not show any mercy as Janaki was murmuring "something about his

four little children: what would become of them when they had nobody to care for

them" (Jókai, 1901, p. 22). Also, he told Halil that "what business is it of thine if I

choose to strike off the head of a dog? You can pick up ten more like him in the street

any time you like" (Jókai, 1901, p. 22). So, the minorities were only a bunch of

wealthy people living in the empire, did not receive any respect and were dependent

on protection. He also replied Halil as "if thou dost not let me go immediately, I will

cut off thy hands, thy feet, thine ears, and thy nose, and then hang thee up" (Jókai,

1901, p. 23) after Halil's attempts to protect Janaki. However, Halil was no less

violent than the janissary and fought back to him.

Patrona also was by no means a novice in the art of self-defence, for clutching

with both hands the giant's throat, he squeezed it so tightly that in a few

seconds the Janissary began to stagger to and fro, finally falling backwards to

the ground, whereupon Patrona knelt upon his breast and plucked from his

beard a sufficient number of hairs to serve him as a souvenir. (Jókai, 1901, p.

24)

So, Both Halil and the janissary were represented as savages while Janaki was seen as

the innocent victim of the violent Turk from the beginning of the novel. This

representation of the Turks continued throughout the novel. Another significant

incident was Irene's being thrown out from the Sultan's palace owing to her inability to serve as a sexual slave. Halil was considerate and brave enough to buy her in order to free her from the brutal treatment of the Ottoman Turks. After Irene was abducted by the Turks, she was sold to the harem of the Sultan. However, as a Christian girl who got high morals, she refused to be used as a sexual slave for the men of the palace and "he never failed to invoke the name of the Blessed Virgin whenever the face of a man drew near to her face, and the Blessed Virgin always wrought a miracle in her behalf" (Jókai, 1901, p. 94). Irene's good morals and Christianity that she tried to protect against the Muslim Turks, were always emphasized. She pretended to faint each time and it worked. Following she was exposed to one of the spies of the Sultan, she again yelled as "Blessed Mary! Blessed Mary!", but the man mocked her and said, "Your guardian saints are powerless to help you now…" (Jókai, 1901, p. 96). Hence, the image of cruel Turk who did not respect human dignity could be observed here too. Christianity was something to make fun of and the Christian girls were no more than sexual slaves for the Muslim Turks. Subsequently, Halil who wanted to protect Janaki and Irene violently killed the spy. He "brought down his fist so heavily on the skull of the Berber-Bashi that he instantly collapsed without uttering a single word" (Jókai, 1901, p. 97). This homicide was even praised by his friend who was spending the night with them.

> Well, Halil, that was a fine blow of yours I must say. By the Prophet! one does not see a blow like that every day. With your bare hand too! To kill a man with nothing but your empty fist! If a cannon-ball had knocked him over he could not be deader than he is (Jókai, 1901, p. 97)

Halil's violently murdering the spy was accepted as something to be proud of by the other Muslims while Janaki reacted in terror as "What have you done? …You have killed the chief barber of the Sultan!" (Jókai, 1901, p. 97). Halil coolly replied to him as "Yes, I rather fancy I have" (Jókai, 1901, p.97). So, violence and murder were not a big deal for the Muslims, and it was even seen as a manly behaviour. Unlike them, Janaki was in a state of shock. Nonetheless, alongside this violent image of Halil, he was also the only person behaving well to the Greek girl and her father. Although Halil was addressed as a Turk in the novel, he was originally Albanian, and he was represented with different kind of characteristics (Jókai, 1901, p. 8). He "felt compassion for this slave" (Jókai, 1901, p. 41) and wanted to save her from this cruelty. He was even empathic about her. He did not want to "leave her out in the public square there for everybody to stare at her" (Jókai, 1901, p. 41) in contrast to all shopkeepers in the bazaar and eventually "he has himself become that slave-woman's slave" (Jókai, 1901, p. 56) because of showing respect to her boundaries and not forcing her to do anything that would make her uncomfortable. This compassionate and thoughtful image of Halil was completely the opposite of those of the Turks in general. While the Turks were misbehaving to the religious minorities and abducting the girls and used them as sexual slaves, Halil was rebelling against them, attempting to rescue the girls and protecting the minorities like in Janaki's case. He shared the same extreme violence with the Muslims yet, his personality did not match to the Turks. So, this might be explained by Halil's actually being of Albanian origin. Even though he identified himself with both a Muslim and Turkish identity, he had his origins in Albania which was under Ottoman occupation. That is to say, Halil was a devshirme who was converted to Islam at a very young age and included to the Ottoman army. So, he was not ethnically a Turk. Then, this positive image of him

might be explained by Gingrich's concept of the Good and the Bad Muslim. "Gingrich identifies contrasting images: the Turks is the "Bad Muslim" who attacked the homeland, while the Bosnian is the "Good Muslim" who helped to defend it" (Sabatos, 2018, p. 4). In this regard, Halil might be associated with the 'good Muslim' who resisted the Ottoman monarchy and their actions towards the Christian minorities. Even though Albania was never under Austrian rule as Bosnia, it was under the Ottoman rule and attempting to gain its independence. Albania was considered as an occupied region under the Ottoman Turks but, they were resisting to it. Halil was a devoted Muslim and rebelling against the Westernized Ottoman elite who became distant from Islam. Gingrich (1996) states that the distinction between the self and the other is a "dualistic metaphoric figure" (p. 117). Thus, while the Turks represented the Bad Muslim as a "dangerous rival, a threat to the local selves" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 117), Halil as an Albanian Muslim might represent the Good Muslim, a "reliable ally" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 117) who fought against the Ottoman monarchy. Thus, the novel provided good examples of different Muslim Oriental images from a central European perspective. Gingrich continued to explain as:

> A mythological past is thereby utilized for the purpose of interpreting the present. The metaphorical pairing of "good" and "bad" frontier Orientals alludes to a broader narrative and provides a standard and widely understood option for interpreting current national issues using key symbols of the past (Gingrich, 1996, p. 117)

Therefore, it could be said that Hungary's resistance against the Habsburg dynasty might be similar to Halil's rebellion against the Ottomans and Jókai's choice of narrating a rebellion in the Ottoman Empire could be explained as his purpose for reminding the brutal Ottoman past to the current Hungarian people so that there can

be a common national consciousness among people against the Austrian Empire which dominated their land. The cruel Ottoman myth from their history was still relevant in the context of Austrian rule. "Halil's revolution is also ultimately a failure – as was the Hungarian revolt against Austria in 1848" (Sabatos, 2014, p. 101). So, the novel was relatable for the Hungarians when it was published in 1854. While the Albanian Good Muslim was revolting against the Turkish Bad Muslim, Christian Hungary was also battling with Austria, another Christian Empire. Then, "The Turk served as a metaphorical surrogate for the real enemy of national ambitions – Austria" (Kučera, 2018, p. 102).

Moreover, unlike classical Orientalism, Frontier Orientalism "pays no attention to women, apart from "our" women threatened by the "bad Muslim"" (Gingrich, 1996, p. 120). The cruel treatment towards the Christian women by the Turks could be seen in the novel. Irene was on a boat with her friends and got abducted by a Turkish pirate who was collecting girls in order to sell them to the Sultan's harem. Similar to the representation of the Muslims in *Leila*, the Islamic world was undermined to single harem imagery in *Halil* as well. After the pirate "took her straight to the Kizlar-Aga whose office it is to purchase slave girls for the harem of the Padishah" (Jókai, 1901, pp. 83, 84), Leila was sold to the seraglio to serve as a sexual slave. "In the harem, women lived like slaves, completely segregated from the world and dependent on men; consequently, they were uneducated, …, they could not choose their husbands, were considered men's property…" (Malečková, 2018, p. 21). Irene's purchase as a slave to the seraglio was similar to Leila's exchange between men. Thus, her condition can be explained via Irigaray's idea of women as a commodity.

> For woman is traditionally a use-value for man, an exchange value among
> men; in other words, a commodity. As such, remains the guardian of material
> substance, whose price will be established, in terms of the standard of their
> and of their need/desire, by "subjects": workers, merchants, consumers.
> Women are marked phallicly by their fathers, husbands, procurers. And this
> branding determines their value in sexual commerce (Irigaray, 1985, p. 31)

In this regard, Christian Irene was only considered as a commodity who could be used as a sexual slave for the Sultan, the other men of the palace and eventually for the common men of the Ottoman empire. From the beginning of this process, she was reflected as the good Christian girl who was trying hard to resist the treatment she was experiencing under the brutal Turks. She was able to keep her faith during the ordeal and continually prayed as "'Holy Mother of God! protectress of virgins, thou seest me in this place, when I call upon thee, deliver me!'" (Jókai, 1901, p. 87). and she managed to get away with being used by men via pretending to faint. At first, she was served to the Sultan "together with gold-embroidered garments, preserved fruits, and other gifts intended for his delectation…like a kid of the flocks offered to a lion in a cage" (Jókai, 1901, p. 90). After her faint, she was given as "a present to the Padishah's nephew, the son of his own brother" (Jókai, 1901, p. 92). However, he could not sexually use her either. Then, he "made a present of Irene to the Grand Vizier" (Jókai, 1901, p. 93) and "at last, they came to a definite decision concerning this slave-girl, it was resolved to sell her by public auction in the bazaars—to sell her as a common slave to the highest bidder" (Jókai, 1901, p. 94). Therefore, the brutal men of the palace attempted to use the Christian girl in every possible way in order not to waste a commodity which had a virginal value and was already paid for and lastly they send her to the market so as to be solved for the use of the common men.

That is to say, Christian Irene was used as a commodity by the 'bad Muslim' but, she was bought by Halil, the 'good Muslim' and set free from slavery and became his wife with the permission of her father Janaki. "Tell me, therefore, what price you put upon her that I may buy her back, and give her to you to wife as a free woman?" (Jókai, 1901, pp. 76, 77) asked Janaki in order to buy her daughter back to be able to give her as a free woman and Halil only wanted a kiss because "that was the only price he demanded" (Jókai, 1901, p. 77). This representation of both Halil and the Turks supports the good and bad Muslim concept of Gingrich; nevertheless, Irene was still in an exchange "between two men, her passage from father to husband… She has functioned as merchandise, a commodity passing from one owner to another, from one consumer to another, a possible currency of exchange between one and the other" (Irigaray, 1985, p. 157). Thus, she was stuck in a patriarchal system, which constantly marginalized and commodified her, when it is looked in a feminist perspective.

Furthermore, the image of the Oriental and cruel Turk was reinforced with the representation of the Sultan's wife Adsalis. She was responsible for the harem and all the slave-girls. Her beauty and influence on the Sultan were specifically emphasized. She "approached Achmed with that enchanting smile which was eternally irresistible so far as he was concerned, and never permitted an answer approaching a refusal to even appear on the lips of the Sultan" (Jókai, 1901, p. 59). Even though she was only an odalisque for the Sultan, she had an enormous effect on him and could easily manipulate him for her needs. When the Grand vizier warned him on the possible Persian attack, he was busy with organizing a big celebration for her daughters. Thus, he was completely under Adsalis' control (Sabatos, 2014). This might also be linked with the East's association with femininity. Similar to Baoabdil El Chico, Sultan Achmed III was easily manipulated and incapable of ruling the Empire. Adsalis was

also in charge of providing sexual slaves for her husband so, she was the one picking girls from the harem. The description of the harem led by Adsalis was stressing the marginality of the Eastern culture.

> So they led the slave-girl into the presence of the Sultana, who was surrounded by two hundred other slave-girls, and was playing with a tiny dwarf. They were singing and dancing all around her and swinging censers. Above her head was a large fruit-tree made entirely of sugar, and covered with sugar-fruit of every shape and hue, and from time to time the Sultana would pluck off one of these fruits and taste a little bit of it and give the remainder to the tiny dwarf, who ate up everything greedily. Here Irene was seized by a black eunuch—a horrid, pockmarked man, whose upper lip was split right down so that all his teeth could be seen (Jókai, 1901, p. 87)

The eccentric representation of the harem could be clearly captured here. There were many out of ordinary images that were associated with the East. For instance, abducting two hundred girls and using them as sexual slaves were even sufficient on its own to link the East with brutality. Those two-hundred girls were probably non-Muslims who were kidnapped by the Turks and they were entertaining the Sultana in the harem. However, the cruelty was not only about the abducted girls. Irene was held by a black eunuch who was described in a grotesque way. "All eunuchs were slaves, and all were imported from outside the Empire" (Toledano,1984, p. 381). Thus, non-Muslim boys were not only abducted but castrated as well so as to be used as guardians in the seraglio. Also, the tiny dwarf with whom Adsalis played presented an exotic image of the harem. The prosperity she had in there yet, her feeding the dwarf with the leftovers depicted her despotic character well. In addition to that, another slave who was "a beautiful blonde Italian girl" (Jókai, 1901, p. 89) was "strangled

during the night" (Jókai, 1901, p. 89) since she "neglected to cast her eyes down as they chanced to encounter the eyes of the Sultana" (Jókai, 1901, p. 89). All the murdered victims of the harem were "self-confident slave-girls" (Jókai, 1901, p. 89). Plus, after Irene's faints, the Sultana demanded that she "should be tortured" (Jókai, 1901, p. 89) in order to wake her up.

> First of all they extended her stark naked on the icy-cold marble pavement…Then they held her over a slow fire on a gridiron…Then they sent and sought for red ants in the garden among the puspáng-trees and scattered them all over her body…Finally they thrust sharp needles down to the very quicks of her nails…Then the Sultana Asseki, full of fury, seized a whip, and lashed away at the damsel's body till she could lash no more… (Jókai, 1901, p. 91)

Therefore, the representation of Adsalis and the harem displayed an Orientalised Turk image which was associated with brutality and eccentricity and supported the stereotypical image of Turks as barbaric. Abduction of the Christian girls, castration of non-Muslim boys, sexual slavery, torture and eventually murder were all reflected as typical Turkish attitude towards the minorities. On the other hand, positive characteristics were attributed mostly to the minority as the self-confidence of the murdered slave girls or the Christian morals Irene had.

Moreover, the characters' identity construction drew parallels with the Hungarian national identity building process during the 1848 revolution. In Central Europe, "the image of the Turk was not a discursive justification for imperialism or colonialism but a means of preserving cultural identity when the homeland was threatened or occupied by the Ottomans" (Sabatos, 2014, p. 32). Likewise, the characters attempted to build their identity in contrast to the imposed Turkish identity.

For instance, Halil, who was originally Albanian, internalized the Turkish identity and acknowledged himself as a devoted Muslim. However, when the Sultan and the Grand Vizier tried to implement a Westernized lifestyle for the Ottomans, many Muslim Turks including Halil did not welcome this change well. A great number of buildings designed in Western architecture were destroyed alongside the tulip gardens which symbolized the extravagancy of the ruling elite in the palace by Halil and his supporters. Although there was a war going on with the Shiites, Sultan was "far too happy in the embraces of Adsalis to think even for a moment of seizing the banner of the Prophet and leading his bloodthirsty battalions to face the dangers of the battlefield" (Jókai, 1901, p. 108). This waste of money, indifference and becoming distant from Islam took its toll on the Muslim populace and the janissary who were converted to Islam when they were very young. As a reaction to the new lifestyle on which the elite wanted to impose, Halil and the other rebels revolted against the Sultan. They aimed to restore the old Islamic culture back. Hence, it could be said that Halil could not tolerate a Westernized empire because he internalized the Turkification and Islamization so well and identified himself with those cultures. He perceived the new Ottomans as a threat to his identity and rebelled against them in order to preserve his culture.

In addition, the Greek girl Irene was a victim of Turkification in the Ottoman lands too. From the beginning of the novel, she was called as Gül-Bejaz which meant the white rose in Turkish since her appearance resembled "the delicate freshness of a white rose" (Jókai, 1901, p. 48). Also, after she was sold to the harem, the chief eunuch "conducted her to a bath fragrant with perfumes" (Jókai, 1901, p. 84) and "put upon her a splendid robe, hung diamond ear-rings in her ears, tied a beautiful shawl round her loins, encircled her arms and feet with rings of gold" (Jókai, 1901, p. 84).

Thus, she was all Turkified via changing her name and dressing her in Turkish styled clothes. Yet, right after she united with her father and married Halil, she started to express herself better. She told her husband "My name is not Gül-Bejáze, the White Rose, but Gül-Olü, the Dead Rose" (Jókai, 1901, p. 49) so, she stated that she never identified herself with her Turkish name. One night, she told a story to her family. She revealed her real name for the first time in the story. "Irene was the very name she had received at her baptism" (Jókai, 1901, p. 82). Her salvation from the harem provided her with a new space to restore her identity with her baptism name. Therefore, she self-fashioned herself to protect her identity which was under Turkish attack.

In the same way, Turks became a common enemy for the Hungarians during the Habsburg threat so, they could remember the old threat, gather around the old enemy and fight against the current Habsburg threat. Therefore, Turks "did not reflect a factual representation of the conflict between these two cultures, but served as a means for 'self-fashioning' in which…Hungarians could assert Christian, European, and later national identities" (Sabatos, 2014, p. 81). The old fight against the Turks provided them with a strong foundation to construct a national identity as they were battling with Habsburgs. Also, the cultural difference between Turks and Hungarians reinforced the perceived otherness of the Turks in Hungarian perspective and this way of look was used to emphasize the otherness of the Muslims to the Hungarian audience. Thus, a classical Orientalist look might also be seen in the novel. While Jókai mentioned Muslims, he referred them as the 'Mohammedans' in some cases. For instance; "...exclaimed all the Mohammedans mournfully…" (Jókai, 1901, p. 224), "…a Mohammedan never looks down upon the most abject of his co-religionists…" (Jókai, 1901, p. 204) or "…neither mention it before a Mohammedan woman…" (Jókai, 1901, p. 218). Edward Said explained this perception as:

One constraint acting upon Christian thinkers who tried to understand Islam was an analogical one; since Christ is the basis of Christian faith, it was assumed—quite incorrectly— that Mohammed was to Islam as Christ was to Christianity. Hence the polemic name "Mohammedanism" given to Islam, and the automatic epithet "imposter" applied to Mohammed (Said, 1978, p. 61)

Hence, Jókai created a direct opposite to Christian Hungarians as he referred to the Muslims as the Mohammedan Turks. He was able to emphasize the Turks as the other who believed in Mohammed instead of the Christ and he supported this Orientalist look with the stereotypical features of the Turks as barbaric and disrespectful to human lives, specifically to the Christians. That is to say, Turks were represented as the other for both being a threat to Hungarian culture that should be preserved and being a means for the Hungarians to be able to form a national identity which belonged to the Western world during the 1848 revolutions.

Consequently, the effects of the Hungarians' attempt to constitute a national identity with the rise of 1848 revolutions could be observed in Mór Jókai's *Halil The Pedlar*. Halil's rebellion in the Ottoman Empire was similar to the 1848 revolutions of Hungary. Halil wanted freedom from the imposed Westernization while Jókai and the others who took part in the revolution demanded the independence of their country and protection of their national identity. Similarly, they both achieved short-term success but eventually failed. The failure of the 1848 revolution led the Hungarians to consider their history which raised the Ottoman invasion topic. This helped them to create a dangerous other to build themselves a national identity and preserve their culture during the war with the Austrian Empire. However, these mythically constructed other and the past did not reflect the reality and only helped to build a positive identity for the self for the Hungarians and present Hungary. In this context,

the national identity building process of the Hungarians was mainly analysed through Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism. The Orientalist attitude towards women was discussed with the help of Luce Irigaray's Feminist view of women as a commodity. Also, Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning' was tried to be applied to the nation-building process of the Hungarians.

4. OTTOMAN ORIENTALISM IN NAMIK KEMAL'S *CEZMİ*

This chapter will analyse the first Turkish historical novel *Cezmi* (1880) by Namık Kemal. Like Jókai, he intended to create national consciousness in the 19th century Ottoman Turkey that was going through difficult times and stated his opinions on "to merge European liberalism and Islamic tradition" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 70) to modernize the Empire while keeping its authentic identity. The novel was written in a period when the historical novel was losing its popularity in Western Europe where it first emerged. Its effects continued spreading around Central Europe during the middle of the century and the historical novel influenced the East of Europe towards the end of the century. Like Hungary's perceived threat of the Turks, the Ottoman Turks felt a threat from their own East in which the Safavid empire of Persia located and they developed consciousness via Orientalizing the East. While Turkey's identity as European has been a widely debated issue, it is considered as Eastern Europe in this study owing to the Westernization period they experienced during the second part of the century and having been heavily influenced by the Western civilization. Also, the Ottomans were in a crisis of identity because the Empire was in a decline and the Europeanized Ottoman elite wanted to create a distinctly modern identity which they could differentiate themselves from the backward nations in the empire and the perceived threats from Persia. Thus, the problem of the metaphoric past and the mythically built other could also be observed in *Cezmi* and it will be analysed through Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism.

The novel began with a brief summary of the 15th century including a reference to the Reconquest of Spain. The author planned to write the book in two volumes, but he could finish only the first part. It is about three Islamic states which are Ottomans, Persians and Crimean Tatars. The protagonist is Cezmi, an Ottoman soldier who was

battling in the war between the Ottoman and Persian Empires during the 16th century.
He was charged with saving the Tatar Khan Adil Giray who was taken as a hostage in
Persia. The novel mostly covered the Tatar Crimean Khan Adil Giray's love triangle
between the Persian queen Shehryar and the Shah's sister Pari Khan Khanum and the
second part of the novel which was going to cover Cezmi's life in detail could not be
written in the author's lifetime. The chapter will be discussed in three sections. Rising
of nationalism and its effects on the 19th century Ottoman Empire, the modernization
period and its influences on the author and the biographical information of the author
will be explained in the first section. Then, information on the 16th century Ottoman
Empire, the Safavid dynasty of the Persian Empire, the Crimean Khanate along with
Sunni and Shia sects will be given. Also, the reason why the author selected this
specific period will be explained in the second section. Lastly, the construction of the
identity through Sunni Islamic union and otherizing the Shia Persians will be
examined mainly via Usama Makdisi's "Ottoman Orientalism" and will be supported
with Feminist and Identity politics critics in the third section.

4.1. Namık Kemal and 19th-century Ottoman Turkey

Ottoman Empire was in a process of decline during the 19th century.
Nationalistic feelings in Europe was spreading around the Balkans and some revolted
against the Empire to gain their independence. Contrarily, European Empires such as
British and French were expanding their territories and becoming stronger. Thus, the
Ottomans had to review their political and social system and take precautions to
prevent their Empire from collapsing. The first Emperor who made radical changes
was Mahmud II. He abolished the Janissary Corps and created a new army which was
trained in Western-style. His son Abdülmejid continued his father's modernization
process and declared the Edict of Gülhane which is also known as Tanzimat Fermanı

in 1839. However, "the centre of power now shifted from the palace to the Porte, the bureaucracy" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 50) since "Mahmud had helped to start transforming the traditional scribal institution into something resembling a modern bureaucracy, thereby so strengthening it that his weaker successors lost control of the bureaucratic apparatus for much of the time" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 50). During the period, some radical changes were made to modernize the Empire in order to make it survive in the European dominant 19th century since after Egypt was given autonomy, it was obvious that Ottoman Empire was not strong enough to protect its interests anymore. Having declared the edict, support from Europe was received, the uprising in Egypt was solved and the Empire were recovered from collapsing. Also, European juridical, educational system and equality among citizens were tried to be applied to the Ottoman system. Meanwhile, British Empire strengthened its colonial interests via preventing Egypt from becoming a fully independent state and secured its way to their colonies, weakened the Ottomans, yet aiding them to recover the Empire so that they could use the Ottomans' "continued existence as a buffer against what was perceived in London as dangerous Russian expansionism" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 50). Also, European powers kept supporting the Ottomans against the Russian Empire during the Crimean War and requested to give the minorities better rights. Ottomans did not want to lose this support but at the same time, they wanted to cease the European intervention into the Empire. Thus, the Reform Edict of 1856 was declared. It was an updated version of Tanzimat, and it aimed to grant rights to the minorities and keep them in order and stop all the probable revolts. It also aimed all the people to be "united to each other by the cordial ties of patriotism" (As cited in Beinin, 2001, p. 44) so that a common consciousness could arise in the weakening Empire. After Abdülmejid died his brother Abdülaziz succeeded him. He continued the

modernization period, but the Empire kept on declining because of the ongoing uprisings in the Balkans. This decline resulted in his overthrow after 15 years of rule. His niece Murad V. who became the Sultan was also overthrown after 3 months owing to his mental problems. After all this instability, Abdülhamid II succeeded the throne in 1876 and kept it for 33 years.

Namık Kemal was born during the reign of Abdülmejid in 1840. Thus, he grew up in the Westernization process of the Empire and influenced by it. He worked in the chamber of translation, an office where the reformist people were brought up and open to the European culture of the 19ᵗʰ century. Then he joined the Young Ottoman Society and published dissident writings in favour of a constitutional regime (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, pp. 128, 129). The Empire was in an economic crisis when Abdülhamid II came to the throne. It was under pressure of various European countries and the capital Istanbul was heading into chaos. Both intellectuals like Namık Kemal and politicians were suggesting a constitutional rule so as to reduce Europe's diplomatic pressures. Grounding the state structure to certain principals and a societal base was seen essential for the Empire's survival. Therefore, the new Sultan Abdülhamid II swiftly declared the first Ottoman Constitution of 1876, which was also known as Kanun-i Esasi and the first constitutional regime began (Kubat, 2008, p. 269). Namık Kemal was a public supporter of this Ottoman Westernization or modernization, which were mostly used interchangeably (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p. 099). The intellectuals were searching for a way to eliminate the extravagancy of the Sultans and limit their authority and Namık Kemal who was knowledgeable on the European revolutions and systems was considering the French constitutional monarchy as the best system that fit in the Empire (Brisku, 2017, p. 176). Also, the rise of nationalism and the effects of the French revolution on the European societies

were noticed by these intellectuals and it was realized that "Ottoman society, being traditional, had no way but to become a modern or better society. The structural form that this transformation took was the nation-state" (As cited in Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p. 102). Namık Kemal as a 19th century Ottoman intellectual was affected by the nationalism in Europe and he was one of the pioneers that started the Turkish nationalism. Nonetheless, after the first constitution was declared, the Sultan put the blame on the members of the parliament on the new coming war with the Russians, the uprisings and eventually losses of land in the Balkans and abolished the parliament for an absolute rule in the Empire (Kubat, 2008, p.270). He did not even wait for the abolishment of the parliament to imprison the intellectuals who supported the constitutional rule and Namık Kemal was arrested after he claimed that the Sultan was going to be replaced with Murad V. (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p. 129). After his request, he was exiled to the island of Mytilene in which he wrote *Cezmi* with the permission of the Sultan.

Namık Kemal was greatly influenced by the European literati and he was friends with the people who worked in Paris. One of them was Şinasi who had been a government scholar in France and influenced the author on using a simpler language that is free from Persian and Arabic vocabulary (Menemencioğlu, 1967, p. 31). Namık Kemal highly admired him. He even wrote that he resembled his first encounter with his poetry to Alexandre Dumas' encounter with the plays of Shakespeare in a booklet. Also, one of his most important plays *Vatan Yahut Silistire* (1872) had similarities to the balcony scene of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) and a female character drew similarities with Portia of *The Merchant of Venice* (1605) (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, pp. 156, 242). So, he was greatly affected by romanticism and nationalism in Europe and learned about the Enlightenment, French revolution and the Western ideologies from

Şinasi and the other friends who worked in France. He frequently questioned the bad

conditions of the Empire and thought about the possible solutions to make it better:

> The personality of the young man was beginning to emerge, a
>
> composite of the different influences he had been subjected to:
>
> unquestioning acceptance of the religion in which he was brought up,
>
> passionate love and admiration for the great deeds of his country's past,
>
> but an equally passionate rebellion against the inefficiency and
>
> corruption of the present government and the conviction that change
>
> must be brought about (Menemencioğlu, 1967, p. 31)

He asserted that religion and society were organically connected. However, they

cannot be considered separately from the 19th century European liberalism. Therefore,

he thought the dominant ideology of Tanzimat as contradictory to the historical idea

of Islam and Ottomanism. As a member of the Young Ottoman Society, he aimed to

make a regime change which was compatible both with the Islam/Ottoman synthesis

and the new Western system (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, pp.172, 173). In this regard, he was

considered as "half revolutionist, half Westernist" (As cited in Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p.

174). Thus, Namık Kemal who was influenced by the French Revolution, the

Enlightenment and nationalism, began to promote Ottomanism combined with the

ideas of equality and liberty as a way out for the Empire. He began to write about the

concept of motherland alongside Islam to plant the nationalistic idea to the readers,

particularly to the new generation. His most influential work was *Vatan Yahut*

Silistire which was a play that took place in the Crimean War. It was a romance

between a Turkish soldier and his lover who desired to die together in the war.

Immediately after its staging, a huge reaction came out from the audience. People

started to express their patriotic feelings, and some reacted against the Sultan. As a

result of all, the author was exiled to Cyprus. Yet, he managed to convey the significance of the notions of Motherland and Nation to the audience. He achieved to introduce the 19th century European thoughts to the Ottoman society, opened a way to lessen the absolute rule of the Sultan by supporting the constitutional rule and find a way to blend the European ideology with the Ottomans' religion and culture. Eventually, Namık Kemal and the notion of Motherland became a whole in the public eye (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p.258).

4.2. The Ottoman and Safavid Empires in the 16th century

Namık Kemal was exiled to the island of Mytilene by Abdülhamid II in 1877 as a consequence of the war erupted between Russian and Ottoman Empires that the Sultan blamed on the recently declared constitution. Also, he began to write the novel in 1878. It was the same year the war ended. The negative effects of the war were immense for the Ottomans. Their presence in the Balkans was reduced, they lost many lands and mass immigrations started. Also, problems about religious differences of the minorities rose and the Ottoman identity of the Empire started to face serious challenges (Altuğ, 2011, p.158). The author who was further away from the central political scene concentrated on writing to create national consciousness and to stop the traumatic effects of the damaging war on the people. Hence, it could be said that "…*Cezmi* was a literary-political project that provided the required mainstays for preventing the social structure in crisis from collapsing… It was a representation aiming the foundations to lean, for resisting a certain style of Imperial modernity" (Altuğ, 2011, p. 149). He was determined to create consciousness of a united Empire under the Islamic ideology. He selected the 16th century Ottoman for this in order to remind people of the powerful times of the Empire. The war between Ottomans and Persians was an intermittent struggle started at the beginning of the century. Both

Selim I and Suleiman I continued to expand the borders of the Empire and even came closer to central Europe. Thus, Namık Kemal chose this era to remind people of the great times and overcome the trauma and the ill effects of the war on the deteriorating Empire. Also, the relations between Ottoman and Persia was based on religious differences. Even though the discourse of the unity of Islam was a common ideology between the two, the Sunni and Shia identities kept becoming a threat for one another. He displayed the struggle for becoming the Islamic centre and how one otherized the other under the same religion and could not internalize the other in spite of the similarities (Altuğ, 2011, p. 161).

The pre-16th century Iran was Sunni in majority and Shi'ism was not a distinctive characteristic of Persian culture until the reign of the Safavid Dynasty. Shah Ismail I the founder of the Dynasty started the Persian conversion from Sunni to Shia and it was a defining moment in their history. "The Safavids presided over the fusion of Shi'ism with the Iranian national consciousness" (As cited in Voll, 1982, p. 80). The reason why the Shah wanted to create national consciousness under the Shi'ism was the perceived Sunni Ottoman threat. The neighbour Empire was expanding its territories and gaining more power over the region. Thus, Ismail aimed to "give Iran ideological distinction and identity vis-à-vis its (Sunni) military-political enemies, the Ottoman Empire" (Keddie & Richard, 2003, p. 11). Also, battles between the two began and continued at intervals for a long time. This struggle encouraged "the Safavids to strengthen the Shi'i identity of Iran" (Keddie & Richard, 2003, p. 11). Iran strengthened the Shia identity in order not to be included in the Islamic centralization process of the Ottoman Empire. So, the "Shi'i Islam was both state supported and state supporting" (Voll, 1982, p. 80).

After Ismail I died, his son Tahmasp I succeeded him. His daughter Pari Khan Khanum and daughter-in-law Khayr al-Nisa Begum are the two important figures of the novel. They will be discussed in detail in the next section. After Tahmasp's dead, his son Ismail II and subsequently, his other son Mohammad Khodabanda whose reign was covered in the novel. He was considered as the weakest Safavid leader and he was not able to take the throne right after Tahmasp's death. "His blindness owing to an eye affliction had caused him to be passed over at his father's death" (Newman, 2006, p. 42). So, Ismail II took the throne with the help of the Safavid Princess Pari Khan Khanum (Gholsorkhi, 1994, p. 145). Then, she reinforced her power during Khodabanda's rule. Her Sunni identity and her rival Khayr al-Nisa Begum's, who was the wife of Khodabanda and mentioned as Shahryar in the novel, Shia identity set the ground for the otherization theme of the novel.

Furthermore, Namık Kemal's idea of Islamic union included another Sunni Turkic nation, which was the Crimean Khanate. It was under an Ottoman protectorate for 300 years and they forged a strong political and Islamic alliance. They worked together during the invasion of Lithuania and Poland and Tatars campaigned in Hungary on behalf of Ottoman Sultan. So, Crimea became a border for the Sunni Islamic world since it was neighbouring Eastern Europe in the north. Also, in the 16th century, Mehmed Giray was the Khan and he supported the Ottoman Empire during the war against the Persians and fought against them. The author's works always consisted of the historicity of the two big wars with Russia (Pelvanoğlu, 2018, p. 269). One was the 1877 war which led him to write *Cezmi* in exile. So, his choice of the Crimean Tatars as a part of the novel might be his experience of another war with Russia, that is the Crimean War. As a result of the war, the second edict was declared, and the Ottomans were accepted among the Europeans for the first time. The war's

impact on both the Empire and the author was huge. Thus, the war, the rise of nationalism and the need for a union to reconstruct the Empire led the author to use the shared Sunni and Turkic identity between the Ottoman Turks and Crimean Tatars. While Sunni Ottoman was taken as an Islamic centre, Shia Persia was reflected as the threatening other. That is to say, it was left outside the idea of Islamic union.

Although Namık Kemal selected royal people from the history for the main characters, the eponymous character Cezmi was an ordinary person with heroic features and this enabled the readers to connect with him. The ordinary Cezmi's interactions and good relations with the Ottoman and Crimean royals could be a political choice for the author since his perception of history as a project of social construction was inherent in politics (Altuğ, 2011, p. 156). Thus, it could be stated that Namık Kemal was a political-historical author since his understanding of history consisted of both politicization and narrativity (Altuğ, 2011, p. 157).

4.3. Orientalising the Persians and the identity construction of Ottoman Turkey

As Edward Said indicated the West's Orientalist point of view of the East to construct a positive self-identity in his *Orientalism*, Usama Makdisi stated Ottoman's Orientalism towards its Arab periphery to build their Westernized and modernized self in his *Ottoman Orientalism*. Makdisi (2002) remarked at the beginning of his article as: "In an age of Western-dominated modernity, every nation creates its own Orient. The nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was no exception" (p. 768). Even though what he said was concerning the subjects, mostly the Arab periphery of the Empire, it could be applied to their Persian neighbours who were considered as a threat due to the fact that they were from the Shia sect. Despite being included in the Islamic world, Persians had sectarian problems with the Ottomans who were considering themselves as the centre of the Islamic union and they could not

internalize the Persians who were Islamic but Shia (Altuğ, 2011, p. 161). While Safavid dynasty was developing a distinct Shia identity to differentiate themselves from the Ottomans, "the Ottoman Empire in its classical age reproduced and justified itself as an orthodox Islamic dynasty superior to all other empires" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 771) and with the rise of modernization and the nationalism it brought, the other Islamic Empires were started to be marginalized. Therefore, the effects of the religious threats for both Empires can be observed in *Cezmi* as well.

Pari Khan Khanum helped his brother Ismail II to get the throne due to his Sunni religion and his intention first emerged as, [1] "it seemed like he would convert the Iranians to Sunnis" [2] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 23). However, after he desired to react against the Ottomans with the Shia forces, he was described as, "with two-face, two ethics, two religions" [3] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 25). The condition was also explained as, "getting together of the opposites…" [4] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 25). So, Ismail II's effort to belong with both religions was reflected as weak by the author. As Makdisi remarked, "religion and ethnicity were crucial markers of difference in the Ottoman system – they helped define what it meant to be an Ottoman" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 773). Thus, using the Shia army against the Ottomans as a Sunni leader was not acceptable. After his short-term reign, Muhammad Khodabanda came to power. His description consisted of many Orientalist elements in the novel. Similar to Boabdil El Chico of Granada and Sultan Achmed III of the Ottoman empire, Khodabanda was identified with feminine characteristics. Firstly, because of his blindness, he was reflected as a weak and depressed leader, who was living in agony and fed up with his own world,

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[1] All translations from the Turkish are by the present author.
[2] "İranlıları Sünni edecek gibi görünür…"
[3] "…iki yüzlü, iki meşrepli, iki mezhepli…"
[4] "Cemi-i ezdâd aklen muhal olduğu gibi …"

from the beginning. (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 26). Due to this situation, Persian rule, that cannot see the opportunities, was associated with blindness (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 26). As a consequent, his Sunni sister Pari Khan and his Shia wife Shehryar took control of the Empire. The Shah was even portrayed, "as a captive in Shehryar's hand" [5] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 102). The Shah who cannot rule his Empire was not even able to control his wife. "The greatest force of the wicked woman was the authority she exerted on her husband" [6] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 286). In this case, Namık Kemal identified Persia as the East who was seen as feminized by the Modern and Westernized Ottomans. Also, alongside the feminine characteristics of the Shah, Persia was actually ruled by women because of the Shah's inabilities (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 126). Adil Giray questioned it as: "He could not find anybody but the two women to hand in the state affairs in the whole nation" [7] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 134). The Persian Empire was being ruled by two women, while the Ottoman Empire was ruled by the Sultan and his advisor Sokullu Mehmed Pasha who experienced the most powerful times of the Empire under Suleiman the Magnificent and helped other Sultans to protect the state in tumultuous times (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 205). Orientalizing of the East with women rulers was also the case with Achmed III who was under Adsalis' control. Thus, each nation associated themselves with masculinity while they associate the other with femininity. The Ottoman ruler Achmed III was orientalised by Jókai in this regard. Contrarily, the Persian Empire lacked a stable rule in *Cezmi*. Then, the author's choice of the period was compatible with his purpose of reminding the powerful times and create common consciousness under the Ottoman identity.

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[5] "…Şehriyar'ın elinde adeta esir hükmünde…"
[6] "Habisenin en büyük bir kuvveti zevci üzerine a'mal ettiği nüfûz idi."
[7] "Koca milletin içinde umûr-ı devletini eline teslim edecek iki kadından başka kimse bulamamış!"

Another significant nationalistic scene was the death of Adil Giray and Pari Khan, the scene was depicted as:

There was left a star-like dot on Adil Giray's face and a both-sided gap looked like a crescent on Pari Khan's jaw…He pulled Adil Giray's and Pari Khan's heads over in order to create a star and a crescent from the white stain left on their faces…Look. Their wounded points look like the Ottoman flag. God depicted the beautiful and shiny symbol of the two martyrs he created in one body. He portrayed their purpose on their faces (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 347). [8]

The depiction of the death of the two lovers contained extreme nationalism. They became martyrs after dying in Persia and their faces appeared as the Ottoman flag. This portrayal might aim to raise the feelings of nationalism on the audience through the aid of the romantic elements and create a sense of common Ottoman consciousness via marginalizing the Persians. Further, "the longstanding imperial attitude that had presupposed an inviolable difference between centre and periphery, between Muslim and non-Muslim, between an Ottoman elite and the tax-paying subjects, was abandoned" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 780) in the modernization period. So, owing to the religious differences, Iran was used as the threatening other to build a self-identity for the Ottomans.

Alongside the author's representation of Persian leader with feminine traits, he also represented his wife Shehryar with evil characteristics while Sunni Pari Khan was presented as a better person in spite of having similar traits with Shehryar. Firstly,

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[8] Adil Giray'ın çehresinde yıldız, kadar bir nokta ile Perihan'ın çehresinde iki tarafa doğru hilal kadar bir açıklık kalmıştı… Adil Giray ile Perihan'ın başlarını yüzlerinde kalan beyazlıklar ay yıldız şekli hasıl edecek surette birbirine yaklaştırdı…Bak temevvüç etmiş, uçları yaralanmış Osmanlı bayrağına benziyor! Yed-i kudret yek-vücût-ı muhabbet yarattığı iki şehidin simalarında hizmet ettikleri maksadın ne parlak, ne güzel bir nişânesini tasvir eylemiş!

Shehryar was described as a woman "who was enslaved by her ego" [9] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 109) due to her lust towards Adil Giray. It is explained as "when she saw his beauty and his face that were impossible to see on Iranian people, her lust reached the peak. She began to prefer having Adil Giray to Safavid dynasty's having all the world" [10] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p.109). In the oriental discourse, "Muslim women are depicted as lusty and Muslim men as repulsive in the sight of Muslim women, who are always looking for western/Christian heroes to satisfy their libidinous desire" (Hasan, 2005, p. 34). Shehryar as a Shia woman abhorred her husband Khodabanda and was sexually attracted to Sunni Adil Giray. Therefore, Namık Kemal associated the Persians with the East, while associated the Tatar Sunnis with the West in the Ottoman Oriental context. Adil Giray became the western hero to satisfy Shehryar's desires. Also, "Adil Giray was a Tatar by blood, yet, he was Ottoman by heart…" [11] (Namık Kemal, 2003, 117) the author remarked. Then, it could be said that he included the Ottomans in the West too because of the effect of the modernization period and the results of the war such as; Crimean War as mentioned earlier. So, the author excluded the Persians from his goal of Islamic union, as he got the Sunni Muslims together. In addition to this, Makdisi stated in his article:

> As Namık Kemal, the Young Ottoman writer and poet put it in 1872, it is from Istanbul "that the multifarious achievements of our century can be heralded to Arabia. Thus, the desired future prosperity of the Islamic Caliphate will be the contribution of the Turks in the first degree but also of the Arabs in the second" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 771)

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[9] "…nefsine gerçekten esir olan…",

[10] "İran semalarında görülmesi muhal olan -hüsn-i cemâlini görünce heves-i şehvet- perestânesi bir derece galebe etmişti ki kendince Adil Giray'a temellükü hanedan-ı Safeviye'nin bütün cihana malik olmasına tercih eder olmuştu."

[11] "Adil Giray ise neslen Tatar ve fakat kalben Osmanlı olduğundan…"

So, Namık Kemal did not even see Shia Islam as accepted in the Islamic world. He included the Arabs because of their Sunni beliefs. Although Ottomans looked down on and orientalised them as well due to their perceived backwardness, they were still seen as a part of the Islamic world together with the autonomous Crimean Tatars, unlike the Persians. At the end of the novel, as he was describing the war scene, Namık Kemal implied as "a bloody cloud on the East…" [12] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 355). He was clearly referring to Persia and its barbarity.

Moreover, as Shehryar was represented as the evil Persian woman who can do anything for her own selfish needs even if it is weighed against the dynasty, Pari Khan was represented as a good woman who cares about her Sunni roots. Shehryar fooled the Shah in order to keep Adil Giray in her palace. She abused his goodwill and deceived him by saying that they should keep him close so that they could connect with Crimea and bring trouble to Ottomans through Crimea, yet she sent his brother Gazi Giray to prison without thinking in favour of Iran (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 119). Even though she stated her fears as "… they are considering things like creating a Sunni state in Iran…" [13] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 258), she clarified her real opinions on Persian people after hearing a possible mischance of an innocent person's getting shot when she said "let them die, they did not give us counting the Iranian people" [14] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 317). Hence, her real intentions did not consist of the Persian people, or the Safavid dynasty but her lust for Adil Giray. In contrast to her, Pari Khan was described with positive traits as: "… in her heart in love and in her feelings that love her nation, her hopes were to help her state to gain a second country…" [15]

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[12] "Maşrıkta bir kanlı bulut…"
[13] "…İran'da bir Sünni devleti teşkil etmek gibi şeyler düşünmeye…"
[14] "Ölüversin! İran halkını bize sayı ile teslim etmediler ya"
[15] "… sade kalb-i sevda-zede ve fikr-i hamiyet-perverânesince devletine bir ikinci kişver kazandırmak…ümitleri…",

(Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 308). Thus, her feelings towards the Crimean Khan associated with love, as Sheryars' with lust. Also, Pari Khan described as a person who loved her nation, unlike Shehryar. Even her thoughts of destroying the Safavid dynasty was identified with good intentions for the Persian people.

> But I neither have someone close nor capable. If I have the means now, I can overthrow this state. We take all the Safavids and send them either to Istanbul or to Crimea with the condition of not attempting their lives. We will also announce your sultanate. Both the conflicts with Ottoman dynasty will be erased and the people will be rescued from their adversities (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 179). [16]

So, Pari Khan's thoughts of destroying the dynasty were based on her good intention for the Persian people, desire to have good relations with Sunni Ottomans and turning Iran's Shah from Shia to Sunni. Despite sharing almost the same traits with Shehryar, Pari Khan was represented as a good Sunni woman. Also, "later historians have judged the Safavid princess more harshly, depicting her as evil, self-serving, conniving, a woman who masterminded the murder plot of two of her brothers and who had her eye on the Safavid" (Gholsorkhi, 1994, p. 152). Namık Kemal chose to represent her almost like an angel who cared for her religion, which might not be Sunni Islam in reality, and nation. Her only connection to Sunnis was actually by her mother and uncle Shamkhal. When Adil Giray hesitated about her intentions on the Safavid dynasty, she replied as "Don't you know that my uncle is Shamkhal?... I am a

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[16] "…fakat hem mahrem, hem kâr-güzâr kimseye malik değilim. Eğer öyle bir vasıtam olsa şimdi bu devleti taklibe muktedirim. Safevi evlâdının umûmunu tutar, canlarına kastolunmamak şartıyla ya İstanbul'a, ya Kırım'a göndeririz. Sizin şahlığınızı da ilan ederiz. Hem hanedan-ı Osmanî ile aradaki ihtilaf kalkar, hem halk bunların şerrinden emin olur…"

Sunni. I learned manners from my mother and my uncle" [17] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 180). Also, Shehryar stated as "isn't Pari Khan the daughter of the sister of Shamkhal! They believe she is a Sunni for this reason" [18] (Namık Kemal, 2003, pp. 321, 322). Nonetheless, she was also the daughter of the Shia Shah Tahmasp and considered as Shia in many sources. So, the author might select her to realize his project since she had ties with Sunni Islam.

Namık Kemal's representation of Shehryar as evil and Pari Khan as good might be explained with Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's idea of angel/monster dichotomy. His personification of Pari Khan and Shehryar could be applicable to this theory. Throughout the novel, Pari Khan's love for Adil Giray was reflected as sympathetic. Even her desire to destroy Persia was mentioned as a positive thing. Adil Giray gladly approved Cezmi when he asked, "so, she's coming with a big throne of sultanate as a dowry to our sir?" [19] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 219). Also, Pari Khan's purpose was even a poetical dream for creating the Islamic union to Adil Giray:

> Isn't it a poetical dream – I do mean it – that I can realize Sultan Selim's and Sokullu's aim of Islamic union which they wanted to realize by conquering the lands and merging the seas, with the help of a girl while I am a captive under Shias? [20] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 219).

Thus, the author represented Pari Khan with positive attributes owing to her aids for the Sunni Islamic union. Plus, she was both described as very beautiful and very

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[17] "Benim dayım Şemhal olduğunu bilmiyor musun?..., ben sünniyim, terbiyemi validemden, dayımdan gördüm."

[18] "…Perihan Şemhal'in hemşirezâdesi değil midir? O cihetle kendisinin Sünni olduğuna zahip oluyorlar."

[19] "…o da efendimize cehâz olarak bir koca taht-ı saltanatla gelmeye çalışıyor öyle mi?"

[20] "Sultan Selim'in, Sokullu'nun biri karaları zaptederek, biri deryaları birleştirerek hasıl etmek istediği ittihâd-ı İslam maksadını Şiiler elinde e sir iken seni bir kızın yardımıyla vücuda getirebilirse – gerçekten söylüyorum – şairâne bir hayâl değil midir?"

intelligent (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 143). She was like "a frozen shining column that sprang from nature's beauty fountain" [21] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 18). Contrarily, Shehryar was attributed with negative characteristics. Her beauty was compared to that of Pari Khans' and described as an "oleander next to a rose" [22] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 18). She was frequently mentioned as an evil. "One of the evilness of Shehryar was" [23] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 117) putting Adil Giray's brother Gazi Giray in prison while she kept Adil Giray in her palace. Even her son could not surpass his mother's "devilish deceptions" [24] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 119). She was even referred to as "extremely evil" [25] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 140) at one point. Also, she was simply identified as a "bad woman" [26] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 138) with low manners at times. Her physical appearance was described as:

> Shehryar was almost forty yet, did not lose her freshness of youth. She, like a snake, appeared in a mixed colour beauty. She looked thin like a snake but, had a strong body in reality. She crawled like a snake when helpless. Like a snake, she was a peculiar wind that crawled into crooked roads, covering herself so as to reach her destination (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 18). [27]

As Pari Khan was associated with the beauty of nature and flowers, Shehryar was identified with the animal snake. The author wrote 'snake' four times to reinforce this message. Although both Pari Khan and Shehryar had their selfish desires, they were

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[21] "…tabiatın fevvâre-i bedayiinden sıçramış da incimad etmiş bir amud-ı nuranî vasfına layık olacak kadar…"

[22] "…güle nispet zakkum çiçeği…",

[23] "Şehriyar'ın bir şeytaniyeti de…"

[24] "…muğalâtât-ı şeytanatkârânesine galebe edemediğinden…"

[25] "…ifrât-ı şeytanâtiyle…",

[26] "…habise…"

[27] "Şehriyar hanım ise kırkına yaklaşmış ve fakat taravetini kaybetmemiş, yılan gibi reng-amiz bir hüsn içinde görünür, yılan gibi zahirde zayıf ve fakat hakikatte kuvvetli bir bünyeye malik olmuş, yılan gibi aciz kaldığı zaman yerlerde sürünür, yılan gibi veçhe-i maksuduna vüsul için izini setredecek eğri büğrü yollara salik olmuş bir garibe-i rüzgârdı"

represented as opposites. Pari Khan was the angel who was likened to nature and Shehryar was the monster who looked like a snake according to Gilbert and Gubar's dichotomy. Pari Khan as a Sunni woman had a sense of morality and religious faith, yet Shehryar as the Shia wife of the blind and impotent Shah was lustful and selfish. Even though both women were powerful, Pari Khan was supportive for the Islamic union and Shehryar was a threat to the patriarchal Sunni Islamic union. Namık Kemal used the two women to specify the distinctions of the two religion. He represented the Sunni woman as the angel and the Shia woman as the monster. So, it could be indicated that the women's identities were represented by the author in an oriental context. Also, the same dichotomy could be observed in *Halil* as well. While Greek Irene was representing the angel, Ottoman Adsalis was symbolizing the monster. Thus, as the Ottoman woman was a monster in the Hungarian context, she was an angel in the Ottoman one since each nation related themselves with positive traits and created their own others with negative traits.

Moreover, there was one point where the two women shared one aspect and that is the veil they wore. The veil as an Islamic stereotype of the East could be seen in the novel. Like Jarmakani indicated veil is an inherent aspect of the oriental women and the image of the veil is always specified in the oriental contexts. Also, as Said stated the oriental women were represented as highly sexual, erotic and willing. So, the veil imagery and the sexualization of the Persian women could be observed in *Cezmi*. Both Shehryar and Pari Khan were presented with the veil. When Shehryar visited Adil Giray, she "was not shying away from displaying her beauty with the excuses of tidying her veil that she wore" [28] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 117). Likewise, Pari Khan showed herself to the Crimean Khan to impress him. "When Adil Giray

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[28] "…örtündüğü cârı düzeltmek bahaneleriyle arz-ı cemâlden de geri durmazdı"

saw the beautiful face, that was removed from the obstacles, he was watching vaguely behind a curtain a few nights ago, his heart almost wanted to worship it" [29] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 159). Thus, both Persian women were represented with the stereotypical image of the veil and they both uncover the veil to seduce the man they love and show their eagerness for sexual intimacy.

Also, Luce Irigaray's idea of imposed social roles on women could be applied to this novel as well. Women have exchange values in the male-dominated dynasties. The Ottoman commander Osman Pasha told Cezmi as:

> There is no other alternative from linking the Ottoman nation to Shamkhal dynasty by the way of marriage in order to keep Şirvan's future safe. If I take a woman from Shamkhal dynasty, I will connect the all people of Circassian and Daghestan to myself by heart. I will bring big trouble to Iran (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 113). [30]

Osman Pasha wanted to marry Rabia Mihridil Hanım. So, he could take Sunni majority places of Iran and weaken the country. Rabia was described as a beautiful woman who possessed morals (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 116). Even though Osman Pasha's both military career and personal life were mentioned in detail, Rabia was only a beautiful and moral girl. Thus, she was the virgin who got an exchange value. She was exchanged between man in return of land.

Furthermore, like Almamen's saving Christian Donna Inez's son, Cezmi saved 'the other' from drowning. Even though he did not notice his gender and nationality,

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[29] "Adil Giray, bir kaç gece evvel perde altından hayal meyal temaşe eylediği meh cemâlini her türlü hâilden mücerret olarak görünce gönlündeki hal, muhabbetten arzu-yı perestiş derecelerine yaklaşmıştı"

[30] "Şirvan'ın tasarruf-ı âtisini temin için Şemhal hanedanına bir karabet-i sihriyye ile Osmanlı asabiyetine rabtetmekten başka çare olamaz… Ben de Şemhal hanedanından bir kadın alırsam bütün Çerkez ve Dağıstan halkını kendime cân ü dilden celbederim, İran'ın başına büyük büyük işler açarım"

he chose to save the person (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 91). After it was understood that he was Persian, Ottoman soldiers wanted to execute him but, Cezmi saved him once more. Makdisi (2002) indicated that "the imperial soldiers constituted the vanguard of Ottoman modernity, rationality, and nationalism" (p. 782). This behaviour of Cezmi served as a model for the other Ottoman soldiers. "…confident soldiers began to a compassion competition for saving their captives and perhaps the others' captives after witnessing Cezmi's courage that saves the weak. They saved the eighty per cent of the Persians, who were in the army, from execution" [31] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 87). As Makdisi said too, Cezmi as a modern, rational and nationalistic soldier displayed the positive traits of the Ottoman army by his professional and rational decisions. Cezmi who was an ordinary soldier achieved to work for the royals because of his success at his job. Despite the story was centred around the royals as Adil Giray, Pari Khan and Shehryar as opposed to the choices of Scott, the father of the historical novel, Cezmi as an ordinary person provided with a model in order to create national consciousness for the Ottoman youth. His personality, devotion to his country and faith and his experiences with the royals made a connection between the royals and the ordinary people of the Empire.

Similar to Donna Inez's being good to Leila due to her gratefulness to the Jew who helped her son to survive, Pertev, who was saved from both drowning and execution, aided Cezmi and accommodated him in Persia. During his stay, he met Pertev's father and sister who are Sunnis. In spite of Pertev's being apparently a good person, his different description from the rest of his family stood out. He was described as "someone ugly who is pale, sallow-skinned, …, a little pockmarked and

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[31] "…asker içinde kendine güvenenler Cezmi'nin bu cür'et-i aciz-perverânesini görünce kendilerinin ve belki sâirlerinin esirlerini kurtarmakta merhamet yarışına kıyâm ettiler. Orduda bulunan Acemlerin bayağı yüzde seksenini idamdan halâs eylediler"

the tip of his nose was downwards, …, his shortness, the thickness of his bones did not leave anything proportionate on his body" [32] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 92). Nevertheless, his father was "a blessed old man who was hazel-eyed, ruddy-cheeked, grey-bearded, has got a proportionate body and looked like his harmless heart was reflected on his face" [33] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 92). Also, his sister Ayşe was "created to become an example of beauty, has got distinct blue eyes, yellow hair like it was painted with gold, her body was proportionate. The child was like an angel" [34] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 92). Therefore, in spite of being a good person, Pertev was presented with an ugly appearance while his Sunni father and sister reflected with beautiful features. Plus, even Pertev's father preferred his Sunni daughter to his Shia son "because of the contrast in their creation, the old man did not quite like Pertev, but he loved Ayşe madly owing to her angelic character" [35] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 93). Also, Cezmi declined Pertev's father's offer of marrying Ayşe due to her being underage emphasized his educated side (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 209). The author's aim to reflect the Shias in a negative way, specifically as physically disproportionate and Sunnis as modern, educated and with proportionate bodies could be deduced from the descriptions. "The late Ottoman state saw itself as at once part of East but above the rest of the Eastern peoples" (Makdisi, 2002, p. 787). Hence, Shias had not only weak personalities, but they were physically inferior to the Ottomans as well.

Moreover, the characters' building their identity could be explained through Greenblatt's 'self-fashioning'. Both Sunnis and Shias constructed their identities

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[32] "…soluk sarı benizli, ..., az çiçek bozuğu, burnunun ucu aşağı, …, …, boyunun kısalığı, kemiklerinin kalınlığı da vücudunda tenâsüpten eser bırakmamış bir çirkin şey…"

[33] "…ala gözlü, al yanaklı, kır sakallı, mütenâsibü'l âzâ, kalbinin safveti çehresine aks etmiş gibi görünür bir mübârek ihtiyar…"

[34]"… nümûne-i cemâl olmak için yapılmış, tahrîrli mai gözlü, üzerine yaldız serpilmiş gibi parlak sarı saçlı…, vücûdunun her tarafı birbirine yakışmış, melek gibi bir çocuktu"

[35] "Çünkü tabiatlarında olan mugayirât cihetiyle ihtiyar, Pertev'i pek sevmez ve fakat Ayşe'ye mizacının mülkiyet derecelerinde olmasına binâen çıldırırcasına muhabbet ederdi"

through their threatening others. The Safavid dynasty's constructing a distinct Shia identity could be an example. The threatening Sunni Ottomans led them into creating their own specific identity. The fear for "things like creating a Sunni state in Iran" [36] (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 258) could be seen in the novel. So, the fear of the other caused the Persians to create a new identity and the Persians internalized them and began to live accordingly. Similarly, the same fear could be observed in the Ottomans. Connecting Crimea and Iran through the marriage between Shehryar and Adil Giray was the main perceived threat throughout the novel. Also, despite being a Crimean Tatar by blood, Adil Giray chose to identify himself with Ottomanism and considered himself an Ottoman. Therefore, it could be stated that he constructed his public persona according to the Sunni identity and associated himself with the strongest Sunni state of the period (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 117). In addition to this, Pertev who had a Sunni father and a Shia mother selected to become a Shia (Namık Kemal, 2003, p. 91). Pertev was Persian and living in Iran. Choosing the dominant religion of his country might be better for him to live as socially accepted. So, this could be a good example of human autonomy in the formation of identity.

Also, Namık Kemal's having been influenced by the European authors and poets was mentioned before. Even though he was mostly influenced by the French literature, Shakespeare's effect on him could be clearly seen in his aforementioned letters and plays that consisted of intertextual elements. These effects were also present in *Cezmi*. After Cezmi escaped from the Persians, he found a grave and hid in there. He started to question life and death while he was among all the dead bodies. He took a skull and talked to himself as:

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[36] "…İran'da bir Sünni devleti teşkil etmek gibi şeyler…"

He turned the skull he took over and over… He did not want to think about the

deformity and the rottenness and left it again. "I wonder if you were a human

being like me. I wonder if there is an ugly bone like this in Adil Giray's and

Pari Khan's faces which could liken to Yusuf's and Züleyha's. I wonder if we

come to God's presence…with this ugly and disgusting face! [37] (Namık

Kemal, 2003, pp. 350, 351)

Cezmi's questioning of life and death draw parallels to Hamlet's questioning of the

same concepts while he took his old friend Yorick's skull in the cemetery. Hamlet

wondered if the ancient figures of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar had the same

end as Yorick after all. Similarly, Cezmi wondered if Adil Giray's beautiful face

would turn into a bone at the end. Then, it could be said that Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

and its philosophical themes affected Namık Kemal while he was writing *Cezmi*.

Another significant anecdote is that Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet* after his personal grief

over his son Hamnet's early death at the age of 11. Likewise, Namık Kemal's

grandson who committed suicide at the age of 21, was named Cezmi (Toros, 1970,

p.125). However, he was born after the novel was written, in 1896 and named after

the character. Therefore, Shakespeare's influence on the author could be seen in his

works and even in his personal life.

All things considered, the attempt of the construction of an Ottoman identity in

the 19th century Ottoman Empire could be observed in Namık Kemal's *Cezmi*. The

Ottoman modernization period affected the construction of a modern 19th century

identity. Having been under the heavy Westernization process, the Ottomans tried to

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[37] "Eline aldığı kelleyi biraz daha evirdi, çevirdi, sevâbıkın kabahiyatını idrâk etmekle
beraber…çirkinliğini, kokmuşluğunu düşmanın istemeyerek yana bıraktı: "Acaba sen de benim gibi
insan mıydın? Acaba Adil Giray'ın, Perihan'ın o Yusuf'a, Züleyha'ya sani addolunacak kadar güzel
olan çehrelerinin içinde de böyle çirkin bir kemik mi vardır? Acaba…huzur-ı İlahiye bu kadar çirkin,
bu kadar iğrenç bir çehre ile mi gideceğiz?"

merge the European modern identity with their Islamic culture. Therefore, they would have their genuine identity which could have been a bridge between two continents. This new modern identity-building resulted in the otherization of the perceived inferior nations like Arabs and orientalising the perceived threats like Persians. Within this framework, the conditions in the 19th century Ottoman Empire and information on the 16th century Islamic states of Ottomans, Crimean Tatars and Persians were provided. Both the formation of the national identity under Ottomanism and orientalising the Persians were discussed with an Ottoman point of view and with the help of Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism. The author narrated the past in his own biased perspective so that he could provide the Ottoman nation with the correct message about present politics which was about creating national unity as orientalising the Persians as a perceived threat. The most significant instance was Pari Khan's representation as almost angelic by Namık Kemal even though she was described as evil in certain historical sources. The author wanted to portray a positive identity for her. Also, the gender aspect of the novel was reviewed with the opinions of Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar and Luce Irigaray. The term 'self-fashioning' by Stephen Greenblatt was also applied to the character's formation of identity to support the issue of identity construction. Lastly, the intertextual aspects of the novel were explained.

5. CONCLUSION

This research has aimed to study the 19th century historical novel and Orientalism together and display the points they intersect. Although the historical novels from Western Europe were often discussed in previous sources, they mostly lacked examples from Central and Eastern Europe. So, I believe this research provided a new perspective by combining a Western European novel with novels from Central and Eastern Europe. Besides, these historical novels were examined in the context of Orientalism which was inherently present in the genre because both aimed to construct a superior European identity. This research, hence, also showed how the nations created their own non-European others and eventually how the authors adopted Edward Said's Orientalism in accordance with the region they live in and developed their specific kinds of Orientalisms. Then, illustrating the development of the 19th century historical novel and correspondingly the development of Orientalism in Europe constituted the main purpose of this work. Both the historical novel and Orientalism were based on constructing nation-states which centred around European values. Thus, both were biased representations of the past and the East and did not reflect reality. Not only England but Hungary that was already considered as Orient within Europe and Turkey that bordered Europe on the East fashioned their national identities around Europeanness because of the nationalism and Pan-Europeanism phenomena. In this context, Stephen Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning' was applied both to the individual and national identity constructions in the novels. Further, the analyses also addressed the gender issues in the context of otherization and showed how the East was associated with femininity and the women were represented within an Oriental frame.

While the historical novel examined the past, Orientalism studied the East. They both concentrated on representing the unknown. So, it was inevitable to include fiction in both. Accuracy of the historical novels was already discussed in the second part of the 19th century since the authors intended to create a text by mixing imagination with historical information and provide with messages about the present. Yet, they learned history through previous sources which had also been interpreted according to the historian's perspective. It could, therefore, be said that historical sources contained fiction too. In this regard, the historical novel which crushed between fact and imagination could neither reflect the reality accurately nor independent from the point of view of the author. Similarly, Orientalists, who were sent to the East to gather information, produced texts. They identified the Easterners in terms of European values and presented these texts to the Western audience to learn them accordingly. In this manner, they built their identity in contrast to the Easterners' perceived backwardness. Both the historical novel and Orientalism were centred around a constructed European identity. Thus, it could also be indicated that Orientalism was a part of the historical novel. Neither the historical novel nor Orientalism did reflect the reality and they favoured European identities over the Eastern identities. Historical novel inaccurately represented the past like Orientalist inaccurately represented the East. In this context, this thesis examined three historical novels which dealt with their own type of Orientalism since every region in Europe created its own other. Each novel was written at different time periods in the development of the historical novel genre and in different European regions. This work, therefore, could also be considered as a comparative literature project.

The first chapter examined Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Leila; or The Siege of Granada*, a novel from England which was one of the first places the historical novel

thrived. Yet, England had already constituted a strong sense of national identity by the time the historical novel emerged. Thus, the author selected another relevant subject with the Victorian politics of the time. He was an active supporter of British colonialism and narrated the Reconquest which started the re-Christianization or Europeanization of Western Europe and the European colonization in the world. In this regard, stereotypical representations of the non-Christians who were the Jews and the Muslims and, the identity building of Christian Spain were analysed through Edward Said's Orientalism.

In the second chapter, Mór Jókai's *Halil The Pedlar: A Tale of Old Stambol* which was a Hungarian novel, was analysed through Andre Gingrich's Frontier Orientalism. Contrary to Bulwer-Lytton, Jókai intended to generate national consciousness in Hungarian society so that Hungary could come out as an independent European nation-state out of the Austrian Empire. He reminded people of the Ottoman dominated past to meet them in common ground. The image of the dangerous Turk was only created to form national consciousness against the current Habsburg threat and hence, it did not reflect an actual but a constructed portrayal of the Turks.

The third chapter investigated Namık Kemal's *Cezmi* through Usama Makdisi's Ottoman Orientalism. Similar to Jókai, the author wanted to create national consciousness to unite the crumbling empire under the Ottoman identity. The Empire, which was in a period of Westernization, also wanted to have a distinct identity that was Europeanized as still keeping their authentic identity. In this sense, the neighbouring Persian Empire was orientalised as the other who posed a threat to the Ottoman union and represented with negative characteristics while the Ottomans were

represented with positive ones. However, these features were inaccurate and did not

reflect a factual representation as in Pari Khan's case.

All nations constructed their identities against their perceived others which

happened to be the East and the Muslims. While Bulwer-Lytton orientalised the

Moors and the Jews with stereotypical representations for constructing a superior

Christian Spanish identity, Jókai orientalised the Turks in order to preserve Hungary's

authenticity and Namık Kemal orientalised the Shia Persians for emphasizing the

Ottomans' superior Sunni identity. Nonetheless, all representations were mythical

constructions and did not reflect accurate representations and aimed to build a

European identity by orientalising the East.

In spite of losing its moral purpose to teach history and eventually its

popularity, historical novels continued to have been written through the 20th century

but it started "to move away from Europe to the decolonizing world and the diaspora

from it…and become the medium for examining the crisis of European colonialism

and the painful transition to independent states" (Hamnett, 2011, p. 307). However, I

believe that changing politics and values of the present time make the notion of

nationalism start to rise once more in the nation-states which were centred around a

European identity. This Pan-European identity was even politicized with the

foundation of the European Union. Yet, the countries which were centred around

Europeanness in the past have started to contradict with each other and even leave the

union now. Within the scope of the countries I studied in this thesis, Britain has been

the first clear instance of the conflict. England, which already has a union with the

countries in its Kingdom and the Commonwealth community, has been preparing to

leave this union. Also, Hungary, which was accepted to the union rapidly after the end

of the Cold War, has been continuing to clash with the values and its position in it has

usually being questioned. Hungary is keeping its identity as the Orient within Europe in a sense. Similarly, Turkey, which was trying to prove its European identity and become a bridge between the West and the East for many years as a candidate country for the union, has practically finished the membership process and been moving further away from European values and identity. That is to say, the countries that were constructed around Europeanness in the past have begun to leave this common identity today. Through the historical novel, they can continue to create new others and Orients relevant to the current political situation.

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