



Sosyal Bilimler
Enstitüsü

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞAMALAR
BİLİM DALI

**WITHIN AND BEYOND THE IMPERIAL BOUNDARIES:
RETHINKING OTTOMAN LITERARY MODERNIZATION
PROCESS TOGETHER WITH
HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIGİL AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

FATMA BETÜL BAKIRCI

İSTANBUL, 2020

T.C.
MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞAMALAR
BİLİM DALI

**WITHIN AND BEYOND THE IMPERIAL BOUNDARİES:
RETHINKING OTTOMAN LITERARY MODERNIZATION
PROCESS TOGETHER WITH
HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIGİL AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

FATMA BETÜL BAKIRCI

DR. MEHMET FATİH USLU

İSTANBUL, 2020

ABSTRACT

WITHIN AND BEYOND THE IMPERIAL BOUNDARIES: RETHINKING OTTOMAN LITERARY MODERNIZATION PROCESS TOGETHER WITH HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIGİL AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB

Literary modernization in the Ottoman Empire began to develop in the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, the interaction between the literature within the multicultural and multilingual structure of the empire, and more specifically the increase of cross-cultural encounters in the same period. The main aim of this thesis is to evaluate the literary production of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and Krikor Zohrab comparatively in the context of the Ottoman literary modernization process and to look at the imperial field from a pluralist perspective. Thus, this study will confirm a dialogue with significant realist writers of Turkish and Armenian literature, and also rethink the foundations of modern literature through Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and Krikor Zohrab. Both of the mentioned authors have contributed considerably to the autonomy of Ottoman literature with their writings produced in the field. Finally, another key argument will be to these writers in the global platform by reading Turkish and Armenian literature in the context of the world literature system. Indeed, the Ottoman Empire experienced a significant political crisis at the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, however, changes in the cultural and social spheres did transform the empire's perception of the world. Ultimately, a modernization process across the imperial frontier is manifested across every field. On the other hand, this process improves the relations between groups and allows plurality, including within the literary field. Thus, in the cultural and literary fields of the empire, unlike the crisis, a possibility of reconciliation is achieved by Ottoman intellectuals.

Keywords: Ottoman literature, comparative literature, modernization, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, Krikor Zohrab, cultural dialogue, world literature system.



ÖZET

İMPARATORLUK SINIRLARI YA DA ÖTESİNDE OLMAK: OSMANLI EDEBİ MODERNLEŞMESİNİ HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIĞIL VE KRİKOR ZOHRAB İLE YENİDEN DÜŞÜNMEK

On dokuzuncu asrın sonuna doğru Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda edebi modernleşme gelişim göstermeye başlar. Çoğul ve çok kültürlü bir yapıya sahip olan imparatorluk sahasında ivme kazanan bu hareketin de etkisiyle kültürler arasında kuvvetli diyaloglar gerçekleşir, milletler etkileşime açık öznelerle dönüşürler. Bu tezin en önemli amacı Krikor Zohrab ve Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil ile birlikte on dokuzuncu asrın ortasından itibaren modernleşen Türkçe ve Ermenice edebiyatı yan yana okumak ve böylelikle buradan bir paralel modernleşme anlatısı üretmektir. İkinci olarak, bu yazarlar karşılaştırarak dönemin kültürel ortamına, Türkçe ve Ermenice edebiyat arasındaki sürdürülen diyaloglara, uzlaş ve çatışmalara yakın temas edilmesi amaçlanır. Böylelikle bu çalışmada Krikor Zohrab ve Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil etrafında kümelenen gelişmeler, Osmanlı edebiyatları bağlamında bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutulur. Son olarak, bu çalışmanın bir diğer iddiası, Krikor Zohrab ve Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil'i dünya edebiyatı sisteminin özneleri olarak okuyarak Osmanlı edebiyatlarından dünya edebiyatına doğru bir yol haritası çıkarmak, böylelikle imparatorluğun söz konusu dönemde deneyimlediği siyasal krizin ötesinde bir imkân üreten kültürel ve edebi etkileşimi, yazarların globalleşme ve modernlik deneyimi ile birlikte değerlendirmektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Edebiyatı, Karşılaştırmalı Edebiyat, Modernleşme, Halit Ziya

Uşaklıgil, Krikor Zohrab, Kültürel Diyalog, Dünya Edebiyatı Sistemi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my advisor, Assistant Professor Mehmet Fatih Uslu, who has always believed, supported and helped me throughout, not only during the thesis process, but my Masters program. I would also like to pay my gratitude to Professor Boğos Levon Zekian for supporting me, as well as Sevan Değirmenciyan for teaching me Western Armenian.

I would also like to thank Assist. Prof. Fatih Altuğ for his contribution to my writing process by always giving me a new perspective. I would also like to thank Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Uysal together with Assist. Prof. Fatih Altuğ for their valuable comments as jury members. I would also like to give special thanks to Zakarya Mildanoğlu and Murat Cankara for their intellectual suggestions regarding my studies.

My deepest gratitude goes to my University, Şehir and my department. Thank you for the new perspectives they have given me, and the opportunities it has led me to, in this field. Throughout my Master's, my Professors have always encouraged me. Therefore, I would also like to thank the other faculty members who gave me the chance to take these courses and discuss my study.

There are many friends who I am grateful for for their contribution. My dear friends Esma Vatansever, Zeynep Nur Şimşek and Merve Zayim have always encouraged and supported me emotionally, not only during the thesis but also throughout my entire academic career. Lastly, I want to thank my dear sisters, Ayşe and Rumeysa who have always been there for me. I would not have been able to complete this process successfully without their support.

Fatma Betül BAKIRCI

İstanbul, 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ÖZ.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	3
2. OTTOMAN NOVEL ON THE WAY TO THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19th CENTURY ARMENIANS.....	10
2.1. A Parallel Story of Literary Modernization: Armenians and Turks.....	10
2.2. Between Touches and Dialogues: Who Reads Armeno-Turkish?.....	15
2.3. French Influence on the Edge of Modernization.....	22
2.3.1. The Ottoman Turkish Novel: “I swear, we will not be French”.....	24
2.3.2. Seeking Literary Origins: Armenian Literature and The French Model.....	30
3. RETHINKING OTTOMAN LITERATURE IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARMENIAN LITERATURE: HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIĞİL AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB.....	35
3.1. Rediscovering Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil As A Founding Figure.....	37
3.1.1. The Experience of Being an Individual: Analysis of Subjectivization Experience through Halit Ziya’s Short Stories.....	46
3.1.1.1 Positioning Women As A Protagonist.....	53
Being a Woman who Kills: An Analysis of <i>Daire-İstintakta</i>	54
A Desirable Woman: <i>Deli Fato</i>	57
On the Edge of the Tyranny of Standards: <i>İkinci Nikâh</i> and <i>Güzel Artemisya</i>	61
3.1.2. The Issue of Masculinity: Reconstructing Male Identity in <i>Bir Hikâye-i Sevdâ</i>	65
3.1.3 On City Streets: <i>Ferhunde Kalfa</i>	68
3.2. The Rhythm of Literary Modernization: Thinking Armenian Literature Together with Krikor Zohrab.....	71
3.3. Looking at Turn of the Century Literature with Zohrab’s Literary Works.....	77

3.3.1. Rethinking Female Beauty and Her Inner World.....	78
<i>Postal</i>	80
The Fallen Woman: <i>Magdalene</i>	83
3.3.2. The Rise of Passivity, Loneliness and Timidity in <i>Basil</i> and <i>Cogo</i>	85
3.3.3. Social Injustice in <i>The Black Bag</i>	90
4. TRANSCENDING THE IMPERIAL BORDERS WITH HALİT ZİYA AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB.....	93
4.1. Approaches to World Literature: Between Hierarchy and Cosmopolitanism.....	94
4.2. <i>Glocalism</i> and Inclusion in Ottoman Literature.....	102
5. CONCLUSION.....	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	113

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century, races of modernism were felt deeply within the Ottoman Empire. The changes which occurred in the social, cultural, and political fields were reflected in the field of literature over a short period of time. Thus, within the multicultural and multilingual structure of the empire, different literatures began to bear witness to parallel processes but were also different in themselves. In this context, it is important to note that a lot of literature produced in the nineteenth century were hybrid works, with the aim of reflecting the modernization process of the Ottoman *millet*s. On the other hand, the cultural atmosphere during the late nineteenth-century increased the integration of the Ottoman *millet*s amongst the cultures within the empire and across the world. Moreover, this integration enabled various groups, within the empire, to communicate with the West in different ways; that is, different experiences for a foreign culture. Thus, different ethnic groups began to cross imperial boundaries, uniting themselves with the new world. This emerging situation resulted in Ottoman literature being positioned parallel to world literature. Therefore it is correct to say that this period reflected the nuances of the modernization and westernization movements that spread throughout the empire. At the same time, these movements revealed the global aims of literature from different nations, across the globe.

Firstly, in order to understand the evolution of late nineteenth-century literature, it is necessary to examine the genre of modern fiction that has been emerging since the middle of the century. Secondly, the close relationship between Ottoman and French literature, beyond the borders, has paved the way for the establishment of national and modern literature, in the Ottoman Empire. It is evident that the relationship between French and Ottoman *millet*s has contributed to the reconstruction of the literary field, internally, by utilising elements of the culture's outside the empire. However, at this point, some questions arise:

How to reconsider the modernization process of Ottoman literature with the plural and multicultural structures of the empire? In other words, is it possible to analyze the modernization of Ottoman literature, beyond the national discourse of today, as an integration of various nations?

Such an understanding will undoubtedly let us analyze literary modernization in a multifaceted way, enabling us to discover the heterogeneity of the empire. Moreover, by bringing back the literature that has been excluded from the process of Turkification, together with Turkish literature, we can better understand the Ottoman literary modernization process, with Armenian literature. Therefore, one of the main aims of this thesis is to analyze Ottoman literature as hybrid works and to establish a parallel modernization narrative, between Turkish and Armenian literature. Furthermore, the plural structure of Ottoman literature will be emphasized by comparing Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, two leading writers of the period. Additionally, by following the traces of literary modernization with these authors, the heads of the imperial system can be better understood. This creates a dialogue between Turkish and Armenian literature, by producing a literary modernization narrative, centered around Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya. Finally, this thesis will read Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya as part of the world literature system in order to reveal the interactions, partnerships and conflicts between the two authors, constituting a bridge between Ottoman and global literature.

The return of Turkish literature to the west begins with Tanzimat. In this period, Turkish writers used literature as a means to transfer traditional codes to society. Ottoman intellectuals followed the changing world and positioned themselves in the awareness that this concept would also be reflected in the empire. For this reason, they used other devices to convey their political and ideological opinions, such as newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, literature can be used by writers as a link to the recovery of the empire. The aim is to protect the idea of the East and to take some of the practices from the west, in order to adapt to the changing world. However, a balance could not be reached between these two cultures. Writers then began to produce literary products with the main concern of being influenced. It is therefore safe to say that the literature of the first period supports dissociation rather than a union between these two cultures.

However, throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, modernization in Turkish literature began to increase. During this period, referred to as "new generation, new literature," there are some key changes in the relationship of the writers with the west. One of the most important changes that occurred was that the west was now seen as a school during that period. Authors then began to adopt this culture. In fact, the main differences between the new and old generation occurred in literature as well as in other fields of the empire. Therefore, the transformation at the turn of the century had a direct connection with the changing traditional identity of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, it should be noted that the authors' perception of modernization is experienced in different ways with Edebiyatı-ı Cedide offering a specific model of modernization in Turkish literature.

Armenian literature followed parallel processes in the story of modernization with Turkish. However, there was a significant difference: the relationship of the Armenian community with Western culture dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. For this reason, Armenians adapted to Western culture earlier than the Turks and continued to engage with this culture. Thereafter, in the mid-nineteenth century, Armenian writers who understood Western Classicism began to follow Romanticism, adapted to the modernization apparent there, becoming a significant representation of the shift in Ottoman literature. On the other hand, some of these partnerships managed to combine the modernization processes of Turkish and Armenian literature. For example, in certain literary works, there is a decrease in adherence to traditional and religious rules as well as the topics of oppression, rejecting social engagement and the gender issue. These partnerships claim autonomy in both literary fields.

Therefore, this period is an era of increased relations between the Armenian and Turkish groups, and this contact is reflected in the field of literature. On this note, I will firstly try to understand the atmosphere in which Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil existed, by tracing the changes and developments in the field of Armenian and Turkish literature. More specifically, in the first chapter, I will try to read the modernization process of Armenian and Turkish literature, together. In shaping the ground for comparing Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, I benefit from Mehmet Fatih Uslu's article, "Osmanlı Türklerinin ve Ermenilerinin Edebiyatlarını Beraber Okumak: Çatışmalar ve

Uzlaşmalar,” and the changing cultural relations of Armenians and Turks, in literary production, in the imperial system after 1880. According to Uslu (2015), the late nineteenth century is a period in which Armenian and Turkish literature, despite the crisis in the empire, reached a level of co-development and harbored conflicts and compromises (p.350). Furthermore, Mehmet Fatih Uslu explains the literary atmosphere of this period along with the current of realism, under which the authors were influenced. In this era of dialogue between Armenian and Turkish groups, literature can be evaluated together in order to gain autonomous status. I will also improve this debate by rethinking the literary and cultural intercommunication of Turks and Armenians together with Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya.

In the second section of the chapter, I will discuss the use of Armeno-Turkish since the mid-nineteenth century, examining *Numuneler* in detail. *Numuneler* was written in a later period, revealing the cooperation between Armenian and Turkish literary groups. At this point, Murat Cankara's work on Armeno-Turkish is especially significant in terms of presenting the plural space as well as the multilingualism in the Ottoman Empire. As previously mentioned, the nineteenth century was a period when intercultural relations and, more specifically, literary languages were operating on imperial borders. During this period, Turkish and Armenian letters were used effectively by both cultures, with Muslim and non-Muslim intellectuals knowing each other through this system. Thus, Armeno-Turkish created an intercommunal network, which became critical for both types of literature. It is possible to define the relationship produced by the Armeno-Turkish, in two ways: The first reveals the agreement between Armenians and Turks through literary language. The second, “In the existing literature on the millet system, cultural encounter is reduced to textual encounter and language and/or script barriers are overrated.” (Cankara, 2014, p.3). In other words, Armeno-Turkish may also be a symbol of the hierarchical order between literary languages in the empire. For this reason, Murat Cankara claims that due to the millet system's mechanism, there are conflicts and crises in the literary fields. I strongly believe that Armenian and Turkish literature produced in the same period will provide significant insight into this discussion.

Numuneler (1912-1913), on the other hand, directly reveals the communication between Armenian and Turkish intellectuals in the empire. Throughout my work, I support the idea that *Numuneler* is the result of the encounters between Armenian and Turkish groups. In this way, I try to introduce a more detailed understanding of the areas that Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab are involved in, in literary production. In the last section, I will consider Armenian and Turkish literature, which was developed under French influence, as part of the partnership between these authors. The relationship established between Turkish and Armenian literature with Western literature accelerates the modernization process. Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab also came into close contact with Western literature, becoming among the first modernist writers of Armenian and Turkish literature. In order to support this idea, I will analyze in detail the relationship of Ottoman literature with French literature concerning Gül Mete Yuva's *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları* (2017) and James Etmekjian's *The French influence on The Western Armenian Renaissance, 1843-1915*. According to Etmekjian (1964), "As realism in literature begins to gain momentum, Flaubert, Baudelaire, the Goncourts, Taine, Leconte de Lisle, Dumas fils, and others have been occupying the center of attention for some time. Zola, Daudet, Rimbaud, Mallarme, and Maupassant were more recent arrivals on the scene." (p.202). French literature was therefore a school for Armenian literati and helped these writers acquire a modernist style by following the likes of French writers. Similarly, it can be said that Turkish literature experienced the same processes. Both Armenian and Turkish writers, under the influence of French literature, follow the pathway from imperial borders to autonomous literature.

The second chapter of the thesis analyzes Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya together in the context of the literature produced during the mid nineteenth century. In this part, chiefly Zeynep Uysal's book, *Metruk Ev* (2014), offered a better understanding of Halit Ziya's literary style and his position in the *Servet-i Funun* movement. Moreover, the author's autobiographical work, *Kırk Yıl* (2017), revealed Halit Ziya's writing journey including his literary understanding as well as his relationship with French literature. Therefore, Ziya's autobiographical work provided more detailed information about him. In addition, Nesim Ovadya Izrail's in-depth work answers all questions about Krikor Zohrab. Furthermore, Kevork Bardakjian's *Modern Ermeni Edebiyatı* (2013) offered a rich resource that laid out the

development process of Armenian literature and positioned Krikor Zohrab firmly in modern Armenian literature. After giving explanatory information about the writers, in the upcoming section, I will analyze the selected short stories of Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab in the context of literary modernization.

In this part, I will discuss the short stories of these authors around the issues of gender, social inequality and the existence of the public sphere. This will enable me to better understand the atmosphere of the late nineteenth century. I deepen the discussion around the issue of gender by making use of Fatmagül Bertay's *Tarihin Cinsiyeti* (2018) and Serpil Sancar's *Erkeklik: İmkânsız İktidar. Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* (2013). Although Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab address the problems faced in the Armenian and Turkish communities in their short stories, these issues are not limited to the nineteenth century, and constitute source texts from modern Turkish and Armenian literature.

Halit Ziya's *Daire-i İstintakta* (1894), *Deli Fato* (1950), *Güzel Artemisiya* (1898) and *İkinci Nikah* (1900) and Zohrab's short stories *Postal* (1912) and *Magdalene* (1909) are analyzed in terms of women's roles in the family and social sphere. Thereafter, the construction of masculinity in literary texts will be analyzed in parallel. I will focus on Halit Ziya's *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda* (1908) and Krikor Zohrab's *Basil* (1913) and *Cogo* (1911) in the context of social inequality and class conflict as well as the short stories *Ferhunde Kalfa* (1900) and *The Black Bag* (1911). With these analyses, the parallel reading of Zohrab and Ziya's literary works is completed under common themes. The resulting similarities and differences also support the hybrid and plural structure in the empire.

In the last chapter, I will aim to position Zohrab and Ziya in the world literary field by tracing a path from Ottoman literature to the world. There are two major questions in this part: first, is it possible to read Ottoman literature as a part of world literature? If so, where do Zohrab and Ziya stand in this system? In this context, I will start by giving a theoretical background. Thereafter, I will examine two different perspectives by using the work of Franco Moretti, David Damrosch, Pascale Casanova, and Walter Benjamin, in the world literary system. The first theory about the world literature system is that it is unifying for all literature. Pascale Casanova argues this point and is also supported by David Damrosch, who states that this system features a hierarchical order, therefore it is impossible to achieve an objective result. I will focus more closely on this question: "Can literature itself be conceived as a

world?" (Casanova, 2005, p.71) and will attempt to understand the world literature system in a different way, alongside Casanova's research.

In the following part, I will enrich the debate around the concept of the world literature system by using Etienne Charriere's Ph.D. thesis (2016) "We Must Ourselves Write About Ourselves: The Trans-Communal Rise of the Novel in the Late Ottoman Empire." He discusses the relation between the center and the periphery and also gives explanatory information about the world literary system. In a different chapter he tries to rethink Ottoman literature as part of world literature, as well as including Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab on the world literature stage. On this note, the strategies and methods used by Zohrab and Zia to position themselves in the world literature sphere are discussed comparatively. There is no doubt that both authors strongly believed in the developments of world literature. Moreover, they see French literature as part of the globalization process and therefore produce literary works that will be included in the world literature system. In other words, they bring the concept of global back home, to a more domestic level. On the other hand, Zohrab and Ziya's strategies towards globalization turn them into important representatives of modernist literature. They provided useful insights, showcasing modern Ottoman intellectuals who produced autonomous literary texts. Moreover, they established a network between French and Ottoman literature. I will draw attention to the influence that both authors have had, in relation to the Decadent movement in Europe during that period.

Thus, I will reconstruct the story of the modernization of Ottoman literature with subjects that have been ignored by national history. Due to the fact that modernism develops as a result of cross cultural encounters in Turkish and Armenian literature, it gives its place to national discourse at the end of the nineteenth century. In this context, intercultural relations involve conflicts as well as similarities and differences. In the modernization movement, which can be expanded with the *Tanzimat Edict* (1839), the ending of the millet system brought autonomy to both Armenian and Turkish society. This influence then became present in the literary field. Therefore, exploring the plural and multicultural structure of Ottoman literature, together with Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, I will analyse the concept of Ottoman literature beyond national discourse, allowing us to rethink the literary modernization of the nineteenth century, within the imperial borders.

CHAPTER II

OTTOMAN NOVEL ON THE WAY TO THE LAST QUARTER OF THE 19th CENTURY

2.1. A Parallel Story of Literary Modernization: Armenians and Turks

While traces of modernization appeared in the literary field at the nineteenth century, Ottoman literature interacted with each other in a multicultural and multilingual structure. The westernization and modernization movement that almost started with the Tanzimat period in Turkish literature is then carried out in conjunction with secularization in Armenian literature. At this point, I would like to underline that the political changes are closely followed by the literary and cultural progress, with many dynamics that initiate literary modernization having heterogeneous features. Moreover, another factor that accelerates literary modernization is the introduction of the novel genre on the borders of the empire. In fact, the novel was imported from Western culture and started to be used by the authors, around 1850 in Armenian, and 1870 in Turkish literature.

Fundamentally, the origins of the modern Turkish novel, which began to develop within the Ottoman Empire through the nation-state, depend on both a universal and local heritage. What is noticeable about the novel is that it coincides with the rising crisis of authority, both globally and in the and empire. Turkishs novel are influenced by writers such as Victor Hugo and Alexander Dumas, who give literary products from French Romanticism, as well as by Realism and Naturalism. However, one part of this era does not break away from traditional culture and positions the West as an outsider. Therefore, literary texts remained between a traditional and modern narrative, and the authors' ideological and political concerns prevented an autonomy of the field.

To put it more precisely, the inclusion of the concerns of Tanzimat literature in the creation process into the texts delays close dialogue with both Western culture and modernization. Jale Parla describes this crisis experienced by literati:

“These authors (...) were careful to define all of the innovative” principles within the framework of traditional cultural norms, even by “translating” them into terms of those norms. This implied reinforcing the foundations of the Empire in the field of morality, Islamic thought and law, and articulating some technical developments from the West to this society.”¹

Thus, the writers did not stop being the representatives of the society, until the current of *Servet-i Fünun*, and continued to produce moral values through novels, theater, and short stories. However, after the 1880s, the new generation gives up a moralist and instructive attitude in their literature. Instead, this is the emergence of the new understanding that is developed under the influence of realism and becomes a turning point of autonomy in Turkish literature.

From this point on, I would like to touch upon the first traces of literary modernization in Armenian literature. Clearly, it can be said that Armenians writers go through similar processes as the Turkish writers. Firstly, the following three periods are mentioned for the history of Armenian literature: The period under the influence of classicism, followed by romanticism and finally, the current of realism (345).² However, in the Armenian field, morality, politics, and identity-based concerns emerge, and didacticism draws attention in the first literary works.

In this context, Armenian authors first try to educate their societies and then develop their national identity through these works. Thus, literature appears as a tool used by writers trying to transform communities in both literary fields.

On the other hand, the increase in publishing and translation activities in Turkish and Armenian literature from the first period to the the end of the nineteenth century is a symbol of fruitfulness in the cultural life. In fact, these activities provide the Ottoman intellectuals with many advantages. First, they can reach the public through newspapers, providing information on the changing structure in the empire, allowing them to control society. More specifically, journals were discovered as a means of

¹ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016), 36.

² Mehmet Fatih Uslu, “Osmanlı Türklerinin ve Ermenilerinin Edebiyatlarını Beraber Okumak: Çatışmalar ve Uzlaşılar,” in Utanç ve Onur, (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2015), 343- 352.

modernization in the nineteenth century. The Ottoman intellectual has a lot to convey to the public; therefore, there is a need for an active media organ to reach them. Journalism fills such a gap within the borders of the empire.

For example, at the beginning of the Turkish literary modernization process, one of the leading figures was Şinasi. He advocates the transfer of change in empire to society through journals. In this context, the author published *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* with Agâh Efendi on 22 October 1860.³ In fact, *Takvîm-i Vekâyî* and *Cerîde-i Havâdis* were published in the early 1800s, even before the *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*. However, the point that distinguishes *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* from others is that it was among the first independent newspapers. Indeed, it turned into a paper that was technically too advanced to compare with neither *Takvîm-i Vekâyî* nor *Cerîde-i Havâdis*.⁴

Tasvir-i Efkâr was founded in 1862 as a newspaper that served at a much more advanced level in terms of technique and content.⁵ Also, a significant part of the Ottoman Turkish youth joined *Tasvir-i Efkâr* in that period.

Thus, newspapers have been used by Turkish writers since the first generation of Tanzimat and constituted an excellent resource for the spread of literary understanding of Western influence. As a matter of fact, *Servet-i Fünun* magazine appears as a reflection of this critical function of the newspapers and contributes to the imperial boundaries of Turkish literary modernization.

Undoubtedly, Armenian literature also benefits from the opportunities provided by press and publishing activities. Apart from the revival in cultural life, the increase in the relations between the groups enables the spread of the activities of the Armenian intellectuals. With the Tanzimat era, many newspapers and magazines in Armenian or Armeno-Turkish were published in the empire. "Between 1850 and 1890, only about a hundred publications were published by the Armenians in Istanbul, and fifty-four of them were partially or completely Armeno-Turkish."⁶ Moreover, among these journals,

³ Ali Budak, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Gazetecilik ve Edebiyat*, (İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 2014), 199.

⁴ See more Budak, 190-201

⁵ Ibid., 199.

⁶ See Budak, 289.

some publications increased the dialogue between Turks and Armenians, which can be listed as: “*Ahâbîr-i Konstantiniyye, Ararad, Asır, Cerîde-i Şarkîyye, Cihan, Envâr-ı Şarkîyye, Hüsn-i Niyet, İlave-yi Seda-yi, Hakikat, Hayal, Manzûme-i Efkâr, Tercümân-ı Efkâr, Mecmuâ-i Ahbâr, Mecmuuâ-i Hvâdis, Mego (Arı), Münada-i Erciyas, Ruznâme-i Muâsır, Tadron (Tiyatro), Varaka-yi Havâdis.*”⁷

Since most of the publications I mentioned above are Armeno-Turkish, I will also discuss the newspapers published by Armenians in their own group. Indeed, the second half of the nineteenth century is a period when the publishing activities of the Armenians gained momentum. These activities are particularly concentrated in the geography of the Ottomans, Russia, India, and Venice.⁸ Between 1846 and 1852, *Hayasdan* was published by Hovhannes Çamurcuyan in Istanbul. Another newspaper operating in the same years became *Panaser* (1852).

This magazine had a significant impact in a short time and was then succeeded by *Masis* in 1852. *Masis* is published for sixty years without any interruption and draws attention to its libertarian position.⁹ The general point of these newspapers is to gather the Armenian community around a common language and history and to raise national awareness.

"Each of the magazines and newspapers published after the 1880s deeply influenced Armenian literature and culture."¹⁰ The ideological and political discourse that we encounter in the first-periodics followed with the modernization process. Therefore, the main purpose of Armenian intellectuals is not to "enlighten the people." Instead, these authors do not undertake any mission other than being a writer, and biased and propagandist literature began to change after the publication of *Aravelk* (1884) and *Dzağış* (1886).

Therefore, there is a paradigm shift in both literary fields after 1880, or rather, an approach that perceives the West and the Ottoman culture in a different way. Mehmet Fatih Uslu (2015) explains the

⁷ Ibid., 289.

⁸ Zakarya Mildanoğlu, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar 1794-2000*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2014), 21.

⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰ See Mildanoğlu, 26.

developments in both Armenian and Turkish literature and the change in literary understanding as follows: "Literature is used as a machine of producing and spreading morality for both Armenians and Turks. (...) From şerif Mardin to Jale Parla, we have learned from all the analysts of the subject that the Tanzimat writers consider themselves community leaders, educators, and even "fathers" is based on the construction of this ethical production."¹¹ Thus, until 1880, it was clear that the positions of Armenian and Turkish writers prioritized were a barrier to the constitution of autonomous and modern literature. Moreover, when we can compare the second generation with the representatives of the first period, they both write about "...everyday life or individual, ordinary person and create a literary space that implicitly or explicitly questions the imposed values."¹²

In this context, the realist current stands out in the imperial field, after 1890. Armenian and Turkish literature had been engaged in simultaneous activities with each other for the first time and achieved a partnership. Furthermore, the change in writers' perception of Western culture also affected the literary texts they wrote during this period and their experience of modernity. In other words, both Armenian and Turkish writers aimed to explain the individual's life in detail by writing texts that were almost as successful as products in the global literary field. Moreover, these literary texts included fundamental factors such as individual psychology, family life, social structure. Thus, the first purpose of each literary text is to make the characters understood through fiction.

In Armenian literature, Arpiar Arpiaryan, Dikran Gamsaragan, and Krikor Zohrab, in Turkish, Halit Ziya, Tevfik Fikret, Cenap Şahabettin are known as the significant writers from that period. Apart from using the realist current, these writers differ from the past generation's literary understanding, thus creating discussion between writers, during this period. In both fields, literature did not incorporate political and ideological discourses into their texts, thus contributing to the rise of autonomous literature. Therefore, the 1890s constitute a turning point in the name of literary modernization. To summarize, although the modernization processes of Ottoman literature is experienced in different cultural areas, it

¹¹ See Uslu, 348.

¹² Ibid., 348.

is also experienced in the same way. More importantly, this similarity increases communication between Armenians and Turks and allows us to understand the multicultural structure of the empire. In other words, even if the Ottoman millets differ from each other, there is an agreement in the literary field. Also, the effect of modern literature is bringing Armenian and Turkish literature together and creating a shared space.

2.2. Between Touches and Dialogues: Who Reads Armeno-Turkish?

In the parallel story of Armenian and Turkish literature, Armeno-Turkish is among the dynamics that build a shared space. In fact, the increase in the use of Armeno-Turkish in the nineteenth century, on the one hand, shows the closeness of intercultural relations. On the other hand, it reveals the hierarchy between major and minor groups in the empire. The purpose of this part is to explore the partnership between the Armenian and Turkish authors producing around a common space. Second, Armeno-Turkish is a literary language used for different purposes in both fields. That is why questioning the thoughts of Armeno-Turkish literature more closely will give us a look at intergroup discussions between writers during this century.

Armeno-Turkish has been used as a literary language on the borders of the empire since around the fourteenth-fifteenth century. However, it starts to serve a new purpose with Tanzimat literature. The first of these aims is to allow encounters at the imperial borders. For example, the increase in Armeno-Turkish publications attracted attention during this period and created a bridge between authors. Some of publications written in Turkish with Armenian letters are as follows, *Ahâbîr-i Konstantiniyye*, *Ararad*, *Asır*, *Cerîde-i Şarkîyye*, *Cihan*, *Envâr-ı Şarkîye*, *Hüsn-i Niyet*, *İlave-yi Seda-yi*, *Hakikat*, *Kheyal*, *Manzûme-i Efkâr*, *Tercümân-ı Efkâr*, *Mecmûa-i Ahbâr*, *Mecmûa-i Havâdis*, *Mego*, *Münadi-i Erciyas*, *Ruznâme-i Muâsır*, *Tadron*, *Varaka-yi Havâdis*¹³, and they have the capability to domain society.

Furthermore, some Ottoman Turkish intellectuals aware of the developments in Armenian literature, begin to learn Armenian letters in order to follow these publications. For example, Ali Suavi

¹³ See Budak, 289.

Effendi, one of the Muslim Turkish intellectuals, emphasizes the power of Armeno-Turkish, which became increasingly widespread in the Ottoman Empire.

He also states that any intellectual interested in literature should know this language and continues as follows:

‘O journalists! You see that many... learn foreign languages and read foreign newspapers. Nowadays how much those who know French or those who at least learn the Armenian script learn about the [affairs of the] state and the nation! Those who know only Turkish cannot know about these.’¹⁴

On one hand, Armeno-Turkish functions as a bearer of conflicts and crises in the imperial sphere. This area, which allows writers from different cultures to follow each other, also increases the competition between them. On the other hand, this increases literary heterogeneity and allows the introduction of hybrid products in Ottoman literature. For example, the polemics between Armenian and Turkish newspapers, namely *Mecmûa-i Havâdis* and *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*, engaged in certain activities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, first proving the literary understanding of that period, and then showing the distinctions between Turkish and Armenian writers.¹⁵

As previously stated, the second function is to reveal the hierarchy among the Ottoman millets. Münif Pasha is one of the most influential intellectuals of this period. He states that Turkish newspapers appeal to almost all societies. In contrast, minority publications only address their own groups. He also argues that Turkish should be a standard literary language in the field of the empire.

Moreover, his view about both languages was based on power relations in the empire, naming Armenian and Armeno-Turkish as the language of *millet-i mahkûme*.¹⁶ Thus, Armenian is not an autonomous language but a language used by a nation under control, and Turkish as the language used

¹⁴ See Cankara 2015. The following reference to Turks reading Armeno-Turkish occurred in an anonymous article published in Ali Suavi’s newspaper *Muhbir* (Informant), 6.

¹⁵ See Budak, 290

¹⁶ “Velhasıl milleti mahkûmenin efkârı hiçbir vakit millet-i hâkimeninkine galip gelemmez. Lakin milleti hâkimenin efkârı buna kıyas olunamaz ve bu millete mahsus olan gazeteler hükümetin efkarından çıkamazlar ve çıkmamalıdır.” (Budak, p. 290)

by *millet-i hâkime*, which represents the entirety of the empire's community. According to intellectuals such as Münif Pasha, the languages used by minor groups are not autonomous and independent languages. On the contrary, these languages are used under the control of the ruling group and show the hierarchical structure between Ottoman *millets*.

Fatih Altuğ (2014), who looks at the literature from an intercultural and intercommunal perspective states that the Ottoman millets are trying to dominate each other with language policies.¹⁷ For this reason the language activity is fundamental to Ottoman intellectuals and becomes the most powerful device in conducting dialogues between Ottoman nations.

Altuğ has observed that “In the 19th century, the system of *millet* collapsed, efforts to make an Ottoman common identity beyond nations essential to the structure of the state and the imperial encounter mentioned above, a partnership or parallelism between the literatures of different nations, as never seen before.”¹⁸ Thus we can understand the interactions in the imperial field to be based on compromises as well as on conflicts.

Secondly, Altuğ points out the 'bounded' and 'conditional' atmosphere of the empire as follows:

The Empire presents an imperial identity to its subjects, but this identity does not necessarily mean the deletion of other sub-identities. (However) The existence of multiple identities simultaneously and side-by-side, rather than pure claims of identity, is in effect under Imperial circumstances (...) the empire accepts them not as identities that already have the right of independence, but as cultures that can live with the permission of the center.”¹⁹

¹⁷ Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ, *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı'nın İstanbul'unda Modern Edebi Kültür*, (İstanbul: İş, 2014), 65- 115.

¹⁸ Ibid., 71.

¹⁹ Ibid., 70.

Therefore, the borders of Armenian and Turkishness in the empire are determined by the central authorities, showing its reflection in the literary field with language policies. For instance, Vartan Paşa, who is an Armenian author, prefers to abandon his own identity by adopting the multicultural structure of the imperial order. Additionally, he is the writer of the first modern novel, *The Story of Akabi* (1851), within the imperial borders. This novel, written in Turkish with Armenian letters, also shows the various identities of the author.

On the other hand, Vartan Paşa's Turkish choice is also proof of the major and minor relations in the empire. Most Armenians speak and read Turkish in their daily lives. Being aware of this situation, Vartan Paşa writes his novel in Armeno-Turkish to reach both the Armenian and Turkish readers, in order to be included in this common literary field. In the preface of the novel, Andreas Tietze states that, Armeno-Turkish prevents the difficulty of reading Arabic letters by using the Armenian alphabet, while it also allows them to be understood, *The Story of Akabi*:

Vartan Paşa, who wrote the novel *Akabi*, is in the same situation. He wanted to produce work that would coincide with the French novels he had read and loved, and wanted to teach it to his community. It seems there weren't many people who engaged with such unconventional stories among the Turks, since it was uncommon. This prevented people from reading this literature comfortably, in order to fully understand his writing, especially if he wrote it in the classical Armenian used in the church books of that time. (He) decided to write his book in Turkish, using the Armenian letters to overcome the barrier of the Arabic letters, allowing him to use the Turkish language better when putting his work on paper.²⁰

²⁰ In *The Story of Akabi*, (İstanbul: Eren yayıncılık, 1991), 9-10.

Similarly, *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri* began to be published in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine between 1912 and 1913. This publication, which brings together short stories written by Armenian writers with the Turkish reader, is another proof of interactions at the imperial boundary. Therefore, thanks to *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri*, literary texts belonging to the Armenian culture are included in Turkish literature. Moreover, Armenian and Turkish writers get the chance to know each other. Therefore, there is no doubt that *Numuneler* unites both fields of literature on a common ground.

The short stories in *Numuneler* are narratives written on both the nineteenth-century Armenian individual and the society. Apart from that, it focuses directly on the everyday problems faced by the Armenian community. Sarkis Srents,²¹ an intellectual who translated these literary products from Armenian into Turkish and brought them to *Servet-i Fünun* magazine. At the end of this publication, Srents provides a link between Turkish literati and Armenians by giving Armenian writers biographies under the title "*Terâcim-i Ahvâl*." However, he remains only as a translator of *Numuneler*. A far more critical point about this publication is that Sarkis Srents included the comments he received from the four Ottoman intellectuals, namely, Abdullah Cevdet, Harutyun Şahrigyan, Süleyman Nazif ve Şahabettin Süleyman.

One of the most remarkable points in the reviews written by Abdullah Cevdet, Harutyun Şahrigyan, Süleyman Nazif, and Şahabettin Süleyman is this: the foreignness of Turkish writers to Armenian literature.

As I noticed before, Armenian and Turkish literature are in different cultural fields, and therefore they work independently. However, the modernization process somewhat enhances the interaction between both these areas. On the other hand, the hierarchical relationship between minor and major still limits their communication. In this context, *Numuneler* connects Turkish and Armenian society by strengthening the dialogue between nations.

²¹ His real name is Sarkis Hovhannes Kılıçyan. He was born in Tekirdağ and continues his education in France. Then, he goes back to Tekirdağ to teach in the Armenian schools. Srents mostly taught Turkish and French until 1915, and on the same dates, he made Turkish translations in Armenian newspaper, Azadamard. *Numuneler*, published in *Servet-i Fünun* in 1913, is also prepared with the major contributions of Srents.

In the introduction of *Numuneler*, Suleyman Nazif ashamedly mentions his first encounter with examples of Armenian literature as:

I was unaware of Armenian literature, like many of my people, until you translated and published *Numuneler* of Armenian literature in *Servet-i Fünun*. I know there is an Armenian community that lives and works under the same sky as us. However, I was unaware of this close conscience, in other words, the pattern of their literature. You have removed my ignorance with your admirable work. That is why I'm grateful to you.²²

Another key example is when Şahabettin Süleyman emphasizes the close relationship between Armenians and Turks and states that this connection should continue in the literary field. Moreover, he identifies both nations as producing fertile literary products that have a “belonging to Eastern culture.” However, Şehabattin Süleyman also had similar problems with Süleyman Nazif: unawareness about the process of Armenian literature. Therefore, although they share the same geography, the literature produced by Armenians remains in a distant area, according to most of the Turkish writers. Therefore, getting acquainted with Armenian literature is a relatively new concept for many intellectuals. For example, when Şahabettin Süleyman read a poem by Rupen Zartaryan Efendi, he stated that he is grateful for living in the same region with him:

“Is it possible not to be fascinated by the idea of his works or his imagination, especially the truth that is revealed in nothingness, and to be a little more connected to the Eastern world? When I read the *Yedi Ozanlar*, *Çoban Köpeği*, I felt that my soul had been replaced by another person's soul higher than me and more in-depth.”²³

In fact, these commentaries are as a result of the methods used by Turkish and Armenian intellectuals to understand and compromise with each other. This is because during the nineteenth-century, social interactions had increased with modernization in various fields. Therefore, it is not exceptional that Armenians and Turks want to know each other. *Numuneler* also includes the views of Armenian authors to ensure that this intercultural dialogue continues mutually. Harutyun Şahrigyan, one

²² Sarkis Srents, *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri 1913*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2012), 21.

²³ Ibid., 47.

of the famous Armenian writers of the period, writes his views in this context and draws attention to the close relationship of Turks to Armenians. Moreover, when compared with Turkish writers, it is observed that Şahrigyan's hope is to ensure that the Turks understand Armenians. Hence, another aim with *Numuneler* is "...strengthen the bond between the two communities, which are very similar to the themes and fundamental motives of the previously mentioned translations."²⁴ Moreover, Şahrigyan states that he sees literature as an integrative and unifying field and argues that each work from *Numuneler* will increase dialogue between the Armenians and the Turks. Thus, the conciliation that started with the writers is caught in the public and strengthens their relations: "Literature has thousands of languages, voices, and many worlds according to the degree of development and resources. Literature creates many different tunes from those languages and bellows. Literature has many harmonies and inspiration. Each of them gives results according to the impressions of the mind, emotions, and soul."²⁵

Considering the fundamental discussions above, it is apparent that the encounters in the cultural structure of the empire are not continuous. On the contrary, the relations between Turks and Armenians have a fragmented structure, according to the balance of power. Therefore, activities aimed at cross-cultural encounters, such as those in *Numuneler*, are carried out only by the Ottoman intellectuals who support it. It can be argued that the hierarchical order between Armenians and Turks prevents the close relationship between writers and causes one to be taken under the authority of the other. Vartan Paşa's *The Story of Akabi* and most literary works written in Armeno-Turkish from the mid-1880s onwards have the effect of not only aiming to create a partnership but also to suit the particular situation of language in the empire.

In this context, it is important to evaluate the general relations in the Ottoman Empire with the *millet* system and analyze the meanings of being a major and minor community in depth. Thus, it will be possible to see the relations of both groups, their position, and their distance from each other. On the other hand, the current of nationalism, which is active in every field of the empire, affects the gap between the Armenians and the Turks. As understood from the commentaries of intellectuals, in

²⁴ Sena Şen, "Between Brotherhood and Hostility: Cultural Encounters Between Armenian and Turkish Communities in The Ottoman Empire (1908- 1914)," İstanbul Şehir University, 2016), 79.

²⁵ See *Numuneler*, 55.

particular, national categories have borders, and both intellectual groups were busy building these categories at the end of the nineteenth century.

The famous American poet Emerson says, "Whoever understands me will be mine," and Abdullah Cevdet in *Numuneler* reinterprets his statement and says: "Whoever loves me understands me, it is necessary to understand someone in order to love him."²⁶ In fact, Abdullah Cevdet's objection is the result of a desire for domination that is directed at the minor; which makes the act of love obligatory.

The relationship between Armenians and Turks living in the empire's borders manifested itself in different forms, within this context. Armeno-Turkish served as a bridge between two cultures, allowing them to meet each other. Secondly, this literary language established a conversation and allowed one to discover the presence of the other. At this point, *Numuneler* appears as the product that could embody this. Another factor in the experience of parallel processes of Armenian and Turkish literature, is the French influence.

In fact, French literature increased the modernization process on the one hand, and on the other hand, it allowed for the incorporation of Armenian and Turkish literary understanding. According to this, French literature functions similarly to Armeno-Turkish and produces a common area for writers. Therefore, the next chapter will look at the traces of modern Turkish and Armenian literature, which has developed under French model and compare its reflections in both fields.

2.3. French Influence on the Edge of Modernization

The French model gives the most significant contribution to the expansion of Ottoman literature beyond the cultural borders of the empire. In particular, the interaction with French literature increased after the 1850s. While both Turkish and Armenian writers followed French writers, on the one hand, they produced writings under this influence. However, at this point, I would like to underline that the French model is defined as a foreigner for the Turkish writer, and they use the French model without

²⁶ Ibid., 31.

forgetting this definition. More precisely, the Turkish authors' relationship with the French model until the period of *Servet-i Fünun* is a distant relationship at the focus of "anxiety of influence."

The most prominent reason for such distance is that "the French source is not just a source, but a materialist, irreligious, unscrupulous model."²⁷

On the other hand, it is observed that the relationship built by Armenian authors differs from Turkish literature. Since the eighteenth century, Armenians' Western culture-based education allowed them to meet the West earlier than Turkish writers. Nonetheless, Armenian and Turkish writers both produced non-autonomous texts until the 1880s. Therefore, the relationship of both groups with French literature remains limited. However, from the 1880s, a similarity was found between Armenian and Turkish writers. Classical language and culture left their position, moving to a more modern one. On the other hand, French literature is used as a source, not a separate field, by Armenian and Turkish authors.

Moreover, during this period, when realist influences were on the rise, Armenians and Turks began to produce synchronized texts, in keeping with the products of world literature. Thus, both groups began their journey to autonomy, along with French literature. Therefore, in this final part, I will evaluate the relationship of Turkish literature with the French model, since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, together with the concepts of literary individualization and freedom. While doing this, I will identify both groups' experiences separately, thereby putting forward a panorama about their historical process. Thereafter I will, discuss the French influence in literature after 1880, which will make it easier to understand Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab, who were the first producers of the realist technique. I will then examine these two Armenian and Turkish writers in a common area. Thus, French literature creates a partnership between the two nations, constituting an interactive space, away from the political crisis during the imperial period.

²⁷ For more information about this issue, see: Gül Mete Yuva, *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2011).

In other words, the boundaries of literature expand with the French model and begin to show itself in the global platform. Finally, this section will analyze the reflections of Armenian and Turkish authors of French realism, along with the experience of modernization and the transformation in both Turkish and Armenian literature.

2.3.1. The Ottoman Turkish Novel: “*I swear, we will not be French.*”²⁸

Apart from being the most productive and fertile phase of the modernization of Ottoman literature, first, I will briefly introduce nineteenth-century European realism, so the novel can be spread across cultures and, more importantly, the Ottoman culture. Thereby allowing us to understand the way intellectuals perceive European realism. The novel is described as "realistic" in the nineteenth century; in other words, "contemporary" and "common." In this context, Eric Auerbach (2013) roughly describes the nineteenth-century novel, which is realistic: “These are novels that discuss contemporary issues, and they tell the story of someone who lives at the same time as the reader and is not too far away around him. For example, a teacher, a peasant, a doctor....”²⁹

In other words, the novel told the story of a typical person by not narrating from the point of view of a supreme person, and in a way, became texts that paid attention to the lives of common people. It is this commonness itself that gives the realist impression to the novel genre. Another question appears at this point: "Why was realism, and especially the realistic novel, in such a critical position in the nineteenth century?"³⁰

Furthermore, what were the fundamental dynamics that set the nineteenth century apart from previous centuries and transformed it into a cross-cultural genre? Auerbach analyzes the novel's influential position in Europe, together with technical and material resources, and emphasizes the

²⁸ According to the Gül Mete Mete, this is a confession rather than a reservation. Reşat Bey wrote this sentence in response to Namık Kemal's 1879 letter to Abdülhak Hamit. Aware of the danger, this confession is still trying to thwart French influence in the empire (30).

²⁹ Kader Konuk, *Doğu Batı Mimesis: Auerbach Türkiye’de*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2011), 267.

³⁰ Ibid., 267.

importance of both the discovery of the printing press as well as the growth in production and increasing demand in society.

Accordingly, at the end of the eighteenth-century, print runs of the novels spread from Western Europe to the world. Thus, it provides western publishers with an active market place. The rapid publication of the novel (and also reprinting) was influenced by consumer demand. One example of this consumption growth is from the first to the last decade of the century, new titles increased seven times in France (even though, in the 1790s, the French had more to do than write novels); fourteen in Britain; and about thirty in the German territories³¹ In this way, the novel becomes a fashionable product of the late eighteenth century by reducing the esthetic concentration in the text, and at the same time, encouraging a global spread. This complexity is apparent, as stated in:

When the modern novel migrated from the spaces where it had originally been elaborated on, some of its most salient conventions had gradually been stabilized. Thereafter, its adoption by new markets resulted in profound mutations that saw preexistent traditions of prose fiction (in cases where there existed such traditions), being interrupted by a massive influx of imported works. Therefore, the irruption of the genre in those spaces frequently came to alter ongoing processes that had started to increase the interdependence of the national and the literary.³²

Auerbach also assesses the rise in production through the change in the quality of the novel reader:

Since the fifteenth century, they were considered the more affluent people of the world, developing in Europe; they did not know the independence of their classes, enough to demand equality in the law, in order to ask for the independence of their classes. They were also unable to get rid of the patterns of feudalism and, despite being dependent on its ideas, they caused significant changes. They did not have the reader type of realistic novel in the modern sense. This type can be considered as a

³¹ Moretti 2008: 121.

³² From Etienne E. Charriere, "We Must Ourselves Write About Ourselves: The Trans-Communal Rise of the Novel in the Late Ottoman Empire," (PhD Thesis, The University of Michigan, 2016). 2016.

more responsible, conscious, knowledgeable type, a reader that finds personal pleasure in reading. This type of people was formed in the nineteenth century.³³

The new composition causes the loss of novels' uniqueness, and is likely the main point separating it from the seventeenth, eighteenth or the nineteenth century. It begins to explore its world by withdrawing from the world of the Gods or nobles, by returning to the inner reality of man. Moreover, Georg Lukacs (2019), who is one of the most significant representatives of novel theory, describes the rise of the novel as follows: "The first novel of world literature was written at the beginning of an era when God left the world."³⁴

What this means is the alteration (or, transformation) of the novel into an authentic, literally free and unique form that is aesthetically divorced from other genres. Due to this, the novel is a genre that continually asks questions, in hopes of understanding the world. Is there any possibility of considering the novel's attempt to understand and make sense of the world together with the nineteenth-century Ottoman novel?

The previous chapter addressed the conflict that occurred in the Tanzimat novel due to the difference in religious and cultural boundaries between Europe and the Ottomans as well as their epistemological origin. However, such a conflict facilitated the autonomy of the Ottoman novel by moving towards modernism and evolving into a more aesthetic style of writings, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Servet-i Fünun is a movement consisting of a group of Turkish intellectuals, who encountered the first examples of the modern Ottoman novel, who then took reasonable steps towards the autonomy of literature. The writers of this current do not limit themselves to being a group influenced only by French literature. Writers distinguish themselves from their traditional cultures and, unlike *Tanzimat*

³³ Konuk 2011: 268.

³⁴ Şeyda Başlı, *Osmanlı Romanının İmkânları Üzerine: İlk Romanlarda Çok Katmanlı Anlatı Yapısı* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2010), 34.

literati, they adopt French culture as a 'school.' The literati then produce their works in the context of modern aesthetics, making progress through content, form, language, and style.

When French culture began to no longer be seen as a genre approached with concern for influence in Ottoman literature, literati produced the products that belong to this canon. In this context, especially in journals, using French words becomes prevalent instead of Arabic and Persian. Research shows that the position of French in the press service in 1876 is quintessential. Approximately seven (7) French-language newspapers are known to have been published in Istanbul. Other languages in the empire that have press activity can be listed as follows: Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, German, English, Arabic and Judeo-Spanish. Even English and German publishers have used the French language to expand their audience. In the printing houses that are outside of Istanbul, the rates are even more impressive:

“One out of every five journals was French.”³⁵ The obvious relationship with this culture transfers the Ottoman multicultural heritage.

For this reason, *Servet-i Fünun* tries to shelter both French and Ottoman identity on the one hand while trying to struggle with social and political oppression. However, this movement is often criticized for failing to protect and defend Ottoman culture. For example, in their novels, many of the protagonists' clothing styles, dances, entertainment places, hobbies, or dialogues between them are reminiscent of French novels. With the introduction of French words into the language of the novel, it moves toward a European genre.

For this reason, a popular view prevails that *Servet-i Fünun*'s literati are alienated from the Ottoman tradition. However, when the novels of these literati are read in detail, they appear to express precisely the main troubles of the modern individual. By isolating themselves from society, these authors show that they are modern creators because this movement destroys the Tanzimat-type Ottoman individual, that is, authority within itself. In fact, this is how modernization begins in Ottoman literature. The French model makes “free space” possible for literati. On the one hand, they reject any mission

³⁵ See Yuva, 16.

other than being writers, moreover, they declare their artistic independence in literature, which is the traces of modernism; on the other hand, they become the messenger of the formation of new aesthetics in the novel. Their novels begin to reflect all hues and shades of human beings, from personal interests, emotions, and desires, to conflicts and confusion.

Secondly, the novels of *Servet-i Fünun*, seek answers to questions about the struggle of the individual, particularly the 'chaos' created by wishes and desires and also touch on existential anxiety.

Realists prefer the story of an individual with dirty, ugly, naked or disgusting aspects in the face of idealized beauty. In other words, the nature of realist novels is ugliness. In *Realist Vision* (2005), Peter Brooks argues that “Privacy is both the subject and the condition of the novel, though with this paradox that both subject and condition repose on an invasion of privacy, a promiscuous broadcast of the private” (12). Therefore, nothing is left buried by the authors in these novels.

While Realist literature deals with the complex and fragmental human spirit, it also rejects sanctity along with the idealization of man. In other terms, *realism* as we know it, is a label we apply to both a period and a family of work, which very much belongs to the rise of the novel as a relatively rule-free genre that both appealed to and represented the private lives of the unexceptional— or rather, found and dramatized the exceptional within the ordinary, creating the heroism of everyday life.³⁶ The understanding that the characters are good or bad is removed, and their more complex inner worlds are explained in the novels.

Most likely, the main dynamics that compare Ottoman literature with French literature in the nineteenth century were developments in the field of literature, however, the impact of social and political transformations should be taken into consideration. For example, the main issue of Decadence springs in late nineteenth-century France as an intellectual art current is "...contemplated committing destructive and self-destructive acts from sheer boredom... living would be ordinary; to refuse to live

³⁶ For more information, see The First Chapter of *Realist Vision*, 1-21.

seemed to promise distinction....Selfishly (meaning that they suggested no alternative form of social commitment), and fearing disappointment, the Decadents rejects procreation and the family.”³⁷

In other words, Decadents disclaim any norm that is strictly adopted in the society. Therefore, they write their novels in an independent form as *solipsis*³⁸ beings, far from the rules of authority. Similar to the Decadent movement, deep melancholy, lexiphanicism and aestheticism in Ottoman literature draw attention in literary works. *Servet-i Fünun*, therefore, is referred to like the literature of the younger generation and is owned by this generation. They create their own distinctive aesthetic space based on French novels. In this context, *Servet-i Fünun* creates a unique form on the one hand, and the other hand, they provide the opportunity to analyze the social history of the empire, as in the Decadence movement. These new literary movements that led to the discovery of human behavior and the body, continue to follow the traces of modernity, more intensively towards the turn of the century. Therefore, they cannot be considered independent of the concept of the turn of the century. Their opposite position taken against social didacticism in the society is an effort to position themselves on an independent backdrop. The strong influence of the West or rather French literature, in the story of Ottoman literary modernization is described as a *spiritual awakening*:³⁹

“The Western civilization has become a torch of awakening (meş’ale-i intibâh) for us [...]. When, in the period of autocracy, the light of our thinking and understanding was about to go out completely, if it was kept alight by sparks that jumped here from the perfection of the West (kemâlât-ı garbiye). Authors who nowadays think and write well and protect freedom, these are exactly the brains that have been illuminated by these sparks of the West.”

³⁷ Laurence M. Porter, 2006: 93-94.

³⁸ The view or theory that the self is all that can be known to exist. See more, Reino Virtanen, “The Spectre of Solipsism in Western Literature” in *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 1986), 59-76.

³⁹ In “The Ideal of the West, the Reality of the East. Towards a New Poetics of Ottoman Modernization in the Novels of Edebiyatı-ı Cedide (1890s-1900s),” *Rubrica Contemporanea*, Vol. 6, No. 12, by Petr KUČERA (2017), 19-41. Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar speaks in the foreword to Şipsevdi about the role of Western literature, 5-8.

2.3.2. Seeking Literary Origins: Armenian Literature and the French Model

*Notwithstanding the dislocations caused by the movement it must be said that it brought about Europeanization of the people. Looking to the West was an age-old practice for these "Europeanized Asiatics." The cultural renaissance which resulted from contact with the West, but principally with France, was merely history repeating itself.*⁴⁰

Given the French influence on Armenian literature, the developments that occurred in the 1850s should be looked at carefully. The Armenian youth, referred to as the *Renaissance / Awakened* generation, started literary movements and played an effective role in the intellectual environment, especially after their return from France. The activities carried out mostly in Istanbul draw attention to some of the aims of the Armenian intellectuals. The first is to spread the French education model they received in their community. Therefore, the new model schools mentioned in the previous section will be examined. The second is the demand to transcend national borders. Since they are aware of the atmosphere both inside and outside of the Empire. In other words,

Men could not sit in the halls of the Sorbonne and the College de France to listen spellbound to the eloquent lectures of Michelet, Louis Blanc, Victor Cousin and others without being affected by them. What they heard was more than lectures. They heard messages. They were the means of liberating their countrymen from the darkness, which had been imposed on them for more than four centuries. Outside the classrooms, these young students devoured their writings and discussed their ideas, not coolly, but in a truly Armenian fashion- with warmth, enthusiasm, and excitement.⁴¹

Another aim is to help Armenian society improve in literary, cultural, and social life. In this direction, press and publication activities will be used and intellectuals will contact the public. *Masis* joined the publication in 1852 and was one of the leading magazines contributing to the Armenian enlightenment. *Masis*'s fundamental policy is explained as follows: "To bring out the beneficial aspects

⁴⁰ Etmekjian, 1964: 190.

⁴¹ Etmekjian 1964: 96.

of daily life, to improve the minds of our readers and, by cultivating their taste to ennoble their sentiments will be the policy followed by the semi-monthly *Masis*.⁴² Moreover, not only in *Masis* but also other Armenian journals that started publishing “...any idea which appears in the French press and which seems applicable to the local situation is sure to appear on the pages of Armenian journals in its original or in a slightly modified form.”⁴³

Moreover, translation, textbooks and dictionary printing activities also begin in Armenian literary and cultural life. In these activities, the French model is taken as an example.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, approximately in 1838, the French curriculum, including grammar, composition, speech, and handwriting were used as an example when an academy was opened in Skutari.⁴⁴ Armenian students, both male and female, began practising the French model. “French history, French geography, French literature, and the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church are what this girl, who had been alienated early from her people, enumerated to her astonished friend. Even a French young lady would have envied this Oriental French girl. Every little stream, mountain, and valley, the most obscure hamlet were known to this Armenian girl, who was ignorant of, and did not wish to know, about her native Ararat.”⁴⁵

On the other hand, Armenian literature has evolved into its characteristic and modern appearance, while the influence of French literary translations is apparent. For instance, “Krikor Zohrab attests to the popularity of French in 1870 in his reminiscences about his life at T'arkmanchat's (Translators' school) by saying: *Father Arsen translated Racine's tragedy, T'erzian Father Arsen's*

⁴² Etmekjian 1964: 141.

⁴³ See Etmekjian 1964.

Moreover, “The problem of morality in literature is discussed almost simultaneously in the French and Armenian presses. A French journal asks famous men of letters to describe how they write. It seems a good idea to an Armenian editor, too. Thus, we see a series of short, and sometimes illuminating articles by the best known.” (142-43). However, we cannot reflect this problem exclusively on Armenian literature. In fact, similar discussions were made in Turkish literature, and the close relationship of intellectuals with French literature was criticized.

⁴⁴ Skutari means Üsküdar.

⁴⁵ It is taken from a conversation by Krikor Zohrab about Armenian women in his novel *A Vanished Generation* (1885-1886). It is also relevant to making sense of the atmosphere of the period.

Iphigina, Taghlian T'ertzian's Santukhd, and all of us Michel Levy's famous anthology Theatres contemporains, a real school of translators."⁴⁶ Many Armenian writers begin to transform different literary genres according to the French genre while basing the origin on Western literature: "Our historian is Michelet. Our scientist is Claude Bernard, our philosopher Littre or Taine, our critic Lemaitre or Brunetiere, our teacher the immortal Rousseau, our oracle always the patriarch of Ferney, our singer Beranger, our painter Delacroix, our charmer Renan, our novel Madame Bovary, our troubadour La Malibran and . . . our dead is the hapless Paul Verlaine"⁴⁷

Furthermore, their pursuit of their literary work is influenced by the current of Romanticism. Especially in the poetry, Lamartine, Musset, and Vigriy stand out, while in the novel genre particularly Victor Hugo is taken as an example of French writer. Indeed, after the achievement of French elements in Armenian poetry, poets are then referred to as "Armenian Hugo" or "Armenian Lamartine" or "Armenian Musset."⁴⁸

"As realism in literature begins to gain momentum, Flaubert, Baudelaire, the Goncourts, Taine, Leconte de Lisle, Dumas fils, and others have been occupying the center of attention for some time. Zola, Daudet, Rimbaud, Mallarme, and Maupassant were more recent arrivals on the scene."⁴⁹ However, it should be noted that the transition from Romanticism to Realism does not occur fast in modern Armenian literature, which began to grow from the second half of the nineteenth century. Even if writers used the realist style in their works, sometimes the influence of Romanticism is still reflected in their texts. In the later period, traces of naturalism would be included in their literature. It is not only the direct imitation of the French model but also the fact that literature cannot be drawn with sharp boundaries.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ekmekjian 1964: 168.

⁴⁷ Ekmekjian 1964: 196.

⁴⁸ Etmekjian 1964: 202.

⁴⁹ Etmekjian 1964: 202.

⁵⁰ Etmekjian explains this situation by under the influence of Romanticism See for instance, "A high degree of Romanticism still permeated their works. In fact, even those who are considered full fledged Realists were not wholly free of Romantic

Between 1890 and 1895, the Abdülhamit administration imposed intense censorship on other nationalities, especially Armenian literati.⁵¹ Active newspapers are closed with the editors being arrested and exiled. Despite these years curtailing his literary activities, he could not prevent their development. Western-style grabs the attention when looking at examples of Turkish and Armenian literature.

In this context, the last quarter of the nineteenth century is a turning point for Armenian and Turkish literature. Imitating and sampling the French model in Armenian literature beginning in the 1850s accelerated into the 1870s, with many French writers considered 'ancestral', showing influence in the literary atmosphere. "Terzian, Setian, Narbey, Hekimian, and others are still regaling a segment, of the reading public with their verses about melancholy memories or actualities at the same time that Krikor Zohrab, Arpiarian, Paşalian, Gamsaragan, and their followers were literally flooding the newspapers and periodicals with a new literature"⁵² is an example that demonstrates the trace of French impression.

In debates over the influence of French literature, the Armenian and Turkish literature have the same problems because of the aim of nationalization in the literary field. Nevertheless, second-generation literati, who have gathered around both *Servet-i Fünun* and *Aravelk* magazine, constitute an autonomy with their works in literature. The French influence also appears at this point and improves the modernization process of both Armenian and Turkish writers.

As a result, the first chapter examines the developments in the field of Armenian and Turkish literature, within the cultural world of the nineteenth century and tries to read the modernization story of both literatures together. Therefore, similarities between Armenian and Turkish writers are necessary. On the other hand, Armenians and Turks are different groups living on the same imperial borders and come into contact with each other directly. Indeed, similarities and bonds in the literary field result from

tendencies. This may have been due to the great force of French Romanticism which had captured the minds, as well as the hearts." (214).

⁵¹ See more 218.

⁵² See more in 214.

the interaction of the Armenian and Turkish groups. At this point, Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya clarify the parallelism between groups, as significant realist writers of the period.

Therefore, understanding the worlds where Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab grew up in makes it easier to evaluate their literary understanding. Moreover, apart from the communication between these two authors, unawareness between Armenian and Turkish groups also results in the imperial system. Armeno-Turkish, therefore, becomes a concrete expression of interaction by developing a common language between both cultures. On the other hand, it is notable that the influence of French literature, which has become increasingly popular both in world literature and in the Ottoman Empire, is not ignored. This model contributes to literary modernization and creates a shared world among Armenian and Turkish literature. Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya produce their literary works in such an atmosphere and turn Ottoman literature into a multicultural and globalized system.

In summary, the experience of modernization of both Ottoman Turkish and Armenian intellectuals in the atmosphere of the nineteenth century facilitates their discussion. Moreover, during this period, where the empire struggles in the political crisis, literary production is not interrupted; on the contrary, it catches the literary perception of the Western culture. Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab have become representatives of the liberal atmosphere as intellectuals in this century and produced modern literature, apart from being a literary author. Reading Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab more closely will show the plurality and multicultural structure of the Ottoman Empire and point out the cooperation between Armenian and Turkish literature.

CHAPTER III

RETHINKING OTTOMAN LITERATURE IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARMENIAN LITERATURE: HALİT ZİYA UŞAKLIGİL AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB

There is no doubt that nineteenth-century Ottoman literature are hybrid works that involve partnerships with one another. However, these literatures also contain differences or conflicts between them. In this century, when the method of constituting the Empire itself, in a modern way gained momentum, many transformations occurred in the social and cultural sphere. It is evident that the period in which new approaches were constructed through a break from tradition and secularization movement also experienced some transformations in the field of literature. At the turn of the century, these transformations were built as a preference of literati rather than Western and modern world representations. Therefore, as the traces of the new kind of "autonomous" Ottoman individual can be discussed in the literary texts, on the other hand, it is possible to find narratives focusing on the break with tradition and power mechanisms. These conjunctions are the elements that transform the turn of the century into a unique and productive period for modern Ottoman literature. Zeynep Uysal remarks on the paradigm shift in the field of literature with the *Servet-i Fünun* movement in Turkish literature at the turn of the century as follows:

We see that an internalized “hybridized” Ottoman modernity that experiences the “Western” mentality, the world view, and the local one at the same time is decisive, rather than simply imitating the west. In this sense, the main difference between the literary and cultural fields covered by the Tanzimat literature and *Servet-i Fünun* literature classifications is the experience of modernity.⁵³

Therefore, it should be said that the fundamental dynamics that constitute the experiences of modernity of Turkish and Armenian literature have characteristic features. They produce hybrid literary forms by incorporating the Western model first, followed by the local elements of Ottoman literature.

⁵³ See Uysal, 302. Translation by me.

Thus, both Turkish and Armenian literature is redefined, crossing the boundaries of the literary language. Apart from this, the new generation excludes political and ideological components from their literary language... In this context, it is necessary to experience modernity in both literary fields.

The nature of modernity is defined as "The compelling cooperation between the boundaries of identity and the struggle to break these boundaries."⁵⁴ Therefore, the process of modernization in the literary field becomes a part of this cooperation and follows autonomous literature. Rethinking Turkish and Armenian literature together provides the opportunity to look at the end-of-century individuals of the Empire from a more pluralistic perspective. On the other hand, it provides information about the modernization experiences of the literati who started writing during the same period.

This chapter aims to evaluate the issues that Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, who are contemporaries of each other, focused on in the Ottoman society in the late century. Secondly, their literary understanding and how they positioned themselves in French literature will be analysed, finally looking at the construction of their identity in the context of the experience of modernization. Thus, the contributions of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya in the story of the spread of Ottoman literary modernization will become evident. Furthermore, the changes in the social and cultural field experienced by the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century will be underlined.

This chapter will consist of two parts. The first chapter will address the literary life story of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, one of the most important figures of modern Turkish literature, and his activities, which gained momentum after joining *Servet-i Fünun* magazine. Later, a close reading of the author's stories on the issues of femininity, masculinity, and social injustice based on class or economic inequality, will be made through his short stories.

Additionally, the literary activities of Krikor Zohrab, one of the leading authors of modern Armenian literature in the field, and his relationship with the current of realism, will be discussed. Then, under the issue of femininity-masculinity, social injustice and class discrimination, some of Zohrab's stories, about the conflicts experienced by Ottoman-Armenian individuals, will be analyzed. This

⁵⁴ Michel Foucault, *Özne ve İktidar: Seçme Yazılar 2*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2014), 15.

section will enable us to understand Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil both together and comparatively, focusing on their common or differentiated literary work.

In summary, this part allows for a closer reading of the authors who are among the most important actors of the modernization of Ottoman literature. On the other hand, it offers the opportunity to rethink the issue of subjectivity, which Zeynep Uysal discusses,⁵⁵ with its reflections rooted in Armenian literature. Thus, it opens the door for a more pluralistic approach to Ottoman literature and repositions it within the history of literature.

3.1. Rediscovering Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil As A Founding Figure⁵⁶

Halit Ziya, a student of mekhitariste" in Hazine-i Evrak, wrote his first article with the signature "Uşakîzâde Mehmet Halit"⁵⁷, started his interest in literature at a very early age. Undoubtedly, the education he received had a high impact on the author's position as one of the most influential figures in modern literature. The mekhitarist school,⁵⁸ which Ziya enrolled in 1880, is a non-Muslim school, providing education in the French language and educating students by applying a modern curriculum parallel to that of Europe. On the other hand, by teaching French as well as other foreign languages, he moves his students beyond the borders of the empire. For example, in mekhitarist school, Halit Ziya

⁵⁵ See Uysal, 302.

⁵⁶ This definition is given by Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil by Zeynep Uysal.

⁵⁷ Ömer Faruk Huyugüzel, *Edebiyatımızın Zirvesindekiler: Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil*, (Ankara: Akçağ, 2010), 18.

⁵⁸ The monastery and cultural center, built-in 1717 in Venice by the Catholic priest Mekhitar, is one of the pioneers of the 19th-century Armenian culture and modernization. The language, printing, and publishing activities of the Armenian community first begin in the schools of Mekhitarist. The priests who graduated from these schools established the Muradyan college first in Padua in 1834 and then in Paris. Moreover, it is known that the monk priests established schools in many regions where Armenians were the majority, apart from the Muradyan college. One of these is the Mekhitarist School established in İzmir in 1846. Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil gives information about the student criteria of the school by stating that he worked for a long time to go to this school in his memories. It is estimated that Uşaklıgil registered in school in 1880. As stated by Ömer Faruk Huyugüzel, the Mekhitarist school in İzmir is mentioned among non-Muslim schools in Aydın and its surroundings, which teach in French (16).

See more, Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi", in *İmparatorluğun Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri: Bilimsel Sorumluluk ve Demokrasi Sorunları*, İstanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2005, 87-107, Zakarya Mildanoğlu, *İzmir Ermenileri*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2017), 27-73, Anahide Ter Minassian, *Ermeni Kültürü ve modernleşme: Şehir, Oyun, Mizah, Aile, Dil*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2006, 11-33 and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2017), 98-107.

learns not only French but also Italian. Furthermore, it strengthens his relationship with literature, in which he begins to translate novels. First, he continues his close relationship by translating *La Reine Margot* from Alexandre Dumas, *Bir Macera-yı Aşk* from Eugene Scribe, and *La Thébaïde* from Racine into Turkish. Second, Ziya is a good observer who is aware of the cultural and literary diversity in İzmir.⁵⁹ He attends the theatre companies organized every year in the city and accepts the prom invitations. Halit Ziya describes his first prom experiences as follows:

First ball of my life (...) they held a ball once a week and I was invited to these balls with the permission of my grandfather (...) It was not possible for a Turkish child or even a Turkish young man to dance at a ball. So maybe it wasn't surprising to everyone around me that I was in this community apart from everyone else. But apparently, I was watching so apprehensive.⁶⁰

Despite this, Ziya does not escape experiencing what is distinctive from Ottoman traditional culture and continues to pursue them. Agreeably, the environment at the school he attended to as well as his teachers contributed significantly to his thoughts. For instance, Auguste de Jaba, a French neighbourhood, is one of the places where he encountered other cultures.⁶¹ Moreover, he owes his first translation with jaba to these encounters, and it was his progress in learning that enabled him to go to mekhitarist school:

One day he decided.

"Let's do a translation with you," he said. "For example, it's a novel..."

"A novel? Translation! Me?... "I just had to say.

⁵⁹ For literary and cultural activities in İzmir, see Huyugüzel, *İzmir'de Edebiyat ve Fikir Hareketleri Üzerine Araştırmalar*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 2004) and Richard G. Hovannisian, *Tarihi Kentler ve Ermeniler: İzmir*, (Aras: İstanbul, 2018).

⁶⁰ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2017), 102.

⁶¹ Ibid., 99.

(...) The next day Jaba arrived with a novel in hand. And we started translating right away. It was Ponson du Terrail's *Les nuits de la Masion Dorée*.⁶² (..) Then, Jaba said, "Let's show it to your grandfather."

(...) I knew with my grandfather's face that it was the best time to deal with the school situation. I got a few congratulations from there. I then approached Jaba in the street and asked in a quiet voice: "Can I get into the school now?"⁶³

Ziya, who has had a higher education since childhood, does not only translate in the field of literature. He begins to conceive and write about literary movements and the relationship between Ottoman and French literature.⁶⁴ Especially expressing his views on the subject of the novel, the author tries to take the novel to new dimensions by separating it from the didactic style he undertakes. That is why Halit Ziya and his friends,⁶⁵ who are known from *Servet-i Fünun* movement, contributed a great deal to the Ottoman literary modernization in the late nineteenth century. They leave themselves out of Ottoman society by holding the new culture. This position, which I might call a sort of "individuation," is both an influence of the French currents that follow and the political conditions that unite the *Servet-i Fünun* identity together. *Servet-i Fünun* is born in a field of conflict in the empire, which allows for the efficient study of modern literature because the literati know that they remain at the margin of society, which is a conscious choice that transforms them into modern authors.⁶⁶

On the other hand, their writing is crucial for observing the transformation in Turkish novel history. They are also the first representations of the modern individual of the empire.⁶⁷ In the early novels, literati had the ability to educate society, and teaching Western culture from a distance is replaced by attempts to understand European culture. In other words, they move freely in the heterogeneous field of the late nineteenth century. "Being able to remain Ottoman while being civilized

⁶² Golden Gilded House at Night (Translation by me).

⁶³ Ibid., 104, translation by me.

⁶⁴ For instance, *Hikâye*.

⁶⁵ Uşaklıgil firstly meets Ali Ekrem, Ahmet İhsan, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Ahmet Hikmet, Safveti Ziya and then Tevfik Fikret and Cenap Şahabettin (Huyugüzel, 31).

⁶⁶ For detailed information about the discussions, see: Yuva, 82.

⁶⁷ See Uysal, 302.

like the French" is no longer required for Halit Ziya and his friends because the main aim is no longer to construct the ideal Ottoman individual, who is entirely Turkish and Muslim.

Halit Ziya's competence in literature begins with the novels he wrote after his move to Istanbul in 1893. Before referring to his literary life in İstanbul, I will provide some insight into his literary life in Izmir, where he was born and grew up, especially in the years when he was in the journal of *Hizmet*.⁶⁸ Firstly, the importance of *Hizmet* is that it opens up a writing space for Halit Ziya, which he can efficiently work. The novel *Sefile* mentioned in the first chapter is published from the first issue of *Hizmet*. After *Sefile*, *Nemide*, *Bir Ölünün Defteri* and *Ferdi ve Şürekası* are also serialized in the same journal.⁶⁹ The author's writing activities in the newspaper can be grouped as follows: "Novels and stories (serials-translations), poems as mensur, articles and polemics on literature, series of science-related writings titled as "Garaib-i Fenniye", or social and cultural writings, proverbs titled "Cüzdan", anecdotes titled "Letâif" and trade statistics."⁷⁰ In addition to this, it is clear that *Hizmet* has contributed greatly to the author's self-improvement in his literary writing. His first mensur poems and long stories are examples of the opportunities provided by the journal. Halit Ziya describes the contribution of *Hizmet* to him and Izmir's cultural life as:

Executive office!... Small, humble but beautiful, pretty. Two small opposed rooms at the top of the inn at Kemeraltı Avenue and a corridor ending just in front of these rooms... Two tables, eight to ten chairs, fifteen to twenty *tarihs* in it (...) a piece of mat on the floor, that is all (...) The newspaper had a sudden reputation; although there were many French and Greek newspapers, there was nothing in Turkish other than the official province newspaper until then (...) Regardless, a newspaper was a force that officers, men of weight, notables and civil servants would develop sympathy with it.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *Hizmet* joined the publication life on November 13, 1886.

⁶⁹ See Huyugüzel, 23.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 23. Translation by me.

⁷¹ *Kırk Yıl*, 175.

In this context, addressing Turkish readers as a private journal increases the chance to know the name of Halit Ziya and to meet the readers of *Hizmet*. Second, Ziya's more critical writings, which are necessary in terms of the history of literature, are included in the *Hikâye* and likely provide a new beginning to his life in the world of literature.

Yahya Kemal Beyatlı comments on Halit Ziya and his friends, "For the first time they divided literature into Eastern and Western pleasures."⁷² The motivation for the most significant writers of the turn of the century can be explained by their desire to innovate and modernize their literary style, following *Servet-i Fünun* which uses the liberating effect of the French model. That is why it divides literature into two separate fields. Thus, *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* places itself in a different position than the first generation. Not only does the movement imitate the French model, "it is a deep-seated momentum beyond taking the French model and adapting it."⁷³ By excluding authorship from the non-missions of making aesthetic literature, it increases the distance between traditional Tanzimat literature. Halit Ziya describes their goals in *Servet-i Fünun* movement as follows in his interview with Ruşen Eşref:

While *Servet-i Fünun* has taken the Western understanding of art, or their method, the way of looking at events, and evaluating them, it has not entirely given up on its national literature. Everything is expressed in poetry; all the things it depicted in writing, were still things that carried national awareness. (...) However, were these things that belonged somewhat of the western style, but have not been coincidental in our environment? Or are they not just western or eastern similarities -are they examples of humanity? Should literature or something be wrapped in the flag?⁷⁴

In this context, other literati, especially Halit Ziya, aim to spread *Edebiyat -ı Cedide* to a universal sphere. Because the works of world literature they are thoroughly familiar with, as well as being local, refer to current problems of the century. Understanding human life, its hidden world, and expressing its struggles is the main starting point for *Servet-i Fünun*. Halit Ziya asks readers: "Where

⁷² See Finn, 122.

⁷³ Translation by me. See more Yuva, 82- 134.

⁷⁴ Citation from Uysal, *Metruk Ev*, 50-51.

was it possible to find the successful ones among such opposing people?”⁷⁵ And shares an anecdote in *Kırk Yıl* about the period when *Servet-i Fünun* joined the publication life:

Starting from the Sublime Porte, all of the members of the government departments were opposed to the young people just because they were young and trying to create a new style of language which was different from the official and the accustomed one; the court was keeping its cautious and curious eye on them (...) Like a passengers of a new sect who are walking in the darkness with a dim lantern on their hands escaping from the superstitious tradition; they were raised in Mekteb-i Mülkiye and Galatasaray, grew up there with new ideas, received another type of enlightenment from the West; they were as uncommon as they were shy. Of course, this was a success. The new literary religion could declare its victory by seeing the day by day growth of the field.⁷⁶

The authors of the *Servet-i Fünun* period were aware of the developments that existed in the imperial and world field of literature that had emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, they can be described as intellectuals who follow these developments and do not avoid imitation by writing the novel according to its literary and aesthetic criteria. In fact, Halit Ziya explains the criteria of writing the novel with the statement “However, were these things that belonged somewhat of the western style, but have not been coincidental in our environment? Or are they not just western or eastern similarities - are they examples of humanity? Should literature or something be wrapped in the flag?”⁷⁷ Above all, separating the novel from being a teaching and clarification device and turning it into aesthetic texts describing the prevalent troubles and conflicts of all humanity.

In summary, it is evident that Halit Ziya and the literary writers of the period had first experienced tension with the past generation about their literary writings, particularly the novel. This tension is considerable when Ziya and others turn their face to French literature and start not using the

⁷⁵ *Kırk Yıl*, 371. Translation by me.

⁷⁶ *Kırk Yıl*, 371- 72.

⁷⁷ See Uysal, 50-51

model to educate their society. For example, Cenap Şahabettin expresses the relationship with French literature as:

No literary revival begins without imitation. I cannot even see a nation that literature is far from foreign influences and only constitutes itself as national. The French imitate the Greeks, and the British imitate the Italians? (...) How did we get rid of literature that is in a permanent state of the journey all over Europe? Even if we survived, would that be a sign of progress? (...) The fact that the French were chosen in the literary field is indicative of the taste of our literature.⁷⁸

Cenap Şahabettin legitimizes cross-cultural influence by emphasizing that change is a usual process. Therefore, Servet-i Fünun answers the criticism directed at the authors. Literature is a growing field in encounters and communications. Halit Ziya and Cenap Şahabettin stress that literature will gain a national identity through cross-cultural encounters. Secondly, the influence of the education received by the literati of Servet-i Fünun and living environment directly shapes their understanding of literature. For example, Halit Ziya's European-based education from his high school years changed his view about the world. In addition to this, the generation of Servet-i Fünun closely follows the changes in social and cultural structure in the nineteenth century. They would rather experience it than distance themselves from these changes. For this reason, the French model is not an imitation for Halit Ziya and his friends, but an unfolding of a new identity. Zeynep Uysal explains the new identities of the Ottoman intellectuals with some dynamics while answering the question of how the turn of the century should be seen:

The most important difference of the turn of the century Ottoman generation from its predecessors is that it was a generation that started and shaped the change but formed itself as the transform itself, unlike the Tanzimat generation, which tried to construct the real change from the outside. Rather than saying whether we should change like this or not, they try to analyze the change they are already building in simultaneously. This generation is the result of a process of self-construction.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See Uysal, 47.

⁷⁹ See Uysal, 30.

In this context, the request of *Servet-i Fünun* generation that adopts the modern appearance against traditional culture is to reconstruct literature in a field that will liberate the writer and reader. Evaluating the discussion with Halit Ziya and his novelism to observe the signs of change in the Ottoman literature will also make sense of the turn of the century paradigm, as previously stated. Therefore, the fundamental dynamics of new literature will be explored through *Hikâye*, which includes the analysis of the author's views on the Turkish novel towards romanticism, realism, and naturalism.

Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil wrote *Hikâye* in *Hizmet* between 1887 and 1888 as a serial critical review and briefly looks at the history of world literature, mainly French, and literary movements. Later, he offers a comparative analysis with a Turkish novel understanding in *Tanzimat*. The author searches for the answer to the question "What is a novel?" and, by making some objections, determines the limits of the novel in the first part of his critique:

I recently heard something from a young man I know who is very intelligent: "Everyone knows that a novel is a depiction of an event. The most significant thing in a story is the event. If the event is short, but the details are too much, it is decided that the author of the novel is not capable of imagining and that the novel is also dull."(...) The novel is a depiction of an event! No, it is not. Nowadays, the novel points to an experience of feelings rather than a representation of an event. The detail in the novel, he says, should have been less than the event. This is also wrong!⁸⁰

Instead of a more detailed depiction, says Halit Ziya, the feelings of humanity, that is, *hissiyat-ı beşeriyye*⁸¹ and their spiritual life should be narrated in the novels. If a writer does not consider the feelings that influence the protagonist directly, the inner truth, in other words, unexplained reasons, the reader asks that question:

⁸⁰ *Hikâye*, 14-15.

⁸¹ It means feelings of man.

What is expected by the protagonists, each of whom is a real person, experiencing strange events with circumstances unknown to readers in the novels? It is seen that a criminal committed a terrible murder, why is this crime narrated in the novel that the reader will avoid?⁸²

It means that firstly, the desire to reveal the truth is the main point that determines Halit Ziya's novel writing. Realism is an effort to reproduce facts and show them to the reader. According to Peter Brooks, realist writers not only go beyond what is seen, but also look at carefully how they are perceived. Economic conditions, relations in the family, and society, which are in the background of his protagonist. Instead of an idealized life in the novels, Halit Ziya suggests that describing the ugly and absurd of the individual life rather than an idealized in the novels. Thus, literature will make each individual comprehensible and capture the universalism in the Ottoman literature.

Then there is a principle of determinism that Halit Ziya adheres to among the elements that construct his realism. Moreover, "The character is so alive, how he feels, what he does, how he does, it is so deep that his portrayed reality becomes more real."⁸³ Therefore, the reasons behind the question 'Why did this young man commit suicide' mentioned by the writer in the above are revealed.

Another point of Halit Ziya's realism in *Hikâye* is that a novel must describe the ordinary person and his/her experiences. At this point, representing the ideal world of the ideal people, which was discussed in the first chapter, ceases to be the meaning of writing a novel. Commonality can be described as: "The novel protagonists who do not belong to a noble or upper-class or bureaucratic family, possibly not even educated, or will not be fictionalized with a sort of national or religious identity. Moreover, Gul Mete Yuva describes step by step how the realist novel was fictionalized in his masterwork, *Aşk-ı Memnu*:"⁸⁴

In Halit Ziya, the novel is the place that was possible in the beginning, but then, dreams are shattered. The author firstly gives some color and hue to his protagonists. Thereafter, they face some problems that cannot be solved. In other words, Halit Ziya creates a sphere of conflict for his

⁸² *Hikâye*, 15-16.

⁸³ See Uysal, 59.

⁸⁴ See Yuva, 310- 321.

protagonists. For instance, gender perception as well as social and economic conditions directly affect their lives. Furthermore, hopes and desires are also fundamental aspects that become a barrier in the novels. Thus, like a scientist, Halit Ziya reveals all mechanisms without having any standard of judgment.

Not only Halit Ziya but other realist writers of this era emphasize “*Servet-i Fünun* highlights the difference of what is not beautiful, the interesting, the uniqueness of the ugly in the face of something idealized. The fascination of the ordinary and the ugly breaks down the boundaries of representation or becomes something that expands it..”⁸⁵ Aside from the influence of French realism and naturalism, the background of the late century intellectuals of the empire also influences the standard of novels. The actions of the protagonists, who have desires and hopes, and make choices, distinguishes them from other people and offer the possibility of individualization in the novels. Therefore, the first traces of the struggle for existence experienced by the modern individual are found in Halit Ziya and other writers of the period.

3.1.1. The Experience of Being an Individual: Analysis of Subjectivization Experience through Halit Ziya’s Short Stories

Firstly, the life story of Halit Ziya, the circumstances that shaped his literature, and his literary understanding developed after he joined *Servet-i Fünun* magazine, are discussed in the previous chapter. At this point, the most important thing to emphasize about the author is that he wrote about the historical processes of Ottoman literature and the current of romanticism and realism in his early years in *Hikâye* and later continued this discussion in his literary works. In other words, it is possible to understand Halit Ziya's position against the debate between romanticism and realism from one of his first products, *Hikâye*. The first thing that separates early generation writers is the relationship with the movement of romanticism and realism, rather than limiting the French model because Halit Ziya and his friends accept

⁸⁵ See Uysal, 60.

this model as a new literary understanding. Therefore it is not surprising that Halit Ziya quickly adapted the French model to his literary works.

On the other hand, the French model is seen as a component of the modern world and a result of the struggle for literary individuality that Ziya continued with his contemporaries. In this context, Halit Ziya's protagonists are part of his individualization effort. The protagonists who struggle in the face of adversity, who cannot deal with the problems or those who obey, constitute the work of Halit Ziya literature. French literature also selects heroes accordingly. For example, ambitious heroes who face specific challenges eventually succumb to these challenges. Thus, end-of-century literature appears for all heroes as an acceptance of a common defeat against life. Heroes become lost in crowds, turn into ordinary people, or disappear.⁸⁶ The defeat of the individual, one of the main issues of the Realist movement, is frequently dealt with in the works of other literati of the period, including Halit Ziya.

Then the most important characteristic of Ziya's protagonists is that they are sophisticated individuals with desires and feelings, not just individuals committed to ideals of the society. Moreover, this complexity is moved into the line of conflict, where individuals are expected to struggle in their life. This struggle, which we can define by expressions such as becoming an individual, self-realization, or rejecting a social contract, takes place in different fields in Halit Ziya's writings. Among these areas, femininity is the most significant issue in the author's short stories and novels because men and women's roles are defined and imposed on them by society before they were born. Therefore, Halit Ziya reconstructs femininity and masculinity in his writings to draw attention to the perception of women and gender roles in particular. For example, Halit Ziya often discourages women from being women as a gender and involves them in the field of struggle as individuals. Alternatively, Ziya's female protagonists may also bow to fate, but as a result, their inaction costs their lives.

In both cases, the author considers the issue of women in his work, which addresses situations in which women struggle in their political, social or individual spheres. The position of the author in the

⁸⁶ See Yuva, "Tevfik Fikret ve Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil: Fransız Edebiyatı Karşısında İki Yazar, İki eser", in *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları*, 2011.

problem of femininity can also be explained as follows: “Although the traditional codes encompass his stories, the figures who experienced conflicts in the world of emotion and thought and became aware of themselves were able to improve their conversation with the realistic style of Halit Ziya.”⁸⁷

Therefore, it should be underlined that the male and female figures chosen by Halit Ziya aim to reveal the tragedy they experienced in a conflict area by entering the human life.⁸⁸

Moreover, Halit Ziya transfers especially female figures to his texts through empathy, thus separating himself from the patriarchal structure and above all, making himself an independent and autonomous writer. Because “...in his stories, the woman is an important figure with both her individual tragedy and her dramatic life. The author has tried to explain many women by using the technique of showing them where they are or where they want to be; with the life they live or want to live.”⁸⁹ It is then obvious that the author has reconsidered the standards of society and made representation through women in most of his writings.

Additionally, the works of Halit Ziya will be discussed on the positioning of gender roles. The discussion will continue mostly on the perception of femininity against masculinity in the society, and the power domain that has an active role in the construction of that perception. However, this section's primary material is the female protagonists, especially those who question their identities, fighting life, class, and society because the issue of femininity in the writings of Halit Ziya, is a result of the achievement of the Ottoman literature on the way to modernization. Fatmagül Berktaş describes how societies function in the construction of femininity as follows:

Women are expected to be both good and evil, blessed and human, chaste and whorish. However, there is something consistent about them. Throughout history, the fact that the woman have been constructed as the other of man and her independent subjectivity has been rejected

⁸⁷ Eylem Dereli Saltık, *Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil'in Hikâyelerinde Kadın Figürler*, (İstanbul: Kriter, 2019), 138.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 136.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 136.

(...) such an identity is impossible to constitute the individuality because there is no subjectivity.⁹⁰

More specifically, the fact that the construction of female identity in society depends on the male's self-construction causes her always to be a half subject. Fatmagül Berktaş continues his article by stating that this system is supported through literary texts and that the boundaries of femininity are redefined by the authors.⁹¹ Thus, it is also possible to reconstruct femininity through literary texts and it is evident that the works of Halit Ziya lay the groundwork for such a construction. The first works of nineteenth-century literature construct the female identity to educate Ottoman society. Therefore, they present femininity as demonic and angelic, dividing women far from tradition and moral values and women who fit in with it into two categories.⁹² In this context, in the writings of the first period, gender identity becomes an issue that needs to be regulated for society's reformation.

This is precisely why the absence of masculine power in Halit Ziya's narratives, the fact that men and women are seen as mere individuals and the lack of interference in their stories, supports the idea that Ziya has a worldview beyond ideologies. Moreover, this position makes his literature independent and unique. For example, in *Hikâye*, one of the author's early works, he evaluates the experience of Emma Bovary, a woman with forbidden love:

Madame Bovary was not just a woman who was a prostitute like whores seen in stories. By observing her, one sees how an honest woman started prostitution and turned into a monster in some passions, leaving her feeling of honor. (...) (one) sees the cries coming out of the heart of a miserable wife, the sadness that pushes a pure woman into prostitution (...) knows the most special and emotional moods of a woman, the deepest truth of her soul.⁹³

In this context, Uşaklıgil's literature opens up new interpretations of women's identity and reshapes them in an objective and free space. Besides, the differences that we encounter in the writer's

⁹⁰ Fatmagül Berktaş, *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2018), 131.

⁹¹ Fatmagül Berktaş discusses this topic in the chapter "The Literary Other: Woman", 132-146.

⁹² See more Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2018).

⁹³ *Hikâye*, 63-64.

texts do not polarize individuals and even protect them from the boundaries of ideologies and rules of the society. The chapter will first look at short stories about female individuals who have been marginalized from society, thereafter addressing the conflicts, circumstances, and the people who have destroyed their subjectivity, as the author makes sense of the character Emma Bovary. Finally, the destruction of desire and hope, acceptance, and extinction will also be discussed in such female individuals, and the modernist traces of new identity formation will be discovered. As Berktaş says, "As long as the woman represents the body and emotions, and the man represents the control of the mind and emotions, that is, as long as the oppositions that divide the person continue, there is no possibility of escape from this dilemma."⁹⁴ However, Halit Ziya's works provide a solution to the limits of gender discrimination expressed by Fatmagül Berktaş.

On the other hand, this chapter will also discuss the construction of the fatalist women of Halit Ziya. These women are defined as "child women" in Zeynep Uysal, in which women sacrifice themselves to the wishes of their family, their environment, and their society.

They do not take responsibility for their wrong choices and blame their bad fortune. These women, who cannot afford to grow and go beyond society, are therefore obliged to live as children. This is also a sign that they will never be individuals and will disappear before the end of the story.

Many of Halit Ziya's works deal with the crisis experienced by female individuals between emancipation and dependence, with the author's authority in the background.

In the second part of this chapter, the position of femininity, as well as the state of masculinity in the works of Halit Ziya, will be discussed. Because of socially constructed genders, men also exhibit "appropriate" gender roles according to the masculine expectations of their societies. Therefore, the power problems experienced by men will be addressed through the stories of Halit Ziya as well as the impact of identity, the teachings that come from the environment and the society will be discussed in the crisis caused by these problems. The existence of concepts such as "power" and "control" are used to define the man in the construction of gender roles and prevents the male individual from being himself

⁹⁴ See Berktaş, 162.

freely. On the other hand, not having any of these concepts sufficiently causes the man's desire to be incomplete and prevents him from seeing himself as a whole. For example, in the texts of Halit Ziya, if male individuals are economically deprived, this inevitably harms their respectability and perception of his masculinity in the family.

At this point, Halit Ziya emphasizes in his writings that the social roles given to individuals, such as being unsuccessful, ugly, or penniless, should not be an obstacle for the individual to realize themselves. In other words, Halit Ziya prefers to evaluate both the concept of femininity and masculinity, together with their individual choices. Therefore, the power of social conditions or psychological background affecting their choices is deeply studied in his work. The determination of gender perceptions, class conflict, or physical or mental disabilities on the individual is discussed in all aspects. This is because the main points determining Halit Ziya's literature can be explained as follows: To explain human life, to make each understandable. Finally, to go beyond what is seen and known, to every aspect of the character and try to make sense of the living conditions.⁹⁵

The final point to be discussed in the short stories of Halit Ziya is on the experiences of individuals to exist in different places. In other words, the impact of space on the individuals will be given in this part to experiences that take place in two different areas allowing us to separate them as private and public spaces. The most important feature that distinguishes the nineteenth century from other periods and gives it the modern texture is, no doubt, the opening of public spaces to the use of people. Because modernization is "a non-stop and self-perpetuating creation of new needs, new consumption, and production."⁹⁶ Therefore, modernization increased the needs of the individuals and divided their living spaces. New spaces transformed by modernity also increased socialization among individuals, for example, through halls, clubs or theatres. On the one hand, the perception of privacy changes with these spaces. Individuals begin to rethink definitions of private and public space. For example, while the interior area is perceived as the place where people spend time with their family, the streets appear as places where individuals especially gain freedom, become visible, or have fun.

⁹⁵ See Uysal, 51-53.

⁹⁶ Jonathan Crary, *Gözlemcinin Teknikleri: On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılda Görme ve Modernite*, (İstanbul: Metis, 2004).

Therefore, it can be said that the house corresponds to the private space and the street to the public area, and the increasing public space separates these two areas with a specific line.

Another significant issue related to the discovery of new spaces is that it produces a distinction over genders. Because the spatial production of gender is among the discussions of the nineteenth century, it can be said that this understanding, which places women inside the house and men on the street, also causes pressure on individuals and therefore has become a problem in the literature. Edward Soja explains that spaces are produced by society and shape gender relations, just like in the discriminative dynamics of society:

The producer of the materialist interpretation of sphere is to be aware that spacity is socially produced and exists just like society itself, both as material forms (concrete spaciousness) and as a set of relations between individuals and groups, that is, as the “embodied state” and environment of social life itself.⁹⁷

In other words, with the public sphere, while individuals are thought to present a free space, this sphere may also have discriminatory mechanisms and can impose taboos for people. Moreover, the separation between the public and the private space can further crystallize the class, economic and gender-based distinction between people. In this case, the public sphere can have the opposite effect. Therefore, an individual cannot live in an "equal" and "free" way in both areas. As Soja states, these spaces are produced socially and social dynamics draw their borders.

When we think about nineteenth-century Istanbul, which is one of the emerging public spaces of the Empire, similar conclusions emerge. The effect of class, gender or economic conditions, on the formation of space, can affect the individual's self-realization. This effect on individuals provides a panorama of both the daily life practices of the late century Istanbul and the crisis experienced by the new Ottoman individual. In the stories of Halit Ziya, the protagonists' experiences in the public domain are limited according to some characteristics. That is, being in touch with the public sphere differs

⁹⁷ See Irvin Cemil Schick, *Bedeni, Toplumu, Kâinatı Yazmak: İslâm, Cinsiyet ve Kültür Üzerine* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 171.

according to the circumstances that individuals have. In this context, any public or domestic space can be either dangerous or protected.

Therefore, it is not possible to make sharp definitions of the places mentioned in Ziya's stories. Instead, previously mentioned, the connection of the protagonists with the public sphere should be taken into consideration in the environmental conditions, psychology or life experiences.

To summarize, this part aims to discuss some of Halit Ziya's short stories on the core topics mentioned above. Accordingly, the struggle of being an Ottoman individual at the turn of the century including the conflicts and struggles will be evaluated, together with the experience of modernity. In other words, the writers of the turn of the century are described as the generation that had the specific experience of modernity in the empire. Therefore, the heroes in Halit Ziya's work are reflected as individuals who have become part of this struggle and experienced the crisis conceived by the social and cultural transformations that occurred at the turn of the century. In other words, it is possible to read the short stories of Halit Ziya together with his experience and to draw a road map about the developments in modern literature produced in the last period of the Ottoman Empire.

3.1.1.1. Positioning Women As A Protagonist

Why are individuals left out of society? The answer to this question is no doubt related to social and cultural dynamics. The behavior of the individual in a way that is incompatible with the community in which s/he is located, allows for her/him to be isolated. In particular, if the behavior of individuals who do not fit in with society goes beyond the identities given to them and harms the teachings of that group, it is unlikely that these individuals will be accepted within their community. In the stories of Halit Ziya,

"The clashes of figures who reject their other identity are both external and internal dynamics. In the stories, although the codes of tradition surround itself, the figures that experience conflict in the world of emotions and thoughts and become aware of themselves develop their discourse with the author's

realistic style.”⁹⁸ At the same time, the author does not use a didactic discourse that serves society. For this reason, the works of Halit Ziya were not produced with absolute facts. Instead, perceived facts are at the forefront in his writings.

This part will examine the differences between perception and truth built by Halit Ziya through women who struggle to get out of their circumstances, challenge events, or insist on finding their desires because such women who are not understood, excluded, or punished by society. More importantly, these women are either trapped in the space they are in due to some barriers or cannot act as they wish in that area. A closer look at the realities of women experiencing a conflict between society and their individuality will allow a better understanding of Halit Ziya and perception of the period. Accordingly, the female figures in *Daire-i İstintakta*, *Deli Fato*, *İkinci Nikah* and *Güzel Artemisiya*, one of the short stories of the author, will be analyzed in depth. Thus, the reconstruction of women who are seen as a secondary identity in society with the Halit Ziya writings will be evaluated.

Being a Woman who Kills: An Analysis of *Daire-i İstintakta* (1894)⁹⁹

"When and why do people surrender to their fate?" asks Eylem Dereli Saltık and continues as follows: "The answer to this question is often full of negativity. Because society or individual escapes struggle when life lasts in a way that they do not want or plan, s/he surrenders to fate, hoping that he will complete the process in the safest way possible."¹⁰⁰ *Daire-i İstintakta* narrates a woman who first submits to her fate but then rejects her position and becomes a murderer to overcome this fate. The most impressive part of this story is that the woman who was taken to an interrogation room was allowed to defend herself by explaining how and why she committed a crime. The people in the story try to recognize and understand this woman instead of describing her as a murderer.

At the age of fourteen, "This is the man who will be your husband. You will love him!"¹⁰¹ The young woman, who is married by her parents, has no information about sharing her life with a man or

⁹⁸ See Dereli Saltık, 137-138.

⁹⁹ Uşaklıgil, "Daire-i İstintakta", in *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda*, (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 81.

¹⁰¹ Uşaklıgil, "Daire-i İstintakta", in *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda*, (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 2017), 41.

the institution of marriage. However, the woman still does not oppose her fate. While everything seems normal in the first months of her marriage, she later starts to have problems with her husband. The first of these problems is lovelessness and a lack of communication. However, the young woman submits to her husband both in terms of age and secondary position and accepts his current position. One day, there is a suspicion about the problem with her husband: "Why did he go? What will he do? Why did he leave me? He does not love me, and he does not love me!"¹⁰² he complains. Nevertheless, it is observed that she did not take any action in line with this suspicion, only that he had a crisis in her own home. At this point, there are some stereotypes about femininity on the background of these behaviors of the young woman. For example, she does not think that her husband has any mistake while experiencing internal difficulties such as being silent, crying, and fear of being abandoned by him. The problem is direct with her.

In other parts of the story, the narrator focuses on other problems experienced by the young woman, which are mostly problems that the woman cannot find solutions for. First, the woman thinks that her husband's problems will end when she becomes pregnant: "One day I realized that I was pregnant. This news reduces my husband's hate, and I am glad to believe that. As if this pregnancy would give me both a child and husband. That day I slowly approached my husband and said that I was pregnant, laughing, and afraid. Ah, you know what he said? (...) You and your bastard sink in the ground."¹⁰³ In the story, the woman's problems will not end, and her husband will even cheat on her with another woman afterward. The issues that the story wants to draw attention to are also important at this point. *Daire-i İstintakta* reflects the problems experienced by two individuals who married at an early age without knowing each other. It also describes the day-to-day collapse of the institution of marriage that is dreamed of by a young woman. The institution of marriage, as can be understood from this short story, does not give women the possibility of a new life, or even leads to the destruction of her rights. Before the marriage, the young woman lives under the domination of masculine culture. This is

¹⁰² Ibid., 43.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 44.

why, after her marriage, the young woman does not speak out about the violence and abuse she has experienced in her house, and even she blames herself.

The final chapter of the story is about the most significant problems the young woman has during her marriage. One day the young woman goes outside, sees her husband entering the house of a strange woman and realizes that her husband is cheating on her. After this event, the woman decides to start a new life with her baby. However, in this part of the story, it is evident that the woman has mood swings, for instance, having nightmares all the time, or a nervous breakdown, thinking that her baby will be taken away from her. She also has a fear of her husband, whom she has not seen for months; the conditions she is in are conveyed in every detail by the narrator. Therefore the narrator shows every scene directly from the hero's voice, which is one of the main aims of realist literature:

I was asleep one night. I heard a noise, and I jumped out of bed. The noise was outside the door. I recognized his voice (...) then he started to push the door (...) he was constantly laughing in an ugly way. Eventually the door sounded, then the lock fell (...) then she swung and went to the baby's crib. I was motionless (...) when I saw him take the crib. Oh, it was like the world was coming out of my sight. I tried to scream, I didn't make a sound. That time.... (...) The scissors standing on the edge caught my attention (...) I took the scissors in my hand (...) at this moment, I stuck the scissors in his neck with all my strength, no longer thinking about anything.¹⁰⁴

In fact, the young woman murders under the influence of both external conditions as well the impulse from inside. Therefore, she prefers to tell her personal story about her marriage. Because her husband, whom she has not seen for months, suddenly appeared at her home and tried to psychologically abuse her and take her baby from her. This possibility increased the women's internal crisis, resulting in her killing her husband. The young woman becomes a victim of choices in *Daire-i İstintakta* and could not make it from the beginning. At the end of the story, however, he makes a choice and becomes the perpetrator. More clearly, the woman opposes her husband rather than obeys him and protects her baby.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 47-48.

Therefore, the woman makes a choice and performs it herself. This will allow her to constitute a new identity.

There are more significant results to the act of killing the husband than defense in the story. Her identity as a good mother and wife, which she tries to adapt to until the final part, turns into a criminal identity through the act of killing. Thus, the young woman switches from good to bad subjectivity.

Second, the submissive identity that is given to women also transforms this story, and acquiescence is replaced by aggression. Finally, killing the husband is also killing the social contract, because the man is considered the authority in patriarchal societies, and the young woman destroys that authority at the end of the story.

Thus, Halit Ziya in this short story reconstructs some of the components of society along with the definition of women.

A Desirable Woman: *Deli Fato* (1950)¹⁰⁵

Deli Fato is fictionalized as one of Halit Ziya's female figures "who are confident, show autonomy, stand on their feet and live as their own personality."¹⁰⁶ Fato lives as an individual woman who is inconsistent with the patriarchal social structure and aware of the strong female identity, which is against the rules of the village she lived before her marriage. It should be noted that Fato was a woman who did not comply with the social contract throughout her story. For instance, other women in the village stay at home, afraid to go out in the evening or do not know how to defend themselves against men. However, Fato constructs herself as a free space in her community without subjugating anyone. She goes to work, makes money, or goes out on the street whenever she wants. Even Ali, the man she loves, will not let him cross her boundaries. For this reason, Fato's nature is called madness, looseness, or childishness. Therefore, every woman and man should stay away from her.

¹⁰⁵ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "Deli Fato", in *İzmir Hikâyeleri*, (İstanbul: Özgür, 2005).

¹⁰⁶ See Dereli Saltık, 108.

Fato's relationship with men occurs in different ways in the story. Fato, who was first abused by his neighbor, Imam Effendi, when he was only twelve years old, describes the men as dangerous beings. Because the imam ignores his guilt and warns Fato about how a young girl should wear a dress:

- My child, you've grown up! He used to say.

One day the imam solemnly told her:

- Fato, you dress so racy, you don't cover your skirts too well. Cover it tighter. And the Imam said the other men would look and say bad things to her.¹⁰⁷

However, in her answer to Imam Efendi, who defines woman only as a desired object, Fato rejects all kind of rules that suggests that she should limit herself according to someone else's life:

She said If I dressed more, I'd be bored. If anyone looks at me with an evil eye, I can blow their eyes out.¹⁰⁸

Then, Fato is a young girl," who..a grown woman who knows her identity and lives her life accordingly (...) shows that she is an active person who experiences and has some values. In society, which consists of masculine rules, a man's verbal or physical abuse of a woman is the purpose of proving himself to her. For this reason, the woman who is abused becomes silent in the face of the man who shows perverted personality traits.¹⁰⁹

However, Fato declares that he will defend herself and states that she is not a part of the scandal. It is, therefore, apparent that Fato does not have problems with the definition of women as an individual and is aware of the abuse. In this context, Fato chose not to suppress herself but to fight the child abuser. Her choice turns Fato into an independent and autonomous female individual at the beginning of the story.

Another superiority relation in *Deli Fato* is between Fato and her lover, Ali. In this section, it is observed that Fato is trying to be dominated not only by foreign men but also by Ali. His love and desire

¹⁰⁷ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "Deli Fato", in *İzmir Hikâyeleri*, (İstanbul: Özgür, 2005), 208.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 208.

¹⁰⁹ See Dereli Saltık, 107.

for Fato causes him to be protective against her life. Moreover, Ali wants to dominate everything about Fato and her personality. One day, for example, Fato tells Ali the idea of earning money. The aim of the Fato is first to have economic independence and second to exist outside of her society. However, Ali wants to prevent this by rejecting her idea:

When Fato started telling Ali about the idea of earning money one day, his face turned red:

- How? He immediately asked.

- How? (...) All girls my age, poor parents, go to work, earn money.

- What? What? He said, Are you going to pick figs, you crazy girl!..

Fato with a laugh:

That is my popular name! (...) My name is a mark given to me from my childhood.... Whatever I do, doesn't everyone approve of me under that mark? Now I need a summer dress and a thin, light-colored headscarf. I should try to gain money for this....

(...)

- He said I would give you the money for them. Suddenly Fato got mad:

- Now you are crazy! What are you going to pay me for? Do I look like the girl who takes money from you or any man?¹¹⁰

In the dialogue between Fato and Ali above, the similarity of his attitude towards every man shows her struggle to be her own person, in the face of masculine power. Fato wants to get rid of the standard identity produced by society. Therefore, Fato redefines gender roles in her village and breaks away from patriarchal norms. This position of Fato transforms her into “The protagonist who transcends the sexual contract is no longer an object owned by one but a subject controlled by herself.”¹¹¹, according to Zeynep Uysal.

¹¹⁰ *Deli Fato*, 217-18.

¹¹¹ Uysal, 74-75.

The new identity created by Fato causes Ali to use physical and psychological violence on her in order to take control her will:

-Come back a little! ... said Ali. They were two or three steps back from the house. Then Ali held it in the arms of Fato with his trembling hands:

-Didn't I tell you, you are only mine, no one else? said.

(...)

- You're a barber who works in front of a mirror from morning to night. Can't you see yourself? People call your kind a prostitute ...

Fato said that all of a sudden... Ali got mad, put his hand around his clothes, picked out the small thin knife he always carried with him and stabbed in the heart of Fato.¹¹²

Although Ali tries to dominate Fato as a man, Fato disapproves of his power. This forces Ali to react aggressively. Fato, on the other hand, wants only Ali to accept her identity: "Look, Ali, I suppose you might be wrong. I depend on you, and I can't be anyone else but only you, but there is no need to be dominated... you know? You cannot scare me to death."¹¹³

Therefore, as can be understood from these examples, Fato is a woman who can resist the man she loves and marry or who does not give up her self even if she has to lose his man.¹¹⁴ However, in this story, Halit Ziya defines Fato as an independent woman since her childhood. In this context, Fato appears as the woman who realizes her own subjectivity and even determines the end of the *Deli Fato*: Deli Fato chooses the person to marry and even decides when to marry him. That is considered crazy, as Fato determines the end of the story. She is also Fato, who plans the date of her marriage to Ali. This is a sign that Halit Ziya wants to narrate the story of female existence in his work.¹¹⁵

¹¹² *Deli Fato*, 246-47.

¹¹³ *Deli Fato*, 218- 219.

¹¹⁴ See Dereli Saltık, 108.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

On the Edge of the Tyranny of Standards: *İkinci Nikâh* (1900) and *Güzel Artemisiya* (1898)

Women who do not position themselves outside of the society and which are their reflection, are also part of the literature of Halit Ziya. The narration of these female figures in Halit Ziya's novels can be explained in two ways. Firstly, they are positioned against women figures mentioned in the first part as women who obey authority and are subordinate to their fate. Thus, a versatile analysis opportunity is obtained about women's identity in the turn of the century. Secondly, according to Zeynep Uysal, obedient women are a critique of society's perception of women only as performative subjects.¹¹⁶ Halit Ziya emphasizes that accepting the social contract in his writings does not save the women's identity and even turns her into a victim. These types of female figures are considered silent and submissive, without any struggle in their life, preventing them from going beyond themselves.

The roles that are determined by her family may have given the fate of the woman as a child. This is because these roles are also the roles that regulate the social structure in which they are lived. Moreover, the woman needs to perform so that this structure is not demolished. The roles society gives to women are mostly "being a wife and a mother." The characteristic features of both roles is that they prevent women from an individual existence. Thus, the woman becomes second class depending on another, and she is only expected to fulfill the role that society has given her.

In this part, women who remain silent in the work of Halit Ziya will be mentioned in their relations with the social contract. On the other hand, the weakness that the woman experiences as the second sex will be evaluated as gender criticism. Marriage becomes an institution that enables the domination of women in Halit Ziya's short stories. It further increases inequality between male and female individuals and gives the man more power when condemning women to their homes. "Even if marriage means leaving the father's home and establishing her own life, the woman has to play the roles chosen by society in this life."¹¹⁷ As a writer who is aware of this inequality, Halit Ziya tries to draw attention to an essential issue by discussing gender in his short stories.

¹¹⁶ See Uysal, 120.

¹¹⁷ See Dereli Saltık, 48.

In *İkinci Nikâh*, the young woman has some troubles with her husband and cannot communicate with him even though she loves him. Both the woman and their child of the absence of his father. The sadness that both suffered from the absence of the man is strongly discussed in the beginning of the story:

After the child hesitated a little: "Mom, he said, Are we going to wait for my father again?" His mother didn't answer... Of course, they will always wait like this... then she retook the paper. Now she wishes her husband would come to their home and look at her with love again. Then she will tear up this unsigned paper... she would not believe the situation, she would not believe the news that her husband was cheating on her.¹¹⁸

Even though the young woman has been cheated on and left alone, she still waits for her husband and lives with the hope that her husband will return home. But this anxious wait shows her helplessness and weakness in the face of deceit. Because unselfish mothers who have been deceived or left alone but live for their child or desperate mothers whose children are sick or disabled (...) are the types of mothers fictionalized by Halit Ziya on the excellent mother representation of the society (...), and he tries to narrate in every story of their lives.¹¹⁹

The deep meaning of the young woman in marriage increases the desperation she experiences. Remembering the first day of her marriage, the woman says:

(...) That first night she looked timid and nervous as she spoke her first words to him with all the high pitch and did not look at his face. That night, she undoubtedly loved him. Surely just him. As this pitiful young lady watched and listened to him like this, she thought that this night would continue like a night of sparkle and happy love, hiding her innocence forever.¹²⁰

This emphasizes that she has started a new and peaceful life with her marriage. However, this thought is nothing more than a responsibility to her husband. Because marriage is not the beginning of a new life, it is the decision of two people to share a life. Apart from this, it is observed that there is no

¹¹⁸ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "İkinci Nikah", in *Bir Kadın Pençesi*, (İstanbul: Özgür, 2005), 192.

¹¹⁹ See Dereli Saltık, 43.

¹²⁰ *İkinci Nikah*, 194.

sign of the young woman's self during the story. The woman in *İkinci Nikah* cannot construct herself except for her identity as a wife and mother. Therefore, the loss of the husband is a tribulation which the woman will not construct herself again.

In the other part of the story, the young woman wants to talk to the woman who her husband is cheating with and goes to her house for this purpose. At this point, I should point out that the young woman talks with her to find out what is different in the other woman, not as if she is asking for an account from the other woman because a young woman blames herself for her husband's forbidden relations and rejects the possibility of struggling with their mistake:

However, I know that my husband is something that belongs to you; he comes to you and avoids me. Nevertheless, he is my husband, and he should be mine, and no one has any right over him except me.¹²¹

Then the woman is trying to eliminate this mistake by using the rights of the settlement. Because the limits drawn by marriage make married couples belong to each other and reject any other relationship. At the same time, they contract with society. They accept that they will live within specific rules in their community. Therefore the young woman in the story needs to save her marriage because she is the example of a woman who has adapted to gender roles in society.

At the end of the story, the husband will choose a wife, who is his dependent and submissive to him, thus re-signing the social contract he has rejected. In other words, the man will prove his commitment to social teachings by marrying the woman a second time. In the second marriage, not only is the woman young but her husband did not want to experience being on the margin of society and seeks refuge in society's boundaries. This result is also the acceptance of the determined destiny of individuals.

Another story of Halit Ziya is narrated in *Güzel Artemisiya*, where the woman leaves her identity for the man she loves and turns into an object belonging only to the man. Artemisia is both a young and strong woman. She earns her living by singing and is appreciated by her surroundings.

¹²¹ Ibid., 203.

In other words, Artemisiya is a woman who has already built her individuality while she was young. Her identity, however, begins to melt within her marriage. After years, her husband thinks that she is ugly, and her childbearing makes Artemisia more of an adult. One day she is abandoned by her husband, and she begins to struggle again with her child alone.

The man asks for love with pleading eyes before marrying, then turns into a jealous husband”¹²² and leaves Artemisiya after satisfying his desires because her husband sees her as an object of desire.¹²³ Undoubtedly, this man, who limited her freedom throughout their marriage and exploited her financially and spiritually, described a woman as an object to control.

In the story, the emotions Artemisiya experiences after leaving her husband, her return to the stage, and her struggle with life are narrated when Artemisiya sings on the stage years later. The young man, who admired Artemisiya in his childhood, describes Artemisiya as “For twenty years, Beautiful Artemisiya, still beautiful Artemisiya (...) she was such a woman that all men sold their shop for her, pawned their goods, they stole their mother's jewels...”¹²⁴ when he sees her again, and then his friend tells the tragic story of Artemisiya. He regrets what he heard, but states that this tragic end is the result of her choice:

Okay, but who is to blame? Why should she marry? Couldn't he be content with the wealth that came before him? This is how it ends when you are in such a time of wealth and fame, sacrificing everything to go and be thrown into the arms of a coffee man.¹²⁵

While Artemisiya married with the intention of being loved and starting a new life, her husband never understood her. What's more, eventually, this unhappy experience of marriage ends in abandonment, Artemisiya loses her power over life and is buried in her own tragic story. Briefly, Artemisiya's hopes of marriage cause her to lose twenty years of her life. Moreover, the responsibility

¹²² Uşaklıgil, “Güzel Artemisia,” in *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda*, (İstanbul: İnkılâp, 2017), 41.

¹²³ See Murat Deveci, *Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil'in Öykülerinde Yapı ve İzlek*, (Ankara: Akçağ, 2014), 185.

¹²⁴ *Güzel Artemisiya*, 35.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

of his children also becomes a burden for her. For this reason, Artemisiya will no longer be described as a young, beautiful and free woman, but as a victim of her own choices:

(Artemisiya sings a song)

It was like a song that, despite its purpose of appearing happy, felt sad, tearful, despondent. The song was like I knew this composition. However, this was not the joyful songs of that old, beautiful Artemisia; it was the newly learned... it was something different. (...)

Enough, take the knife from my heart...

(...)

Oh! Poor, beautiful Artemisiya, poor actress of Alkazar d'Amerik ...¹²⁶

3.1.2. The Issue of Masculinity: Reconstructing Male Identity in *Bir Hikâye-i Sevdâ*

How do men learn masculine domination? In what ways does the male power help the person to constitute himself? How does a man who grew up in a social environment based on male superiority accept gender equality?¹²⁷ Or does it affect his masculinity if he gives up on the identity of the male-dominated world by society? Each of these questions reveals the tension created by the roles given to the sexes. As well as the role of "being a mother and wife" given to women, men are also responsible for "being head of the family and earning money." These roles essentially prevent both sexes from becoming themselves.

However, in the modern family structure, men and women become independent individuals by finding the opportunity to discover and build themselves. Thus, masculinity ceases to be an identity defined through power. It just becomes a self-assessment identity. Another consequence of that is, the boundaries set by society are exceeded. Thus, the reconstruction of identities also allows them to experience complex relations.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 38.

¹²⁷ Serpil Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkânsız İktidar, Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*, (İstanbul: 2016, Metis), 123-24.

Men who are independent of a family, a stand-alone individual, begin the struggle with life only for themselves, and “This historical transformation has made problematic the “masculine” values that will pass from father to son by triggering a break from the traditional world of men and it is also a development that initiates a kind of “death of the father ” symbolism.”¹²⁸ In the stories of Halit Ziya, masculinity is constructed in the different forms of patriarchal discourse; through protagonists, and the writer questions the definition of masculinity. Therefore, the male figures of Halit Ziya, like his female figures, are individuals who struggle with life and experience a crisis of existence. Apart from this, Zeynep Uysal states that the male figures in his stories are mostly unprotected people. Even Uysal emphasizes individuals ' lack of a mostly "mother" figure, arguing that this loss makes them even weaker. On the other hand, lack of economic or class conditions is a barrier to male figures. Therefore, in most Halit Ziya stories, achieving a life as they desire is a challenging experience for men.

Firstly, this part gives the possibility to think about masculinity through the story of Halit Ziya named *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda* and to talk about the boundaries built by the writer. In particular, the male figure named Barba in *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda* struggles to live autonomously without possessing any of the gender norms. Barba will be evaluated in conjunction with the identity crisis experienced by the late nineteenth-century male individual. In this context, the short story has one of the earliest traces of the definition of masculinity.

Barba, a man who lives in the village, is obedient and silent and whose story is unknown. He helps the peasants in the place where he lives, does all their services and does not receive anything in return. Therefore, the villagers do not exclude him or even try to explain his strangeness that he may be mad. Moreover, Barba is seen as a person to be managed in the village. Because he is not a man who earns money or starts a family like other men of the village. That's why Barba should be educated just like a child.

On the other hand, it is their way of trying to deal with Barba's different nature. Because Barba is an individual who does not comply with community standards, he does not even answer to the

¹²⁸ Ibid., 123.

description of masculinity approved by the peasants. Therefore, several definitions must be found to provide the recognition of his identity in the village. Moreover, Barba has characteristic features, such as weakness, vulnerability and incompetence, which break the code of masculinity. This can also be considered by the reflection of the new model of masculinity, which turned from traditional to modern at the turn of the century. Because “When questioning how and when the models of masculinity we see today emerge, it is necessary to consider the changes in family structures that occur in parallel with the separation of production and participation in urban/ industrial society due to the different development dynamics of capitalism. These changes started (...) at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These changes have never been experienced as a univariate process.”¹²⁹

In other words, for example, Barba does not follow the rules of masculinity in the village by not working in any job, and this representation is a preview of the new model of masculinity. Therefore the villagers must control Barba so that it does not affect the other men in the village. Thus they make a rumor about him:

One day, when Barba was living in the village surrounded by the respect and affection of everyone, a rumor or a lie was heard (revealed) by someone: The lie has been heard that Barba is in love. This news spread immediately to the village, and everyone questioned him:

- Barba, who are you in love with?

- Well done, Barba, so you are still young, Barba!

- Does she love you, Barba?

- Who is this lucky girl who makes you feel like? ¹³⁰

Barba, on the other hand, thinks this rumor as a joke and does not object to anyone talking. However, social oppression on Barba increases, as Barba realizes that he has lost his inner peace. He then comes to such a point with this social pressure:

¹²⁹ Ibid., 122-23.

¹³⁰ *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda*, 13.

Was he really in love? Who was in love if he was in love? (...) Was he really in love? Who was in love if he was in love? (...) Or was it the predictions of the villagers around him that created this idea? This was unknowable; the real point was that Barba had now completely lost his old happiness and joy and... turned into a sad black man.¹³¹

The main purpose of this rumor is to reintroduce Barba into society. That is why stories about him continue to be told day after day. The villagers force Barba to follow their standards. For example, they tell Barba another rumor that he is going to marry the girl he loves, and Barba does not know how to argue each of these rumors. In the final chapter, Barba begins to build a road outside the village to escape the peasant and their rumors. When the road ends, the villager thinks Barba will go to the girl he loves, but they face a tragic end that they did not expect:

The next morning (...) they looked at Barba, first they could not find him; then they found Barba beyond the village, among the rocks, tied a large stone to his arms and legs, lying in the water and drowned.¹³²

In the story, it is a choice for Barba to kill himself by giving up his life because Barba decides that he will never be able to be himself as an individual. Throughout the story, Barba experiences traditional culture, trying to dominate and see society as a barrier. Besides, with such a tragic ending, Halit Ziya dramatically describes Barba's experience of alienation from society; thus, the circumstances that caused his isolation can be interpreted by the reader. As a result, Barba prefers not to carry the male identity imposed on him. In this respect, suicide is a rebellion against the community to which Barba belongs.

3.1.3. On City Streets: *Ferhunde Kalfa* (1900)

The streets from Beyazıt to Fatih, one of my main places of wandering, were crowded in the streets, the buildings of which were wide and great, like a bright city. From Beyazıt to Fatih, Vezneciler to Direklerarası and Şehzadebaşı to Saraçhanebaşı remind me of Ramadan days.

¹³¹ Ibid., 13-14.

¹³² Ibid., 16.

Also, the excellent image of women who take a ride in the Abdülaziz period, whose clothes were more beautiful in yashmak and who looked more attractive in their ferace of various colors is shown. Now I found these streets so wretched and miserable with print markets and the lane that gave my heart darkness as if I had come to another place. I fell into an ugly imitation of my Istanbul.¹³³

The public sphere is seen as a domain of social life where public opinion can be formed. (Habermas, 1991, p.398). As the public space begins to construct the social life of individuals, they begin to determine their boundaries. In other words, these areas separate boundaries between their private and daily lives and enable individuals to produce different individualities. On the other hand, the separation between spheres and gender and class differences affect individuals' experiences in this field. Because the turn of the nineteenth century is a period in which the codes of femininity and masculinity are rethought and changes in the social environment affect class discrimination. In this context, his work expands the horizon of the experiences of individuals belonging to a different class, religion or gender in society.

In *Ferhunde Kalfa*, Ferhunde is a female slave who was taken from an early age to serve in a mansion. Although the family emphasizes that Ferhunde and Hesna will be raised on equal terms, Ferhunde always remains in the second position throughout the story:

Ferhunde had heard several times from people in the house that Ferhunde was also a child of the house. For example, if a cloth of pink and silk were bought for a celebration for Hesna, a woolen and pinky cloth would also be taken for Ferhunde.¹³⁴

First of all, the girl who is the maid of the house acts as Hesna, the daughter of the house. She ignores his secondary position and silences the truth. Ferhunde thinks that she deserves the best of everything, ignoring the hierarchical order and class differences in the house. Accordingly, whatever is done to Hesna is almost as if it were done to her.

¹³³ *Kırk Yıl*, 147.

¹³⁴ Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "Ferhunde Kalfa", in *Bir Kadın Pençesi*, (İstanbul: Özgür, 2005), 180.

However, one day, Hesna decides to get married. Ferhunde strangely begins to prepare as if she is getting married. Her desire for marriage is striking in the story: "As the families come to meet Hesna and marry her to their son, Ferhunde gets wings, bursts with happiness fly down the stairs, and leaves her job, do not take their coats, going up the stairs up and running to Hesna."¹³⁵ Two reasons can explain her desire: First, marriage is one of the ways to let out a slave, and Ferhunde is aware that getting married means being free, even if she says she is satisfied with his position in the mansion.

However, the events in the mansion do not proceed as Ferhunde planned, and after marriage, she is sent home to help her. Thus, the change of place is limited to the transition from one house to another for Ferhunde. Being a woman and slave are identities that prevent her individuality. In this context, the boundaries determined by the society in the emergence of such a result have a significant influence on the individual as well as the emancipation experience.

Ferhunde does various services in the house over the years, including babysitting, house cleaning and nurse maiding. Meanwhile, the title given to Ferhunde also changes as "forewoman", "elder sister" and "nanny." However, she never forgets the idea that one day she will get married and be free. However, she will not be able to overcome society's rules and start a life she does not want in the domestic sphere:

Ferhunde had ended waiting, now her feelings at the beginning of sadness had stopped, and silence had come upon her. He was walking around the House tired with her feet become heavier, and her height is getting lower and lower.¹³⁶

In this context, the image of Ferhunde into the story as a female figure lacking public experiences is a critique of many social structure problems. Moreover, Halit Ziya does not take Ferhunde out on the street because a slave often spends her time at home. In this way, the crisis that Ferhunde experiences in his confined space becomes more understandable because "For protagonists who feel hopeless, helpless, pessimistic, and worried about being felt, space creates a dark, suffocating, and complicated perception, and such spaces are named as small/narrow space. In the stories of these places,

¹³⁵ Ibid., 180.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 187.

the hero is the individual who clashes with time and the whole of the space (...) in the stories of Halit Ziya, houses represent the narrow/closed space.”¹³⁷

At the end of the story, Hesna decides on Ferhunde's marriage to Sabit Bey, *lala*¹³⁸ of the house. However, Ferhunde is not happy with this decision because she does not see herself equal to a *lala*. On the other hand, as the years passed, Ferhunde's hope that she would marry and start a family was destroyed, so she adopted this life, which belongs to Hesna's house. Finally, Sabit Bey, who is one of the other slaves living in that house, will not give Ferhunde the freedom she dreamed of: “How good it will be! They would not leave them, they would sit here again, they would both take care of the newborn...”¹³⁹

As a result, Ferhunde Kalfa is obliged to live at home and has tried to overcome this fate with the marriage. However, strict rules arising from class differences also delay her marriage. Moreover, being a female slave turns Ferhunde into a person dependent on home and society. Thus, while Ferhunde has a lack of any street experience, she, on the other hand, loses the possibility of individuation.

3.2. The Rhythm of Literary Modernization: Thinking Armenian Literature Together with Krikor Zohrab

“I had heard of his ability to speak before the fame of the authorship of Krikor Zohrab Effendi. Those strong words from the lectern of Meclis-i Mebusan -the poor Meclis-i Mebusan! - addressed the society would have shown that the speaker was also a poet. However, I became aware of the reflection of his literary power again under your direction. If Zohrab were only interested in literature, he would achieve a high position among the great masters of all languages, not just of his literature.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See Murat Deveci, 48-49.

¹³⁸ The person responsible for the care and training of the child.

¹³⁹ See *Ferhunde Kalfa*, 191.

¹⁴⁰ *Numuneler*, 23.

In the above anecdote, Süleyman Nazif shares thoughts about the literary world of Krikor Zohrab in 1913. In the same text, Nazif also appreciates Zohrab's ability to use literary language and emphasizes that other literatures of the Ottoman Empire should also recognize Armenian literature. Krikor Zohrab is regarded as one of the most successful literati of modern Armenian literature, by both Süleyman Nazif and other literati of the period because Zohrab is known as a writer who is aware of the transformations in the end-century paradigm. He also follows the French model in the field of literature and successfully applies this model in his work. Apart from that, Zohrab closely follows other famous writers in literature, such as Arpar Arpiaryan, who is one of the pioneers of the Armenian realist movement.

Zohrab's recognition in the field of Armenian literature begins in 1885 with his first and only Armenian novel *Anhedatsadz Serunt Mı* (Lost Generation).¹⁴¹ Although Zohrab argues that it is an unsuccessful experiment about the novel, which is considered a promising start, Levon Paşalyan conveys his views on the novel in 1887 as follows in *Masis*.¹⁴²

It has been a long time since 'new 'and' literary' books have been published. Its author appears to be a chief writer. His novel, which shows all aspects of life and in a realistic way, is a 'first class' writer, and thus he has made an 'intelligent' start to the field of literature.¹⁴³

The reason for the author's appreciation of *Lost Generation* can be discussed at several points. First, although Paşalyan's thoughts show that Zohrab was a great writer, such a description was made to highlight realism in the current literary debates of the period. Zohrab, for example, reveals that his novel is unprofessional, a mixture of romanticism and realism and, explaining that Paşalyan wrote these

¹⁴¹ The novel is published in a magazine as a commentary. However, after a while, the publication stopped. In 1886, with the proposal of Arpiar Arpiarian, *Anhedatsadz Serunt Mı* began to be published in *Masis*. It is one of the first novels written under the influence of realism in modern Armenian literature. In this novel, Krikor Zohrab describes the problems, psychological backgrounds, hopes, and desires experienced by the Armenian youth of that period. See more in Etmekjian, 1964: 171- 174.

¹⁴² *Masis* was founded by Garabed Ütücüyan in 1852 and continued its publishing activities until 1908. Throughout its publishing life, *Masis* devoted extensive space to literary investigation. It also presents articles, poems, novels, and short stories in translation from many famous Armenian writers and foreign literati of the period. *Masis* is a magazine known for pursuing a "progressive, libertarian, but also cautious " policy. Apart from Krikor Zohrab, influential literati such as Dikran Gamsaragan, Hagop Baronyan, Yervant Odyan, Hrant Asadur, Arpiar Arpiaryan, Levon Paşalyan have written articles in the magazine. See more Zakarya Mildanoğlu, *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar: 1794- 2000*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2014), 36.

¹⁴³ The citation is from Levon Paşalyan's article on *Masis* in July, 1887 (İzrail, 2013, 27).

sentences to support the new and young writer. Nevertheless, it is apparent that this novel, written by Zohrab at the end of the nineteenth century, during the current debates in Ottoman literature, was an essential step in the history of modernization of literature. Second, indeed, Zohrab takes a new step in Armenian literature with this novel because, in *Lost Generation*, he tries both the French realist model, which is his first example of realist writing, setting the boundaries of his literary style.

However, the period in which Zohrab's literary activities gained momentum is after 1890, with his stories published in *Aravelk* and *Masis* magazines. Arpiar Arpiaryan, Krikor Zohrab and other realist literati, therefore, are the first to clear Western Armenian from foreign languages such as Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Later, these writers incorporated the realist movement into their literary fields, influenced by French writers such as Zola and Maupassant, to whom they had close followers. These writers, in other words, "Aravelk school" began literary production under the influence of realism. Krikor Zohrab is one of the pioneers of this movement, mostly short story writing. Although the author's novel *Nardik*,¹⁴⁴ which he began in 1891, is known to have remained unfinished.¹⁴⁵

Modern Armenian literature applies the transformations in French literary and artistic activities simultaneously with them. For this reason, the novels and stories written under the influence of realism, can be counted as the first products of Ottoman literature, apart from being the first examples of Armenian literature. Moreover, the close relationship of the Armenians with the French culture does not create a cultural and religious conflict area, as in Turkish literature. Instead, the French model is seen as a school for developing Armenians. Thus, it can be said that the traces of literary modernization were seen much earlier in Armenian literature. According to Kevork Barbakjian, Armenian literature professionally uses most of the genres known in Europe by the end of the century.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, Armenian literature can be modernized with a distinct developmental period compared to Turkish literature.

¹⁴⁴ Nesim Ovadya İzrail, *1915 Bir Ölüm Yolculuğu: Krikor Zohrab*, (İstanbul: Pencere, 2013), 26

¹⁴⁵ See İzrail, 27.

¹⁴⁶ See Bardakjian, 121.

Zohrab's literary style is based on socialist realist dynamics. In many of his works, he discusses in detail the economic and class problems experienced by Armenians, the conflicts between the church and the congregation and the changes that occurred in the end-of-century society, or the discrimination created by gender perception. Moreover, the protagonists of Zohrab's stories are teachers, priests, servants, criminals, craftsmen, merchants, women, or poor people.¹⁴⁷ Therefore his work is more like a panorama of the Armenian community:

They all serve one purpose—to expose the weaknesses of the social structure, the exploitation of the poor, the triumph of vice, and the victimization of virtue. As in French realism, the lower classes occupy the most important place in this panorama and understandably so. It is through the depiction of their suffering that the weaknesses of society can be laid bare. The wealthy are the villains in this sordid picture. They are the powerful who abuse the unfortunates who fall into their hands. They play with the latter's sentiments to the point of driving them to suicide or insanity.¹⁴⁸

Therefore, it can be said that the main issue of Zohrab's stories is to explain the difficulties and consequences of desperation that people belong to the lower class experience in society. Moreover, as a realistic writer, Zohrab conveys their experiences with their psychological and physical aspects. Thus he draws attention to the common problems of the Armenian community.

In the stories, Zohrab prefers to explain the problems posed by perceptual bias in Armenian society, thus showing that his main goal is to define human life. In other words, for Zohrab and other writers of the period, it is more important to convey an event in detail to the reader, rather than educating the community. Arshag Chobanian interprets Zohrab and his friends' realist vision that reflect the tragedy of the individual as:

What do the new writers, the dissenters do? They walk in the streets. They look into every nook and corner. They visit the fields, the forests, and the mountains. In society, they observe everything.

¹⁴⁷ İzrail, 43.

The enormous majority of the events described by Zohrab take place in and around İstanbul. His stories are mostly local and national writings that describe the Armenian community. Besides, the author portrays İstanbul in all aspects and mostly writes about the middle or lower class people.

¹⁴⁸ Etmekjian, 222.

They note down and study events. Then they return to their rooms and write, having only their notebooks before them.¹⁴⁹

More importantly, Zohrab's realistic vision is so powerful that he reflects on the heroes he describes with their languages in the stories: "Due to the true Realist tradition, the characters speak according to their social and intellectual position, with the result that Turkish words, slang, popular (but not vulgar) interjections are put in the mouth of characters from the humble classes."¹⁵⁰

On the other hand, it should be noted that Zohrab's stories deal with the issue of femininity in particular. Among the main reasons that Zohrab gives importance to this issue, as I mentioned in the last part of Halit Ziya's writings about femininity, the changes in the Ottoman society in the late century have had a tremendous impact. Within the Muslim community, there are negotiations on the identity of women in the Armenian community. On the other hand, Armenian female writers begin to talk about their names with their literary activities with Zohrab being known as a writer in these discussions. Zabel Asadur describes his literary perception in the following words:

Even though Zohrab's stories seem to reflect the problems of the Armenian community, it is possible to read the view of an intellectual who thought far beyond the period he lived in his short stories (...) The intellectuals of that period did not only interest in the difficulty of being a woman but witnessed the dissolution of an entire Ottoman society.¹⁵¹

Thus, Zohrab supports the literary understanding that appeals to all segments of society, especially the others of the Armenian community, in a realist style, offering a universal human narrative: The style of Zohrab is direct, brief, unsophisticated and understandable: it reminds me of a palace decorated with bright lights, not a single dark room or a shady village (...) Everyone reads him with pleasure and curiosity. The literary elite, the public, young and the old, even the students, girls and boys,

¹⁴⁹ Citation from Etmekjian, 223.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 228.

¹⁵¹ İzrail, 45.

even though they are not allowed to read him... they all understand his style, like and want to read him more.¹⁵²

Between 1890 and 95, all writers and publishers in the empire were affected by the ban on censorship. Besides, the 1890s were the beginning of massacres against the Armenian community. So many writers escape to Europe in order to secure their lives.¹⁵³ Krikor Zohrab, on the one hand, meets with different groups and constructs a universal identity by announcing his name outside of his community. He continued his studies during the years in which censorship was increased and wrote twenty-two stories between 1891 and 1900. After this period, he became one of the leading writers in Armenian literature.

In conclusion, Krikor Zohrab's stories position himself in late-century literature, discussing the problems experienced by the 19th-century individual. The author defines literature as a field that derives from what man lives, and therefore it is a scene that reveals the truth of life.¹⁵⁴

This explanation is similar to the sense of Halit Ziya, who is the basis of his literature. The strong affinity between the authors can explain with the influence of French realism. Secondly, both writers interact with the form of Ottoman literature. It is quite obvious that literature has experienced a paradigm shift due to cultural changes in the empire.

For this reason, writers in Turkish and Armenian literature also begin the struggle for autonomy in language and literary narrative. Their main purpose is to describe the ordinary person in all aspects, in other words, to demonstrate the artistic representation of real life. Therefore, the modernization movement in Ottoman literature brings their literary works together in a common and comparable denominator.

¹⁵² Ibid., 43-44.

¹⁵³ Bardakjian, 125.

¹⁵⁴ İzrail., 45.

3.3. Looking at Turn of the Century Literature with Zohrab's Literary Works

Zohrab'ın anlatımı ve tasvirleri çok güçlüdür. Hızlı boya vuruşları ile yaptığı tabloları canlı resimler gibidir. O, insanların duygularından ve ruhundan yarattığı isyanları, deniz dalgalarının hareketi gibi anlatan bir ustadır (Etmekjian, 1964).¹⁵⁵

The conflicts that have come to the forefront of Zohrab's stories concern both the individual's identity and the social order. At the same time, these conflicts are described in every aspect of the plot of events. Zohrab began writing at a time when realism was a dominant force in literature, its most powerful expression emerging in the novel, with special focus on the life of the middle class, and the impact of economic, social and political matters on its daily life. He was not considered a prolific writer, perhaps because he was extremely meticulous.¹⁵⁶

Apart from that, Zohrab stories are based on observation and can also be said to include an element of intense pessimism. "His stories contain little plot, in the ordinary sense, relying instead on the sensitive treatment of emotions, and the creation of ambience and mood, sometimes ironic, sometimes poignant."¹⁵⁷ His protagonists are generally people without hope, who have become anxious and weak over life, from the beginning of the stories. They have expectations and desires that they believe in achieving, but they do not strive to reach them completely. Instead, his heroes prefer to escape or die instead of struggling with their problems. The fact that the subject of the stories are ordinary people has a great impact on the consequence of the stories, because they, like the protagonists of Zohrab, are invisible to society.

It is also possible to distinguish the desperate heroes of Zohrab as women and men because, in the stories, it is clear that the heroes have different lifestyles according to their gender, and they are individuals under the influence of other psychologies and external conditions.

¹⁵⁵ İzrail., 46.

¹⁵⁶ Krikor Zohrab, *Voice of Conscience: The Stories of Krikor Zohrab*, trans. Jack Antreassian, (New York: Vartan Press, 1983, 6).

¹⁵⁷ *Voice of Conscience*, 6.

For example, it is observed that the writer, who especially chooses to explain woman, her beauty and life, includes women in the stories as fascinating beings that affect men. In fact, this effect prevents male individuals from self-realization. Thus one of the heroes becomes dependent on another.

There are also choices that heroes are compelled to make, regardless of whether they are men or women. During this decision making process, the living conditions of these individuals, through economic insufficiency, family problems or gender discrimination, prevent them from taking action and bringing the destruction of protagonists, as previously mentioned.

Although Zohrab does not directly critique social and economic conditions in his stories, he draws attention to the problems caused by these conditions through his protagonists. Any discrimination suffered by individuals in late nineteenth-century society, including the issue of femininity, can be the subject of his stories. For this reason, this chapter aims to look at the problems of the turn of the century Ottoman individual in the social sphere through some stories by Krikor Zohrab. Moreover, this part also will make a comparative analysis of the issues addressed by Halit Ziya. Ziya also produced in Turkish literature during the same period and evaluated the conditions of the turn of the nineteenth century.

Accordingly, I will look at Zohrab stories written on the issue of femininity, which was discussed by almost all intellectuals at the turn of the century. Thereafter I will focus on the problem of individualization. Finally, this chapter will draw attention to the theme of social injustice by presenting the author's socially realistic perspective in the stories. This part will also focus on the heroes who experience the small dramas of everyday life that are the basis of Zohrab storytelling. Thus, based on Zohrab's works telling the story of the individual, the issues first questioned in Armenian literature, then in Armenian and Turkish literature, will be examined in the paradigm shift at the turn of the century.

3.3.1. Rethinking Female Beauty and Her Inner World

Zohrab stories portray women in different ways. The first is the stories of independent and confident women, able to stand on their own two feet. More clearly, it is the lives of female figures who appear not as objects but as subjects in their own right.

The second is the narrative of female figures under the control of another, repressed and unable to be themselves. However, both female figures are narrated to the reader in a realistic style, taking into account living conditions, experiences, psychological and physical conditions.

One of the most critical issues discussed at the turn of the century was the woman's position. The issue of gender, one of the fundamental steps in Ottoman modernization, is also questioned in the literary texts of many authors, such as Halit Ziya and Zohrab. In this context, Krikor Zohrab's stories, which discuss some problems about the female identity, suggest a redefinition of that identity. Therefore, he reaches out to society using literature, which is an essential tool for communication.

Thus, in Zohrab's stories, women are not just figures who live at home and do not work, or who only give birth to children. They are also individuals who struggle with life, accepting their exclusion from society in order to find themselves. For example, the lives of prostitutes and mistresses are often encountered in Zohrab's stories, as he tries to understand the psychology of those women and how they were subjected to such a life, to better understand them.

In other words, it is evident that Zohrab has redefined women with their own identities, in contrast to the masculine power that brought women under "strict control." This position transforms Zohrab into an essential figure in the Armenian women's movement and contributes to the first steps towards the representation of women in modern Ottoman literature.

Furthermore, Zohrab's contribution to female identity allows many of the female figures he created to be commemorated in Armenian literature over the years: "Zohrab had a significant influence as a feminist, championing the liberation of women in what was a totally male-dominated culture. His women are among his most memorable characters, emerging from a diverse environment: the prostitute Magdalene; the intriguing Armenisa..."¹⁵⁸

In this context, the first part of the study will take a closer look at the perception of the female identity and male hegemony in the Armenian community through the female figures in his short stories.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 7.

***Postal* (1912)**

*Postal*¹⁵⁹ was published in *Servet-i Fünun* magazine in 1912. Placed in Istanbul, the story begins with the search for a young and beautiful maid for the house of Surpik Hanım, one of the richest madams of the time. In fact, her goal is to find a young girl who will spend time with her son when he is at home. Therefore, Surpik Hanım meets with the tellal Hacı Dürük and tells her that the girl who comes home must be beautiful.¹⁶⁰ Hacı Dürük decides to bring a young girl from a village of İzmit, instead of from a developed city like Istanbul, because a girl from Istanbul may not accept Surpik Hanım's terms. When a young woman named Dikranuhi comes to the mansion, her beauty is the first thing that attracts everyone's attention, and the narrator describes her as:

His waist was not slim, but the length of his figure matched the fullness of his calves. Although a peasant, she was white, and her big, black eyes were used to hiding under the shadow of his eyelashes, and sometimes proud under the bow of his eyebrows.¹⁶¹

However, Dikranuhi thinks that beauty is her enemy because she faced a lot of trouble in the village due to her charm. Apart from this, Dikranuhi grows up without parents and always feels a lack of protection. For this reason Dikranuhi sees the house of Surpik Hanım as a family, and she believes that she can have a space of freedom. Dikranuhi then starts a new job and begins to experience the excitement of standing on her own feet. However, people in the house see her as an object that will satisfy their son, not a woman subject, and therefore Dikranuhi cannot gain her freedom in the mansion.

In the next part of the story, Onnik's weakness to control his desires for Dikranuhi causes him to have a forced relationship with her. When Dikranuhi tells the people at home about this event, no one protects her, even stating that it was a chance for her:

¹⁵⁹ *Postal* means the woman who has fallen in colloquial language.

¹⁶⁰ “Her şeyden önce güzel bir şey olmalıdır. Başlangıçta elinden iş gelmese zararı yok, burada hizmetini çabuk öğrenir. Zaten yapacak büyük bir işi de yok. Oğlum Onnik İn odasını düzenleyecek, elbisesini temizleyecek; şunu söyleyeyim ki evimde kızıoğlankız istemem.”(*Postal*, 73).

¹⁶¹ *Numuneler*, 75.

Surpik Hanım was surprised, at first she didn't believe in such a thing. Maybe Dikranuhi was wrong, then he said he was going to talk to his son in the evening and she laughed and said that the responsibility for the whole incident was due to her beauty:

“My son is kind, but he is just a man, and you are so beautiful, I wouldn't be surprised if he loved you. Any man can't stand you.”

When Dikranuhi informed Hacı Dürük of the situation, she laughed and said:

“My daughter, the son of that house loves you, what more do you want?”¹⁶²

Dikranuhi's efforts are to prevent a relationship that she does not want to have. However, she is a servant and has to obey orders given at home. That would cause her rights to be violated. Secondly, as Surpik Hanım stated, her beauty attracted Onnik's attention. Therefore this is not Onnik's responsibility. Thus Dikranuhi is left helpless by everyone. In this way, she becomes the object of desire of the son of the house.

Moreover, Dikranuhi's struggle includes several criticisms about women's identity. The identity given to Dikranuhi is, first, that she is also the object of desire in the eyes of the other women of the house:

One night, Dikranuhi found Onnik in her room again and asked to shout. But she was afraid of making noise, then only begged him (...) he was strong.

She shudders, "What will my lady, my lady say?" the young man was answering when she asked:

“Mad girl, my mother told me you were in your room and I came and found you, my mother has nothing to fear.”¹⁶³

Second, this perception shows that not only men, but also women, define their sex as nothing more than an object in society. Dikranuhi's struggle ends after a while and begins to have a relationship with Onnik. In other words, Dikranuhi is obliged to leave the identity given to her by Onnik.

¹⁶² Ibid., 87.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 89.

One day it is revealed that the young woman is pregnant, and interestingly, those in the house began to blame Dikranuhi. Surpik Hanım states that Dikranuhi has seduced the men in the mansion and must leave their home. However, Dikranuhi has only had a relationship with Onnik, and although Surpik Hanım is aware of this, she prefers to lie to everyone in the mansion. Then, the narrator interrupts the story and draws attention to the role of Surpik Hanım: “Hypocrisy is such a thing that sometimes, in the end, it is mixed up with something good and indistinguishable, just like liars who believe in their lies.”¹⁶⁴ Thus, the narrator advises the reader to evaluate Dikranuhi's tragic story in its entirety and to reach the truth in all its aspects. In particular, the rejection of Dikranuhi from society, draws attention to the issue of women and honor by criticizing corrupt moral values.

Moreover, society does not feel any sorrow over Dikranuhi's experiences but instead appreciates Surpik Hanım and her family's behavior:

This event was not considered a scandal for the House of Ghazar Agha in the village. They agreed that Dikranuhi had been fired for seducing one of the servants, although it was understood in the right way (...) They say:

“She was a fallen woman. She didn't appreciate the house.”

They were upset with Ghazar Agha and Surpik Hanım, and surprised by their ungratefulness for their favours. They were shaking their heads and saying:

“The world is like that.”¹⁶⁵

In the final part of the story, Dikranuhi tries to reconstruct her life. She gives birth to her child, gets a job, but due to financial inadequacies; she gives her child to another family. At the end of Postal, her life becomes quite dramatic. The child dies, and Dikranuhi cannot cope with the pain of its death. She starts spending most of her time in her baby's grave, not doing anything else. Thus, Dikranuhi is a figure who experiences the injustice created by being both a female and a lower-class individual. As a

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 91.

¹⁶⁵ Krikor Zohrab, “Magdalene”, In *Voice of Conscience: The Stories of Krikor Zohrab*, trans. Jack Antreassian, (New York: Vartan Press, 1983), 97-99.

result, Zohrab is also a critique of the many injustices in society with Postal, misidentified values and traditional codes. In this way, the author both rethinks the definition of femininity and realistically reveals the destruction caused by class confusion in society.

The Fallen Woman: *Magdalene* (1909)

Magdalene is a story based on the dialogue between a woman who already considers herself a sinner and the man. In this story, Zohrab evaluates prostitution, which is an identity that society has othered, with a different perspective. He invites his readers to witness the struggle for her life as an individual by separating Magdalene from her identity. Therefore, Zohrab reveals her life story by engaging them in dialogue with the man who came to her house, and the readers find the opportunity to understand how the young woman transforms a prostitute:

I lost my mother two years ago (...) I never knew my father. I have a sister who is fifteen, and an even younger brother. A grandmother too. That's my whole family. My brother and sister are in school. I support them all (...) how will I live if I don't? How will my brother and sister and old grandmother live? Still my repentance would be a false repentance.¹⁶⁶

Thus, Magdalene begins to replace the prejudices that appear against her with the story she tells about her life. She has a family that she has to take care of. That is why Magdalene should continue to be a prostitute. The woman's religious identity, on the other hand, is included in the story. "Do you imagine they would grant communion to someone like me?"¹⁶⁷ asks Magdalene and states that she wants to take communion. She also says that she believes and trusts in God so much and always goes to church. However, she also states that a woman like her cannot worship in the church because of social conditions. Thus, the story leaves the reader in the heart of opposing identities.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 117-18.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 118.

On the other hand, the dynamics of the relationship between Magdalene and a man are also very striking in the story. Magdalene earns money by objectifying her body, but the young man does not take advantage of her. Moreover, he also criticizes the men who use Magdalene's body:

All kinds of people flocked her room, all ages, races, classes, some already grey and wrinkled, others boasting of the first fuzz their faces sported, all of them drawn by her enchantment. But it was especially among the lower classes that her name and beauty excited passion, perhaps because this strange girl was meticulously fair to all in the love she offered.¹⁶⁸

In the other part of the story, Magdalene is described as a sacred being by the young man who received the news that she had fallen ill. In this way, the body of the woman is blessed and purified from her sins. In this story, Zohrab asks for forgiveness from Magdalene for being forced into becoming whore. Therefore he gives her life story at the beginning. He later tries to answer the "why" question. Finally, Zohrab requires that his reader also attempt to understand Magdalene's tragic story. The scene in the story where Magdalene is blessed is as follows:

I saw her stretched out there for the last time. She was dressed all in white, resplendent as snow. Over her left breast the blouse was stained with a bright red spot, like a rose opening on a white field. She tried to smile when she saw me.¹⁶⁹

When Magdalene dies, everyone, including her family, buries him quietly, and they do not remember her again because, as a prostitute, Magdalene is a figure to be forgotten. Her name is mentioned only by a young man who tries to understand her life. Magdalene is a female figure who does not agree with the standards of society. While she was supposed to offer her body only to the man she was married to, Magdalene chose a way to earn money herself. Despite this, it should be marked that Magdalene is also an individual who takes care of her own body and has religious values.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 119.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 120.

What makes Magdalene an even more dangerous subject for society is that she remains a religious woman, even though she is a prostitute. Moreover, Magdalene's presence is a form of rebellion against the perception of femininity in society. In other words, it is a challenge to the traditional identities built by society.

Zohrab, thus, demolishes the standard identities imposed by social norms. It even constructs a new way of perception through other identities. Story A takes place among the first examples of period literature about femininity by recognizing a different kind of woman subject.

To create a new person is not to exist out of nothing, but to reveal the hidden self and the real personality.¹⁷⁰ Individuals who are suppressed for political, social, religious reasons can only discover themselves by saving themselves from the oppression of these authorities. The emergence of modern traces in Ottoman literature is an important beginning to describe all aspects of human life. Zohrab's stories are also used to produce this narrative, which, from time to time, argues around social injustice or discrimination. In stories written by Zohrab on femininity, he identifies the woman with her secret or true self. Therefore, Zohrab, like his contemporary Halit Ziya, "... was able to narrate the story of the woman with an active language by fading from the character and the reader, trying to understand/explain the figure with the reasons for her actions and thoughts, especially by using the techniques of depiction, internal analysis, and monologue."¹⁷¹ Therefore, it should be noted that Zohrab was an Ottoman intellectual beyond the nineteenth century who saw the issue of femininity not only as an emerging issue in Armenian society, but as a problem caused by traditional culture.

3.3.2. The Rise of Passivity, Loneliness and Timidity in *Basil* (1913) and *Cogo* (1911)

In *How Novels Think*,¹⁷² Nancy Armstrong describes modernization in literary genres, along with the protagonist's struggle for individuation and his transcending boundaries by taking all the risk

¹⁷⁰ See Dereli Saltık, 33-34.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁷² 2005: 5-8.

in this direction. In other words, the protagonist, dissatisfied with the situation in which s/he desires more. This allows him to actually be himself. As quoted by Armstrong:

Of course, only individuals whose wit, will, ability, and desire exceed those appropriate to the position to which they were born can achieve such mobility.

Their exception to the social rule at once individuates these protagonists and makes them exemplary of individuals in general.¹⁷³ Therefore, it can be said that the modern protagonist transforms himself into a subject who desires and acts on his own, apart from being a member of society. On the other hand, creating the subject through literary texts can be a risk to the presence of society. Because to be an individual on its own is to keep the requests of the society in the background. Therefore, literature can clash with religious, political, or ideological engagements in the modernization process.

In the novels that appear during the second half of the nineteenth century, the desire to adjust the dynamic of the community to one's notion of it disrupts the community as a whole. Accordingly, signs of excess have to be disciplined, that is, observed, contained, sublimated, and redirected toward a socially acceptable goal. To become an individual under these circumstances, the subject must still surmount the limits of an assigned social position.¹⁷⁴

However, by the turn of the century, the aim of novels and short stories was to show individuals only with their experience revealed. Therefore, all contracts signed with the society in the field of literature are reconsidered, moral values are redefined and ideological and political discourse are eliminated from literature. Thus, through protagonists, writers resist the strict standards of traditional order. For example, most of the above stories are stories of individuals who engage in a struggle with society or obey its rules.

In Zohrab stories, it is noticeable that the individual struggle is often not completed for some reason. The protagonist has a great desire for an object, then he tries to reach it, but he cannot fight to the end of the story. In other words, the desire of the heroes cannot go beyond 'trying'.

¹⁷³ See Armstrong, 5.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 8.

Thus, the narrative of similar individuals, desperate ones in the face of life, is fictionalized in Zohrab. How does despair occur in stories? First, the individual's past experiences influence his or her activity. Second, the impact of pressure from the outside world should be underlined. Inequalities based on economic, class or gender, which we can define as external conditions, limits the individual, forcing this individual to constitute himself on a ground of insecurity.

This part will take a close look at the individuals' unfinished desires in the *Cogo* and *Basil*, along with the interfering elements. In *Basil*, the story of the male protagonist's desire for a woman is narrated in dramatic language. The man makes predictions about the woman and even creates a life story about this woman, whom he does not know. However, he neither meets nor talks to this woman. The hero thus begins to live in a dream world with this woman. Moreover, he does not allow anyone to destroy this world. Therefore, he does not show his desires and transforms himself into an unreal individual:

What wasn't that hair telling me? There, on those heights, their silent release was pure and magical. My distant eyes followed their gentle curls, their ripples, their tiny, unruly and dangling strands, getting rid of the comb, resembling the perkiness of all the little things (...) There is this thing that I have dreamed of in my youth, that I desire; the embodiment of all my desires, the enigmatic charm.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, it is emphasized in the story that some external conditions affect the male hero's inability to communicate with the woman. The existence of a man who does not leave the woman; he thinks that this person is the father of this woman and prevents him from approaching his desires.

Apart from that, the crowd around the woman, the presence of other men interested in her, discourages the protagonist of the story. In fact, there is more to the story than the existence of someone who is interfering with your desires. Although the hero tries to explain the emerging problem with the young woman who looks cowardly in the face of a bad father, what prevents him from meeting the woman is his own lack of courage:

¹⁷⁵ Numuneler, 107-109.

I started to have pity for her. Under the pressure of a violent father, I wonder what she was suffering from? (...) On the other hand, there are others... I desire a girl hiding behind a cage, and I was aware that her nervous behaviors prove it to the truth.¹⁷⁶

In the later part of the story, the woman's image becomes ambiguous as the man tries to get close to her. Thus, the woman remains an impossible subject for the man. The hero's acceptance of this situation also catches the attention:

I am all alone in the darkness of the street. Then I watched the house the way I wanted it... On the right side of the room in the corner suddenly a light appeared. And I saw her from the street, now with her hair down, standing for a minute in front of an open window, watching the Gulf of Moda. Then she turned the light off and everything went dark.¹⁷⁷

In this context, before the man completes his desire, the woman gets into the night and his dreams disappear. At the end of *Basil*, his desire goes further and remains as an embarrassing memory for the man. Because the silhouette of the woman he is trying to watch from the very beginning of the story reveals that it is basil:

Was it the one waiting for me in front of an open window all morning? I am surprised. How could I not see! I find myself ridiculous, I think I'm humiliated. (...) O! Bouquet of basil!.. You looked like a girl's face to cheat on me, you did so well.¹⁷⁸

Although the narrator ends the story with the hero's ambiguous feelings, his passive position about the object he desires is very apparent. Similarly, the status of the male individual in the *Cogo* story is also a passive subjectivity. Unlike A in this story, the hero named Cogo, whose freedom and individuality are ignored, is dragged into a crisis between his identity and desires.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 111.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 113.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 115-117.

The young man, whose real name is Sarkis Uğurluyan, first sacrifices his name and then everything else for the happiness of the woman he loves. Because Sarkis has deep feelings for her, and he is ready to accept whatever she says. During their relationship, one day, Sarkis states that he expects affinity from the woman. However, the woman states that this platonic love is perpetuated by wanting Sarkis to remain Cogo:

From the moment I saw you, I could not control myself. I told you directly that I loved you. You are an icon who represents a sacred idea and whose value will fall as soon as you show that you are alive... You know what a subjective verb is, that's exactly what you are. I called you 'Cogo', who is the name of a man who never loved me but who I decided to continue faithful to him.¹⁷⁹

Therefore, Cogo is the part of this relationship that does not even have an individual name. Because the young woman, by the name of Cogo, gives Sarkis the ideal identity she desires and forces him to be the one she wants. For this reason if Sarkis does not use the name Cogo, it means the woman would end her relationship with him. The woman also explains that she did not want to betray the ideal Cogo type by rejecting Sarkis:

You are Cogo, stay Cogo for me, please? You are always Sarkis for your parents, your loved ones, isn't that enough for you? But when it comes to me, just be worshipped, never try to worship me, or everything between us will end.¹⁸⁰

Thus, it is clear that the relationship between Sarkis and the woman prevents the individuality of any individual from the other. More importantly, in this story, the identity called Cogo is a metaphor that the woman constructs in her mind. The woman also states that Sarkis pursues an impossible desire, saying that everyone creates their own Cogo in their life and begins to love him/her. Because according to the woman:

¹⁷⁹ Krikor Zohrab, "Cogo", *Hayat Olduğu Gibi*, (İstanbul: Aras, 2017, 89).

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 88.

“If we were to find a man of desirable and impossible perfection, we would never have boredom, we would never have suffered. People will always create their own Cogo and love him. This is why, like a curtain that opens slowly, this illusion ends when we realize our mistake ...”¹⁸¹

3.3.3. Social Injustice in *The Black Bag* (1911)

The struggle against certain rules of social order is frequently problematic in Zohrab's stories. The first chapter discusses the aspects of the struggle that are revealed in the context of the sexes. Moreover, the problems created by class discrimination are also included in this part. The next part discusses the crisis experienced by the individual who is under the domination of another person. Finally, in this part, the problems caused by lack of economic prosperity and inequality of opportunity, experienced by individuals, will be examined through *The Black Bag*. In this context, the message Zohrab wants to relay with the tragic ending is included within *Boyun Borcu*, where he questions the poor man's struggle for life.

The individual's self-realization can be prevented not only by the gender roles transferred to him/ her but also by what is lacking in him/ her. This makes him dependent on his family, partner or society. Thus, the individual can never be himself freely. Zohrab handles the story of Husep Ağa, an older man dependent on economic conditions. In this context, *The Black Bag* also illustrates the failure and crisis of the individual who is controlled by his / her work.

Husep Ağa is a former businessman. Working hard in his youth, he becomes rich, takes care of his family, and is remembered as a respected person in business. However, as the years go by, he gets older and is unable to do his job and they begin to prefer younger workers over him. Nevertheless, he has to work because he has daughters to look after. Neither his children nor those around him see the weakness, unhappiness, and fatigue of Husep Ağa. What is more, his daughters, in particular, seem to want more and more expensive things from him. Husep Ağa's pain is reflected in the story as follows:

¹⁸¹ *Voice of Conscience*, 89-90.

He was depressed day after day. As his fortune once diminished, now his courage began to decline. In the morning, his bag was still in his shaky hands.¹⁸² Often he returned home without completely filling it. He wouldn't walk with merchants. He would always have a little bit behind them, and in his hand, he would hold an integral part of it: his bag.¹⁸³

Husep Ağa is the one who is subjected to humiliation by everyone in the story. Being unable to make money, both a father and a man, puts him in a crisis of masculinity. Furthermore, he is disappointed that his identity, once known as a man whom everyone respects, has changed with his inability to earn money. Zohrab describes every difficulty he has experienced in his life in detail with a realistic perspective.

The main problem of Husep Ağa is incomprehension: “There was nothing in his mind and soul at that moment but only that magic voice. Who was he? What was he doing on this boat? Where was he going? He didn't know, he really didn't!” says Husep Ağa, after at the end of the day when he came home without money. He only wants a job from merchants, or interest from their daughters. However, they do not understand his wishes. Thus, Husep transforms into an object that works only for the benefit of those around him.

His lack of strong identity leads him to become a man who, after some time, cannot recognize himself. Economic incompetence damages Husep's position both within society and the family, and produces a new identity: the old and poor man. He is discouraged by the adoption of these identifiers by Husep:

His debts to his surroundings were piling up in the village, in the bazaar, everywhere. His suit looked clean and elegant for now. His appearance did not show the terrible situation he had suffered. Yet he kept carrying the bag in his hand.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² The bag, which is mentioned in many points in the story, is a symbol of Husep Ağa's wealth because he mentions many times in the story enviously of the days when his bag was filled with money. Therefore, every day he leaves the house, his only goal is to earn money and go to his home with a heavy bag.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 39.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 40-41.

In the last part of the story, the desperation experienced by Husep Ağa increases and he is left alone with no solutions. Thus, the individual, whose voice is not heard by anyone, finds his solution by killing himself. It is possible to interpret Husep Ağa's suicide in two different ways. First, he is already a lonely and desperate man therefore his presence does not mean anything because there is no benefit to the community in which he lives. Husep Ağa, who is aware of this, ends his life with suicide:

He stopped when he came to the bridge, he couldn't get through because he had no money. That is when he realized something was missing. He checked himself and found out why he had forgotten his bag somewhere. He turned around and ran. What to do? (...) Part of the black bag tightly tied around the man's neck was on the face of the sea, floating with him, occasionally pulling his head down a bit (...) On the mirror surface of the sea, far and far away, the bag hanging around her neck looked like a boat leaving her small craft behind.¹⁸⁵

Secondly, this suicide is also a rebellion against social injustice. Because Husep Ağa's actual killer is not himself, but the external conditions imposed on him. His friends and family's expectations as well as the pressures of the society towards his poor identity cause self-destruction. Therefore, it should be noted that *The Black Bag* is a story criticizing the inequalities apparent in social life.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 45-46.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSCENDING THE IMPERIAL BORDERS WITH HALİT ZİYA AND KRİKOR ZOHRAB

The literary field develops in the process of history and is often shaped according to the relations of power in the world. The unifying system, called "world literature," creates a category by incorporating local literature works into its system. However, this category, although intended to be integrative and unifying, can produce an imbalance between cultures and literatures. In particular, factors such as different social and economic conditions, between cultures or political power balances, also affect relationships in the literary field. For this reason, the most fundamental dynamics of the World Literature system is that it is based primarily on central and peripheral relations between cultures, and on the other hand, it creates hierarchy by building categories among them. The other critical dynamic is the duality of this system. More specifically, the field of world literature can unite different cultures on one hand, whilst increasing the distance between them, on the other. It makes one dependent on the other. Moreover, it can prevent cultures and literatures from developing autonomously so that they can adapt to the center. It is then possible to approach the literary works evaluated globally with suspicion. In summary, the world literature system is not a stable term. On the contrary, it is a structure that has a hierarchical order and is dichotomous, built by the central authorities.

In this context, it is clear that the idea of world literature is based on the relationship of cross-cultural domination. However, the system still allows for cooperation between different cultures, flexibility at local borders and globalization.

It also contains traces of the changes experienced by the world at the turn of the century, which are movements that interact with literary channels. Taking this atmosphere into consideration, this chapter aims to look at the idea of a world literary system in different perspectives.

In this respect, Franco Moretti, David Damrosch, Walter Benjamin, and Pascale Casanova will be included in this discussion, allowing for an examination of the idea of world literature from various positions. Later, in Ottoman literature, the aims of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya to be involved in the world literature system, that is, the close relationship established by the French literature model especially during the literary production phase will be underlined. Thereafter, the methods of expanding the field of literature for writers will be discussed. On one hand, Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya use globalization to constitute a national and autonomous literature field. That is why, in Turkish and Armenian literature, the French model supports a modern form of literary works. Besides, it saves writers from traditional and ideological codes. As mentioned in the second chapter, making literature out of these codes allows Halit Ziya and Krikor to be referred to as founding figures. Therefore, I claim that Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab's relationship with the global literature field also influences the nationalization of Ottoman literature, which is a period of increasing nationalization in many areas.

On the other hand, writers start literary production at the international level by bringing the global to the local. This would position them in the world literature system as "glocal" writers, in the concept of David Damrosch. In the final part, the main issue of this chapter, including specific methods used by Halit Ziya and Krikor to position themselves in the global sphere, will be discussed.

Moreover, this part explores the ways in which literary production is applied, such as literary movements, genres, or preferred themes, and the impact of translation activities. Thus, I will try to position both Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya as the new Ottoman individual at the end of the century.

4.1. Approaches to World Literature: Between Hierarchy and *Cosmopolitanism*

Novelistic fictionality becomes a manifesto in its own right after the nineteenth century because the novel explores fiction. It is that everyday lives are narratives of actual people, not as representative as in the fable or fairy tale genre. On the other hand, this evolving genre allows its reader to comment and develops their ability to tell it apart from both fact and (this is the key) deception.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Catherine Gallagher, "The Rise of Fictionality", in *The Novel*, edit. Franco Moretti, Princeton 2006, 338.

In this context, fiction from the very beginning can be described as: “The species of literature which is concerned with the narration of imaginary events and the portraiture of imaginary characters; fictitious composition.”¹⁸⁷ Therefore, considering this definition together, how does the experience of end-of-century literary modernization transform fiction, and the novel begins to describe the experiences of actual people? In other words, how does novelistic fiction evolve with modernity? Searching for answers to these questions provides the opportunity to explore the changes that occurred in the field of world literature in the nineteenth century, as well as the chance to discuss the contribution of modernism to the literary genre.

“Early novels stressed their departure from plausible narratives (...) they emphasized not their realism but their fictionality (...) Modernity is fiction-friendly because it encourages disbelief, speculation, and credit. The early novel’s thematic emphases on gullibility, innocence deceived, rash promises extracted, and impetuous emotional and financial investments of all kinds point to the habit of mind it discourages: faith.”¹⁸⁸

More specifically, in modern fiction, heroes are involved in the narrative in every aspect. Their experiences cannot be predicted or interpreted by the reader. Thus, heroes have specific individualities. However, the actions of protagonists in early fiction can be estimated. Moreover, “...early fiction writers placed on their readers: asking them to take the reality of the story itself as a kind of suppositional speculation.”¹⁸⁹ However, unlike the early period, modern fiction needs to turn into texts that are not under the control of the reader or writer, to build an original and autonomous narrative. Otherwise, the narrative is not about the real experiences of actual people, but about the possibilities of their lives produced in the imaginary/ fantastic world.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 338.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 345-46.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 346.

In this context, modernity's most significant gift to fictionalism is, first, its contribution to the individualization of the fictional hero, and second, in the words of Bert and Russel, his/her transformation into a character person.¹⁹⁰ Indeed, "The character," writes Barthes disapprovingly, "became an individual, a 'person,' in short a fully constituted 'being,' even should he do nothing and of course even before acting. Characters stopped being subordinate to the action, embodied immediately psychological essences."¹⁹¹

As a result, in the nineteenth century, when literary modernization was taking place, the hero's transformation was a sign of the principles of fiction, especially the focus on realism, which were also changing.

Therefore it can be said that in this century, the novel has rediscovered fiction and interpreted it in a modern form. More importantly, the connection of fiction with realism and modernism makes it autonomous, freeing the authority of the writer or reader.

Samuel Johnson defines realism in fictional characters and its transformation through literary modernism as:

Unlike the personae of tragedy or legend, novelistic characters tended to be commoners, who would fall beneath the notice of history proper, and so they tended to carry little extratextual baggage. As we have noticed, they did carry the burden of the type, what Henry Fielding called the "species," which he thought was a turntable for aiming reference back at the reader; a fictional "he" or "she" should really be taken to mean "you."¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ The character is the person who experiences the existential crisis in the novel and gains his or her self by fighting as a result. In the article, in Nietzsche's words, the individualization of the persona takes place as follows: "Character [from Sophocles onward] must no longer be broadened so as to become a permanent type, but must be so finely individualized, by means of shading and nuances and the strict delineation of every trait, that the spectator ceases to be aware of myth at all and comes to focus on the amazing lifelikeness of the characters and the artist's power of imitation. Here, once again, we see the victory of the particular over the general." (349).

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 350.

¹⁹² Ibid., 351.

The most crucial point about the transformations in literary work is that the narrative is no longer a reflection of an imaginary narrative but of realistic representation. Thus, any reader can find a trace of actual life in fiction that has developed around the current of realism.

One of the main points in identifying the vision of Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab in their literature, is to describe human life in writing fiction and another is to make each individual understood. So much so that in the works produced by both authors, the actions of the protagonists are portrayed in a sophisticated way. Writers explain them beyond the visible reality, to the inside of the character, trying to make sense of their actions. In this context, the traces of modernization that appear in their works position them in a field that transcends the boundaries of Ottoman literature.

Transcending Ottoman literature, transitioning from the local to the global, is, therefore, among the remarkable features in the literature of both Zohrab and Uşaklıgil. How is this similarity between the two contemporaries interpreted? Is it possible to think of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil in a more global field than Ottoman literature? If we position both authors in a global space, how do we evaluate the characteristics of end-of-century literature along with the modernization process?

These similarities undoubtedly make writers think of discussing Ottoman literature with a more global system. Not only its similarities but also its differing aspects, bringing about an international perspective on the end-of-century literary modernization. On the other hand, I will try to think about the world literary system with Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya while looking at the discussions about world literature, its definitions, and the basic structure of the system in this chapter. Thus, the answers to whether literature is possible in the international arena will become apparent, and the return of Ottoman writers from locality to globality will be evaluated within this system.

There are many views about the field of world literature and the idea of the world system can be constructed according to different characteristics. For example, national literatures are defined as old-new, import-export or dominant- dominated by the authorities. There is no doubt that the objectivity of these criteria is discussed in the context of the unity of the system. Moreover, identifying any literature with such concepts in the international arena also ascribes a literary value.

This makes the system problematic because who or what determines literary value is likely to be chosen according to the power relations in the world. For this reason the world literature system, then, can unify all literature or, on the contrary, block autonomy and never classify them objectively. First, it should be considered that the world literature system is an area that covers all pieces of literature providing an opportunity to discuss the problematic parts of the definition. The world literature system can construct abstract models with distance to time and space. Thus, the system perceives all literature as teamwork. This method proposed by Franco Moretti and explains in *Graphs, Maps, Trees* (2005) as:

You reduce the text to few elements, and abstract them from the narrative flow, and construct a new, artificial object. A model. And at this point you start working at a “secondary level”, removed from the text [...]. Distant reading, I have called this work elsewhere; where distance is however not an obstacle, but a specific form of knowledge: fewer elements, hence a sharper sense of their overall interconnection.

Shapes, relations, structures. Patterns.¹⁹³

Likewise, David Damrosch has a parallel view with Moretti on the integration of the world literary system. That inclusion in the world literary system allows local literature to cross borders and create a world-centered culture. According to Damrosch, “The boundaries of literature were quite broad in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and though they contracted in the first half of the twentieth, they have steadily widened out again over the past several decades.”¹⁹⁴ Therefore the expansion of the field of literature makes globalization necessary towards the turn of the century. Damrosch in this context also states that reading world literature gives us the opportunity to expand our literary and cultural horizons far beyond the boundaries of our own culture (2009, p.46).

¹⁹³ Zoran Milutinović, “One Clearly Defined Phenomenon and a Unified Perspective: Is a History of World Literature Possible?”, Ljubljana, 31.1 (2008), 35.

¹⁹⁴ David Damrosch, *How to Read World Literature*, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2009, 7.

Moreover, he says that the world literature system destroys the hierarchy between local and global systems because this system allows us to read literary products together and comparatively.

However, the possibilities of finding standard features among different works of literature and analyzing them objectively can also be questioned. As I discussed earlier, there is no specific information about who the determinants of the world literature system are. It is possible that international relations in the world also affect the system. For example, the power of the French influence cannot solely be explained by literary production activities in late century literature. Economic, social, and political conditions also have a significant impact on the expanding field. Hence, while Damrosch and Moretti's proposal supports a more comprehensive definition of literature, on the other hand, the fact that this system is connected with power relations suggests the idea that authorities can choose the authors who enter a dialogue with each other.

On the other hand, Pascale Casanova argues that the system of world literature creates an imbalance between cultures and literature and asks the following questions: “Three questions. Is it possible to re-establish the lost bond between literature, history and the world, while still maintaining a full sense of the irreducible singularity of literary texts? Second, can literature itself be conceived as a world?” (2005, p.71). In fact, Casanova tries to draw attention to the inequalities that may occur in the system through these questions. In other words, the world literature system was a construction and belongs to the standards.

Thus, Casanova states that the establishment of the world literature system would result in standardizing literature, not integrity. Moreover, she argues that this system works for only cultural authorities and capital owners:

This literary space did not, of course, spring into being in its present configuration. It emerged as the product of a historical process, from which it grew progressively more autonomous (...) The mechanisms through which this literary universe functions are the exact opposite of what is ordinarily understood by ‘literary globalization’— better defined as a short-term boost to

publishers' profits in the most market-oriented and powerful centres through the marketing of products intended for rapid, 'de-nationalized' circulation.¹⁹⁵

This means that the world literature system prevents autonomy rather than expanding the field of local literature. Thus, while the system's subjects are in the dominant position, the others become the exploited part. Casanova names this distinction 'insiders' and 'outsiders' and states that one will undoubtedly dominate the another:

In an international structure of domination, the opposite is the case: the definitions of 'outside' and 'inside'—that is, the boundaries of the space—are themselves the focus

of struggles. It is these struggles that constitute the space, that unify it and drive its expansion. Within this structure, means and methods are permanently disputed: who can be declared a writer, who can make legitimate aesthetic judgements.¹⁹⁶

Although Damrosch defines standardization as a part of the global literature field, as Casanova emphasizes, it is not possible to position all literature equally without hierarchy in the literary order. This, in turn, overrides the unifying perspective. As a matter of fact, changes in the balance of power in the world are reflected in the literature as well, and as Casanova states, one accepts the authority of the other. Is there any other way to classify literature without hierarchy and relations of violence or domination? For example, some international writers struggle for their autonomy and constitute a literary field that distances themselves from ideologies, political and social concerns.

Furthermore, these authors can produce works in a form that appeals to both the local and global fields.¹⁹⁷ Then, there may be reconstruction for shared world literature with other ways of thinking.

Armenian and Turkish literature can be discussed at this point, firstly on the influence of the French model, and later on, the modernization developed with this influence. Besides, the literary sense

¹⁹⁵ Pascale Casanova, "Literature As a World", *New Left Review* 31, 2005, 73-74.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁹⁷ See Milutinović, 2008: 29.

of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya on the global field can also be evaluated through the French model. Moreover, these evaluations lead us to rethink the world literature system as a broad field because it is evident that both authors look at Western literature as a school. They reflect both local elements and developments in world literature, such as the current of realism.

However, the relationship between French literature and both writers is to bring the global to the home,¹⁹⁸ beyond recognizing it as a school. More clearly, Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya bring the French model home first, then constitute their national and autonomous boundaries through global. Unlike what Casanova points out, neither writer loses their national and independent literature with the French model. More importantly, they produce local works through this model. In this way, the world literature system becomes a way of nationalization. As a matter of fact, Zeynep Uysal supports the idea that the French model exemplified by *Servet-i Fünun* literature is an essential step towards constructing national literature.¹⁹⁹ Besides, she also states that Turkish authors view the French model as one of the primary sources of modernization.

Similarly, Krikor Zohrab harmonizes global literature with local culture and draws the boundaries of modern Armenian literature in the west. Therefore, the position of Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab in the literary field can be explained by another concept, which is one of Damrosch's suggestions, *glocalism*: “In literature, glocalism takes two primary forms:

Writers can treat local matters for a global audience – working outward from their particular location – or they can emphasize a movement from the outside world in, presenting their locality as a microcosm of global exchange.”²⁰⁰

Thus, writing in a global space increases the possibility that writers will engage in cross-cultural interaction and are likely to encounter each other.

¹⁹⁸ This phrase is used by David Damrosch to describe the relationship between global and local. For more information, 112.

¹⁹⁹ See Yuva, 2011: 22-23.

²⁰⁰ See Damrosch, 2009: 109

On the other hand, it enables them to nationalize as they go global. Moreover, a literary tradition that includes both local and global features can also increase its universality.

Considering the dynamics of world literature, which are hierarchy, inequality, or dependence, the question of how to position the texts produced by Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab is fundamental. Therefore, in the other part of this chapter, the relationship of writers with the center will be discussed around the conversations in the field of world literature. More importantly, the point of the relationship with the center was used by both Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab to create national literature and is the result of a separation from the multicultural structure of Ottoman literature.

Moreover, the decline of the traditional literary understanding of the empire is a result of the global conversation. The anxiety of influence also changed, and after globalization, the literature in the empire has modernized as it has nationalized.

Therefore it is necessary to consider the connection of writers to world literature together with a demand for modernization and autonomy rather than inclusion in the global sphere.

4.2. *Glocalism* and Inclusion in Ottoman Literature

Inclusion to world literature depends on many conditions, including a robust literary market, communication networks and translation activities. There is no doubt, the center shapes the changes in the literary field, and the periphery adapts to the centers standards. For example, practices such as literary currents are built by the center, while others try to keep up with the changes at the center. According to Casanova (2005), with modernism, the pace of change increases, and the center's boundaries begin to sharpen:

Modernity is, of course, an unstable entity: a locus of permanent struggle, a decree destined for more or less rapid obsolescence, and one of the principles of change at the heart of the world literary space. All those who aspire to modernity, or who struggle for monopoly control over its

attribution, are engaged in the constant classification and declassification of works—with texts apt to become former moderns or new classics. (p.76)

Then, the hierarchy between the center and the periphery increased with literary modernization. Now the center begins to decide what is modern or universal with expanding globalization. The language used in the field of literature is also of great importance and is included in the center. Therefore, local works of literature increase their translation activities in keeping up with the global sphere. Even according to Walter Benjamin, it is not possible to imagine world literature without translation because the literary products which circulate around the world inevitably passes through the translation.²⁰¹ This is how literary products spread around the world and are transferred from the center to the periphery.

Moreover, Marry McMurran argues that the migration of literary production and the translation activities in the literary field has both a national and cosmopolitan impact and continue as follows:

In the translations (...) the act of bringing a fictional text into a new language was also expressed in symbolic terms (...) *Frenchness* was just as much a name for worldliness and urban cosmopolitanism as it was for national character (...) Thus, the appearance of the nation in writing about the novel in the eighteenth century is not a significant marker of the cohesive, unified nation-states of the nineteenth century and their nationalisms.²⁰²

In other words, translation activities are a result of nations' cross-channel attention, *cosmopolitanism*. However, in addition to this, *transnationalism*²⁰³ is also constructed by the literary works transferred from one language to another.

²⁰¹ See more, Seren Üstündağ, “At The Intersection of The Center and Periphery: Kurdish Language in The Turkish Monolingual Sphere,” (Master Thesis, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2019), 76-78.

²⁰² Mary Helen McMurran, “National or Transnational? The Eighteenth-Century Novel”, in *The Literary Channel: The International Invention of the Novel*, New Jersey: Princeton, 2002, 63-64.

²⁰³ This phrase is used by the author in the same article and means that “the transnational culture of the channel zone differs from postmodern transnationalism not only in predating the nation-state and helping to shape its emergence but also by its position squarely at the center of national cultural formations, overdetermined and ambivalent as this position might be.” (13)

As detailed in the first chapter, Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab transcend their communities and take French literature as a role model. They follow works written in this field of French literature and engage in translation activities.

In fact, Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya imitate the French model and construct a new Ottoman writer identity. However, both authors are accused of not being local enough in their literary groups. In this context, it is evident that the authors took steps in the name of globalization or, in Damrosch's words, *glocalism*, and positioned themselves in the broader field other than Ottoman literature.

For example, Krikor Zohrab is described by the French writer, Sébastien Fumaroli as a writer belonging to the Levantine culture despite being Armenian, and again by him, his stories are evaluated in a universal line:

Armenian Krikor Zohrab (1861-1915) is one of the important persons in the tragic fate of this Levantine Golden Age. We explore a peaceful and cosmopolitan East, free from nationalist aspirations and ideological struggles, sweet, fond of pleasure, with its European dress and Muslim headscarf, where there is no awkwardness. Like Persian miniatures, these stories are constructed with pure empathetic emotions, in the same way, with the grace of a civilization created with the last smile.²⁰⁴

In this context, Krikor Zohrab not only follows French writers such as Zola, Maupassant, Daudet, but moreover, his literary works carry traces from the center.²⁰⁵ These traces also position Zohrab beyond his era as an Ottoman Armenian writer. Similarly, Halit Ziya interprets the French model uniquely and autonomously and builds his literary language through it. Thus, Halit Ziya replaces Turkish literature within its national borders and transforms it into a part of the world literature system.

It can be said that both authors firstly glocalized through the French model in this context. In this case, what are the other strategies of these authors in order to include themselves in the field of world literature?

²⁰⁴ See Nesim Ovadya İzrail, 30.

²⁰⁵ The relationship between the center and the environment is shaped according to the power relations of the century. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was clear that England and France had taken on a central role in the literary field, and the center that was meant here was French literature.

The answer is that the literary works of Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab show the influences of realism and naturalism. In this respect, similarities are also observed in their works in terms of themes. These correlations show the characteristics of late nineteenth-century literature as well as the strong relationship developed by writers with the center.

The authors' strategies can be discussed in this context, especially their relationship with the *decadence*. The *decadence* movement, which emerged in France in the mid-nineteenth century, is an intellectual current that left its mark on historiography, philosophy, poetry, drama, prose fiction and the visual arts throughout Western Europe and England.²⁰⁶ Moreover, this movement proposes destruction in all areas of art and the authors reject any contract in society. Thus, it is emphasized that the traditional norms that cause domination by individuals in society are invalid. The influence of *decadence* in the field of literature is realized by constructing narratives that override the social contract through protagonists.

On the other hand, this transformation is a sign of literary autonomy. First of all, *decadence* does not only reject the social contract, but there is also a negation of the writer's authority in the texts. The writer can no longer control the hero, idealize him/her, or prevent his/her actions. Thus, the hero becomes open to any experience in this autonomous area. In this context, considering the positions of Zohrab and Halit Ziya in their literary works, it is seen that both of them have left their author identity in the background.

The authors try to understand and describe the heroes as they are. Later, they illustrate the difficulties that heroes face in becoming individuals. Finally, they try to make sense of the heroes who continue or give up on this path.

It is precisely at this point that the authors address social injustices, marginalization, and polarization. Thus, they produce their works from a socialist realism perspective as well as the consequences of the *decadence* movement.

²⁰⁶ Laurence M. Porter, "Decadence and The fin-de-siècle Novel", in *The Cambridge Companion to the French Novel: From 1800 to the Present*, edit. by Timothy Unwin, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 93.

Laurence M. Porter (1997) cites the decadence's dominant metaphor as a rejection of social convention and the construction of a democratic, carnivalesque text, and continues as:

To characterise the novel of decadence and the fin de siècle in one word other than 'perverse', one might choose 'asocial' ('antisocial' suggests an abrasive contact with society which does not seem the major goal of decadent fiction). The implied authors maintain a great affective distance from their characters. In nearly all decadent novels, the point of view is surprisingly uniform: there are few open-ended debates (although one finds many didactic ones), and few episodic observers.²⁰⁷

Apart from that, literary decadence can show the morbid and macabre ones, crimes, immorality in the texts.²⁰⁸ Moreover, *decadence* describes individuals in the margin of society, oppressed or excluded, for example, children, women, or people belonging to the lower class, in the context of inequality in society. When the stories of Zohrab and Halit Ziya are taken into account, it is observed that they both describe individuals who were excluded or abused by society, as in the same decadence movement. More importantly, their texts include inner truth as well as the external reality of events.

For example, Halit Ziya has long discussed the forbidden love of Madam Bovay in *Hikâye*. Besides, he emphasizes the importance of the "why" question.

Likewise, Krikor Zohrab prefers to portray the life of a prostitute in every aspect, through *Magdalene*. It is clear, then, that both authors describe the excluded individuals in society without any judgment. In addition, writers belonging to the decadence include individuals with weak or personal discomfort, mentally ill ones in literary texts.²⁰⁹ In other words, the influence of genetic features is discussed, as well as the importance of external conditions in the actions of heroes. The reason is to destroy the idealized protagonist on the one hand and, on the other, show the conflicts faced throughout the story. Thus, the authority of the hero, like the rejection of each power, is also ignored in the texts.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 108.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 94.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 96.

This effect is reflected in the stories of Zohrab and Halit Ziya as follows:

Halit Ziya gives priority to the economic conditions, family environment or gender roles that affect the individual's experience in his stories. If the heroes have any mental illness, the influence of external conditions on them is always processed. The effect of the past is at the forefront, especially in narratives, based on women's mental crises. Indeed, in the story of *Daire-i İstintakta*, the traumatic events that the young woman experiences with her husband eventually quicken the destruction of this woman. Similarly, external conditions and inner truth are equally represented in Zohrab's stories. For example, in *The Black Bag*, Husep Ağa's tragic life story consists of many reasons. Aside from his family, friends, or community, the expectations from Husep Ağa as a man makes him hopeless.

Finally, literary texts that contemplate the position of women are another common topic used by decadent. As a matter of fact, the issue of femininity is not only a problem of the decadence current but also of a modernizing world order. Therefore, in decadent fiction, the attitudes of women towards male individuals are evaluated in-depth.

Their position is essential, not only to men but also to any authority in society. Women are often described in decadent texts as individuals who desire and act and are depicted as bestial and destructive.²¹⁰ This is because it shows the woman who can stand up to male power. On the other hand, it brings new interpretations of gender roles.

Considering the stories of Krikor Zohrab, male protagonists are observed to have relationships with powerful women and lead their lives under their control. For example, the author's passivity towards the woman he loves in the *Cogo* is, and the hero can never go beyond being a Cogo. Similarly, in decadent fiction, male individuals are inadequate in showing their desires and are managed by women. In other words, "Unlike men, she added, women are sensualists, not idealists in love. They are fundamentally envious and jealous, because they want to dominate."²¹¹

²¹⁰ Ibid., 97.

²¹¹ Ibid., 107.

Therefore, the standard female roles in society are first problematized in the fiction that has developed around the movement of the decadence. The authors do not see women as objects of society or any man and prefer to describe them as subjects on their own. Secondly, the view of male roles changes in fiction. In literary texts, weak men obey powerful women. In other words, the standard male identity is destroyed as well as the female identity. Weak and passive male individuals, in this context, become a method to reflect the new male identity. In this case, this partnership, which attracts attention both in the decadence and Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab, gives a clue to the literary understanding of the turn of the century.

To summarize, the works of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya reveal the social and cultural changes that took place at the turn of the century. Social injustice, gender roles and the desire for change in the face of traditional rules or religious principles, show that the authors are aware of the world's transformations.

On the other hand, translation activities in both Turkish and Armenian literature are another reflection of the desire to globalize. Therefore, the position that Zohrab and Halit Ziya stand in the global and local arena takes them beyond the boundaries of the empire as a modern Ottoman intellectual. Furthermore, their methods show that they synchronize both the global and local spheres. At the same time, having parallelism with the decadence current that emerged in a similar period also makes us think about the occurrence of the world literature system at a meta-theoretical level.

For example, David Darmrosch's practical proposal allows the possibility of looking at the system together with the differences and similarities as mentioned earlier, which are based on global scope:

“I take world literature to encompass all literary works that circulate beyond their culture of origin, either in translation or in their language (...) a work only has an *effective* life as world

literature whenever, and wherever, it is actively present within a literary system beyond that of the original culture.” (2008, p.143) ²¹²

Therefore it is possible to create a correlation by looking at the idea of world literature as an area beyond cultures. However, the relationship between the center and the periphery can prevent the field of independent and autonomous literature.

As such, the world literature system is still an issue that has led to criticism. When we think about the contact of Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab with world literature as an Ottoman writer, it is shown that the authors used this structure to construct modern and national literature.

Although the forms of domination seem to be an element preventing the establishment of national categories, Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya transform the current system. Moreover, linking Turkish and Armenian literature together and comparatively with the world system frees them from imperial borders and constitutes their national categories. Then, articulating them to the center presents the opportunity to analyze this system from a wider perspective. Thus, the developments that occurred at the end of the century, such as the modernization and secularization movement, are looked upon together with the central and peripheral literature.

Undoubtedly the nineteenth century is a period when globalization among countries is gaining momentum. Armenian and Turkish literature, therefore, aims to be a part of the world literature system and meets modern fiction as an imported genre. However, the world literature system must abandon the condition of including peripheral literature into the center, addressing the dynamics that will make the periphery visible, constructing a wide area that consists of the whole literary system, thereby avoiding being monolingual. Thus, literature can become autonomous following its purpose.

²¹² See more information about the globalization processes in literature: Suman Gupta, *Globalization and Literature*, UK: Polity Press.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis is to present an alternative perspective on the beginning and growth of literary modernization in the Ottoman Empire. When evaluating the literature within the empire, other nations living within the Ottoman borders, or rather, the multicultural structure of the empire, are ignored. However, it should be taken into consideration that the modernization process that started from the Tanzimat period in Turkish literature is similarly experienced in other communities, namely Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. Therefore, in this thesis, I aimed to look at our history of literature with another, differing attitude, by considering the modernization process of Ottoman literature together with Armenian literature. Turkish and Armenian literature during the experience of modernity after 1880, and the relationship with the French model is different from the previous generation. Both literary fields have been able to provide comparable products with world literature.

On the other hand, the French model also separates Turkish literature from traditional culture and builds an autonomous space. This thesis secondly focuses on the influence of French literature in the modernization of Armenian and Turkish literature and discusses the way authors use the French model in the stage of literary production. Later, I explain the period from the first encounters between Armenian and Turkish writers in the imperial field, until the spread of Armeno-Turkish as a literary language. There is no doubt that Armeno-Turkish creates a common field amongst writers and, more importantly, increases interaction among different groups in the nineteenth century. In this context, by asking the question "Who read in Armeno-Turkish in the empire?", I sought answers to both the compromises and conflicts during the period.

In other words, the nineteenth century was a period when nationalization began in many areas, and it also showed its influence in literature. The fact that the majority of the Ottomans used Turkish, this creates inequality among the literatures in the empire.

Moreover, Armenian, as a foreign language to a majority, deals only with the representation of minorities. For this reason, Armenian writers use this language that appeals to both Armenian and Turkish readers. Indeed, even though there are no visible borders between cultures, this language crisis in the literary field reveals the hierarchy within the *millet* system.

One of the biggest problems I faced during my research process was that while accessing many sources related to the modernization of Turkish literature, there were very few resources that included Armenian literature in Ottoman literary modernization. Furthermore, when evaluating the post-1880 period when modernization was gaining momentum, together with Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and Krikor Zohrab, I realized that the name of Krikor Zohrab as a modern Ottoman intellectual was not emphasized enough. Indeed, as I have mentioned before, when looking at the story of literary modernization, the multicultural and multilingual structure of the Ottoman Empire, is ignored. However, the nineteenth century was a period when the nation system began to collapse and different nations experienced similar modernization processes.

Therefore, on a comparative basis, I examine the trace of modernism in Ottoman literature with Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya in the second chapter. In the first part, a Turkish and Armenian writer, who lived in Istanbul during similar periods, is analyzed in terms of their literary understanding, more clearly related to French literature and their relationship with the current of realism as well as their experiences of modernization. Although these authors are not in communication with each other within the literary field, the problems or themes they mentioned, their commitment to the principle of determinism, and, more importantly, their tendency to create individuals from characters, are similar in their literary texts. These similarities between the two authors raise a question: Does the nation-state paradigm ignore the modernization process of the other literatures of the empire to homogenize Turkish literary history?

I want to suggest that Ottoman literature is a multicultural literary field where hybrid products are produced. Moreover, although Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil and Krikor Zohrab were not in direct contact with each other, they both lived at the nineteenth the century. It is evident that the French model, which exemplifies both, makes them a significant representative of realistic literature

. For this reason, this thesis tries to examine Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab as part of a whole, not as a separate one, during the period when literary modernization began to develop. On the other hand, both authors' modernization experiences make them a part of the global field. Thus, it can be said that Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya created *glocal* literature by bringing the global to the local.

Indeed, the last chapter offers another alternative perspective on Ottoman literature: The idea of the world literature system is discussed through the literatures of Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya, and the writers are positioned in the global sphere. Their close relationship with French literature is a result of their efforts to articulate world literature. Moreover, they also use other techniques that allow Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab to exist in an area beyond the boundaries of the empire. On the other hand, globalization with French literature also allows authors to constitute national categories. Apart from that, Halit Ziya and Krikor Zohrab are the first representatives to draw the author's authority back into Ottoman literature. In other words, they do not use ideological or common discourse in their literary texts and keep their identity in the background. This allows their literary products to become autonomous. As a result, the texts produced by both authors are in form to compete with the global field. After all, the nineteenth century is a period when literature was produced across borders, both globally and locally. Krikor Zohrab and Halit Ziya are also involved in this intercultural interaction as prominent figures of literary modernization. Thus, these two authors cross the borders of the empire and become actors representing this part of world literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Altuğ, F. (2014) “19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Edebiyatında İmparatorluk, Medeniyet, Yerlilik, Yabancılık ve Din”) in *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat*, İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Armstrong, N. (2005) *How Novels Think: The Limits of Individualism from 1719-1900*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Başlı, Ş. (2010) *Osmanlı Romanının İmkânları Üzerine: İlk Romanlarda Çok Katmanlı Anlatı Yapısı*, İstanbul: İletişim.

Bardakjian, K (2013) *Modern Ermeni Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Aras.

Berktaş, F. (2018) *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*, İstanbul: Metis.

Brooks, P. (2008) *Realist Vision*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Budak, Ali. (2014) *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi Gazetecilik ve Edebiyat*, İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat.

Cankara, M. (2015) “Rethinking Ottoman Cross-Cultural Encounters: Turks and the Armenian Alphabet”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 51:1, 1-16.

Casanova, P. (2005) “Literature As a World”, *New Left Review*, 31, 71- 90.

Charriere, E. E. (2016) “We Must Ourselves Write About Ourselves: The Trans-Communal Rise of the Novel in the Late Ottoman Empire,” Doctoral Thesis. The University of Michigan.

Crary, J. (2004) *Gözlemcinin Teknikleri: On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılda Görme ve Modernite*, İstanbul: Metis.

- Damrosch, D. (2009) *How to Read World Literature*, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
- Deveci, M. (2014) *Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil'in Öykülerinde Yapı ve İzlek*, Ankara: Akçağ.
- Etmekjian, J. (1964) *The French influence on The Western Armenian Renaissance, 1843-1915*, New York: Twayne Publishers.
- Finn, R. (2003) *Türk Romanı: İlk Dönem, 1972- 1900*, İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı.
- Foucault, M. (2014) *Özne ve İktidar: Seçme Yazılar 2*, İstanbul: Metis.
- Gallagher, C. (2006) “The Rise of Fictionality”, in *The Novel*, edit. Franco Moretti, New Jersey: Princeton.
- Gupta, S. (2008) *Globalization and Literature*, UK: Polity Press.
- Gündüz, U. (2018) *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Basın ve Modernleşme*, Ankara: İmge.
- Huyugüzel, Ö. F. (2010) *Edebiyatımızın Zirvesindekiler: Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil*, Ankara: Akçağ.
- İzrail, N. O. (2013) *1915, Bir ölüm Yolculuğu: Krikor Zohrab (26 Haziran 1861-19 Temmuz 1915)*. İstanbul: Pencere.
- Konuk, K. (2011) *Doğu Batı Mimesis: Auerbach Türkiye'de*, İstanbul: Metis.
- Kucera, P. “The Ideal of the West, the Reality of the East. Towards a New Poetics of Ottoman Modernization in the Novels of Edebiyatı-ı Cedide (1890s-1900s),” *Rubrica Contemporanea*, Vol. 6, No. 12, 19-41.
- McMurran, M. H. (2002) “National or Transnational? The Eighteenth-Century Novel”, in *The Literary Channel: The International Invention of the Novel*, New Jersey: Princeton.
- Mildanoğlu, Z. (2014) *Ermenice Süreli Yayınlar 1794-2000*, İstanbul: Aras.

Milutinović, Z. “One Clearly Defined Phenomenon and a Unified Perspective: Is a History of World Literature Possible?”, *Ljubljana*, 31:1, 25-41.

Parla, J. (2016) *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, İstanbul: İletişim.

Porter, L. M. (2006) “Decadence and the fin-de-siecle novel” in *The Cambridge Companion to The French Novel*, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Saltık, E. (2019) *Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil’in Hikâyelerinde Kadın Figürler*, İstanbul: Kriter.

Sancar, S. (2016) *Erkeklik: İmkânsız İktidar. Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*, İstanbul: Metis.

Schick, I. C. (2017) *Bedeni, Toplumu, Kâinatı Yazmak: İslâm, Cinsiyet ve Kültür Üzerine*, İstanbul: İletişim.

Somel, S. A. (2005) “Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi”, in *İmparatorluğun Çöküş Döneminde Osmanlı Ermenileri: Bilimsel Sorumluluk ve Demokrasi Sorunları*, İstanbul: Bilgi University Press.

Srents, S. (2012). *Ermeni Edebiyatı Numuneleri*, İstanbul: Aras.

Uslu, M. F. (2015a) “Osmanlı Türklerinin ve Ermenilerinin Edebiyatlarını Beraber Okumak: Çatışmalar ve Uzlaşılar,” in *Utanç ve Onur*, İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın.

Uslu, M. F. (2015b), *Çatışma ve Müzakere*, İstanbul: İletişim.

Uşaklıgil, H.Z. (2005) *İzmir Hikâyeleri*, İstanbul: Özgür.

Uşaklıgil, H.Z. (2005) *Bir Yazın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Özgür.

Uşaklıgil, H.Z. (2017a) *Hikâye*, İstanbul: Özgür.

Uşaklıgil, H.Z. (2017b) *Bir Hikâye-i Sevda*, İstanbul: İnkılâp.

Uşaklıgil, H.Z. (2017c) *Kırk Yıl*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Uysal, Z. (2014) *Metruk Ev: Halit Ziya Romanında Modern Osmanlı Bireyi*, İstanbul: İletişim.

Üstündağ, S. (2019) “At The Intersection of The Center and Periphery: Kurdish Language in The Turkish Monolingual Sphere,” Master Thesis. İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University.

Vartan Paşa. (1991) *Akabi Hikayesi*, İstanbul: Eren.

Yuva, G. M. (2011) *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Fransız Kaynakları*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.

Zohrab, K. (1983) *Voice of Conscience: The Stories of Krikor Zohrab*, trans. Jack Antreassian, New York: Vartan Press.

Zohrab, K. (2017) *Hayat Olduğu Gibi*, İstanbul: Aras.