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**NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF  
YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU AND AHMED ALI**

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## **ABSTRACT**

**NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF YAKUP KADRI  
KARAOŞMANOĞLU AND AHMED ALI**  
Ahmet Ramazan SALMAN

This dissertation compares and contrasts the nationalism in the novels of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Ahmed Ali with reference to their understanding of nationalism and aims at establishing the relation between nationalist ideology and corruption present in the novels of these writers. Being two modernist and famous literary figures of two Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire and British India that witnessed the establishment of nation-states in the twentieth century, for which they served as diplomats for many years, the works of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Ahmed Ali have strong influence on the construction of the cultural atmosphere in their societies, especially during and after the establishment of nation-states in what is now Turkey and Pakistan, respectively. While this study aims at explaining how these two writers position nationalism in their novels with specific references to their attachment to nationalist worldview, it also seeks to demarcate the differences in their understanding of nationalism by resorting to certain types of nationalism such as modernist nationalism and cultural nationalism, the existence of which is explained through their relations to the presence and absence of colonialist experience in general. Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali both knowing the state mechanism and being keen observers, interpreted nationalism according to what they believed as a true solution for the existence and development of their societies, thus accepting this solution as a moral choice as well. When the close relationship between literature and nation-states is considered, the construal of nationalism on a moral basis gives clues about not only the place of literature in the age of nation-states but also mirrors the attitude of the intelligentsia towards the idea of nationalism and people in general.

**Key Words:** Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Ahmed Ali, nationalism, corruption, modernist nationalism, cultural nationalism, ethnic/civic nationalism, Turkish nationalism.

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## KISA ÖZET

### YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU VE AHMED ALİ’NİN ROMANLARINDA MİLLİYETÇİLİK VE YOZLAŞMA Ahmet Ramazan SALMAN

Bu tez Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu ve Ahmed Ali’nin romanlarındaki milliyetçiliği iki yazarın milliyetçiliği yorumlayışı bakımından karşılaştırmakta ve eserlerinde var olan milliyetçilik ideolojisi ile yozlaşma arasında bir ilişki kurmayı amaçlamaktadır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve İngiliz Hindistan’ında iki Müslüman toplumda yetişmiş ünlü modern edebi figür olan ve kendilerinin de diplomat olarak hizmet ettikleri milli devletlerinin 20. Yüzyıl’da sırasıyla Türkiye ve Pakistan olarak ortaya çıkışlarına şahitlik eden Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu ve Ahmed Ali’nin eserleri, özellikle bu devletlerin kuruluşu ve kurulduktan sonraki süreçte, ülkelerindeki kültürel atmosferin oluşumunda da önemli bir rol üstlenmektedir. Bu çalışma bahsi geçen iki yazarın milliyetçilik görüşüne bağlılıkları açısından eserlerinde milliyetçiliği ele alışlarını ortaya koymayı hedeflerken, aynı zamanda mevcudiyetleri sömürge tecrübesinin yaşanıp yaşanmamasına bağlı olarak açıklanmaya çalışılan modernist milliyetçilik ve kültürel milliyetçilik gibi kavramlara başvurarak, Yakup Kadri ve Ahmed Ali’nin romanlarındaki milliyetçilik anlayışı arasındaki farklar da açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır. Yakup Kadri ve Ahmed Ali, hem dikkatli birer gözlemci hem de devlet işleyişini bilen diplomatlar olarak, milliyetçiliği toplumlarının varlığını ve gelişimini sağlayacak gerçek bir çözüm olarak yorumlamış ve bu çözümleri de ahlaki birer tercih olarak görmüşlerdir. Edebiyat ve milli devletler arasındaki yakın ilişki göz önüne alındığında, milliyetçiliğin ahlaki bir tercih olarak yorumlanması yalnızca milli devlet düzeninde edebiyatın yeri hakkında bir fikir vermekle kalmıyor, aynı zamanda aydınların gerek milliyetçiliğe gerekse insanlara yaklaşımı hakkında genel bir fikir sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Ahmed Ali, milliyetçilik, yozlaşma, modernist milliyetçilik, kültürel milliyetçilik, etnik/sivil milliyetçilik, Türk milliyetçiliği.

## LIST OF CONTENTS

|                                                                                                    |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| <b>APPROVAL PAGE .....</b>                                                                         | <b>ii</b>  |
| <b>AUTHOR DECLARATIONS .....</b>                                                                   | <b>iv</b>  |
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>                                                                              | <b>v</b>   |
| <b>KISA ÖZET .....</b>                                                                             | <b>vi</b>  |
| <b>LIST OF CONTENTS .....</b>                                                                      | <b>vii</b> |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....</b>                                                                       | <b>ix</b>  |
| <b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>                                                                           | <b>1</b>   |
| <b>CHAPTER I THEORIES OF NATIONALISM .....</b>                                                     | <b>8</b>   |
| 1.1 Primordialists.....                                                                            | 10         |
| 1.2 Modernists .....                                                                               | 11         |
| 1.3 Ethnosymbolists .....                                                                          | 17         |
| 1.4 Nationalism and Literature .....                                                               | 19         |
| 1.5 Nationalism and Corruption .....                                                               | 26         |
| <b>CHAPTER II NATIONALISM IN TURKEY .....</b>                                                      | <b>37</b>  |
| 2.1 Late Ottoman Period .....                                                                      | 37         |
| 2.1.2 Tanzimat period .....                                                                        | 40         |
| 2.1.2.1 Westernization of the elites .....                                                         | 42         |
| 2.1.3 The Young Ottomans.....                                                                      | 43         |
| 2.1.3.1 Minorities and Ottomanism as a new policy.....                                             | 44         |
| 2.1.4. The Hamidian era .....                                                                      | 45         |
| 2.2 Republic of Turkey and Kemalist Nationalism .....                                              | 50         |
| 2.2.1 Nationalism as a substitute for religion .....                                               | 61         |
| 2.2.2 Modernist Nationalism and Revolutionary Republicanism as two key<br>concepts .....           | 63         |
| <b>CHAPTER III NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF<br/>YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU .....</b> | <b>74</b>  |
| 3.1 Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's Life and Career .....                                              | 74         |

|                                                                                                                                             |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 3.2 <i>Kiralık Konak</i> and <i>Sodom ve Gomore</i> : İstanbul during the Armistice Period                                                  | 80  |
| 3.2.1 <i>Kiralık Konak</i> .....                                                                                                            | 80  |
| 3.2.2 <i>Sodom ve Gomore</i> .....                                                                                                          | 89  |
| 3.3 <i>Hüküm Gecesi</i> and <i>Bir Sürgün</i> : Condemnation of the Past and the Quest for a Futile Mission.....                            | 104 |
| 3.3.1 <i>Hüküm Gecesi</i> .....                                                                                                             | 104 |
| 3.3.2 <i>Bir Sürgün</i> .....                                                                                                               | 116 |
| 3.4 <i>Yaban</i> , <i>Ankara</i> and <i>Panorama</i> : Kadro Movement and the Problems in the Implementation of Modernist Nationalism ..... | 134 |
| 3.4.1 <i>Yaban</i> .....                                                                                                                    | 134 |
| 3.4.2 <i>Ankara</i> .....                                                                                                                   | 161 |
| 3.4.3 <i>Panorama</i> .....                                                                                                                 | 174 |
| <b>CHAPTER IV NATIONALISM AND MUSLIMS IN INDIA BEFORE 1947</b>                                                                              | 190 |
| 4.1 Muslims in India Before 1857 .....                                                                                                      | 190 |
| 4.1.1 The Great Mutiny or the War of Independence and its impacts on Muslim community .....                                                 | 191 |
| 4.2 Muslims of India until Independence .....                                                                                               | 195 |
| 4.2.1 The Khilafat movement .....                                                                                                           | 199 |
| 4.2.2 Between the Mughal past and an undefined future: Muslim community in India .....                                                      | 203 |
| <b>CHAPTER V NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF AHMED ALI</b> .....                                                                | 209 |
| 5.1 Ahmed Ali's Life and Career .....                                                                                                       | 209 |
| 5.2 Ahmed Ali and Indian Writing in English .....                                                                                           | 211 |
| 5.3 <i>Twilight in Delhi: A Land of Poetry Once upon a Time</i> .....                                                                       | 213 |
| 5.3.1 The social and political background .....                                                                                             | 222 |
| 5.3.2 Nationalism in <i>Twilight in Delhi</i> .....                                                                                         | 236 |
| 5.3.2.1 Islamic arts as moral signifiers.....                                                                                               | 253 |
| 5.3.2.2 History.....                                                                                                                        | 264 |
| 5.3.3 <i>Twilight in Delhi</i> and corruption .....                                                                                         | 269 |
| 5.4 <i>Ocean of Night: The Last Paintings of a Tradition</i> .....                                                                          | 291 |
| 5.5 <i>Of Rats and Diplomats: Dreams Come to Nothing</i> .....                                                                              | 305 |

|                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
| <b>CONCLUSION.....</b>    | <b>312</b> |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b> | <b>318</b> |





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## INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on the works of two significant writers of two Muslim countries, Turkey and Pakistan, which have different histories but close relationships and sentimental affinities. Nationalism was among the most prominent political and ideological movements in the twentieth century, which transformed empires and former colonies into nation-states. In this new formation of the world map, traditional understanding of the old world witnessed a dramatic change. Along with the political transformation that resulted in nation-states throughout the world, which epitomized the twentieth century, the world came across with a new phenomenon of modernity, being a great issue of controversy especially among the members of the non-Western world. The perception of modernity and the Western influence by the authors is a popular issue in tumultuous periods of Turkish history. Yakup Kadri, being one of the outstanding representatives of nationalism in Turkish literature, has been studied with a special focus on his commitment to modernity.<sup>1</sup> Being among the Kemalist cadre around Atatürk and a representative of nationalism in literature, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (1889- 1974) appears as a strong literary figure that represents the modernist transformation in Turkish literature and secular nationalist elite as well.

On the other hand, Ahmed Ali (1910- 1994), one of the most important cultural figures from the 1930s to the 80s, is the pioneer of English writing in Pakistan. With his realism, he stands as the monument of Anglo-Indian novel in India as well. Being a Muslim thinker open to the West, Ali became one of the members of Progressive Writers' Movement, a realist and socially-conscious literary movement, which took the lead in social realist writing in India in the 1930s. Ali wrote three novels, each published with twenty-year intervals. In his novels, the ambivalence created by modernity is placed against a great nostalgia for the good times gone by. A sense of

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<sup>1</sup> Westernism, *batıcılık*, was always important in all phases of Yakup Kadri's life. See Birsen Talay, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu" in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, Vol 2, ed. Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 436.

nationalism unfolds itself in his novels, the first two of which take their plot from his earlier plays and short stories written in the 1930s, the impassioned years of Indian nationalism. Some of his short stories also share the same realistic mode of writing that cannot distance itself from the present problems of Muslim community in India.

The focus of this study is the relationship between nationalism and corruption in the works of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Ahmed Ali, based upon the suggestion that the obvious corruption expressed in their works are the direct result of the assumed lack of commitment to nationalism and the impossibility of the realization of nationalist promises and that such corruption should not be considered merely as the confusion caused by modernity. Both writers witnessed the period that resulted in formation of nation-states in their countries and in accordance with their own understanding of responsibility, they not only contributed to the nation-building process as culture-makers but also reflected their own views in their works that include the vivid pictures of their time.<sup>2</sup>

Nationalism has been a seminal academic subject for the last thirty years. After influencing the world deeply in the nineteenth century, nationalism gained even greater ascendancy in the twentieth century, especially with the advent of anti-colonial movements.<sup>3</sup> As Baskın Oran noted, in developing countries like Turkey, nationalism has been one of the most significant concepts affecting foreign and domestic politics. In the case of Turkey, although the society can be divided into certain camps such as rightist, leftist, Kemalist, and Islamist, nationalism has been among the most encompassing concepts, uniting all these camps under certain norms, albeit from different aspects in the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

Despite its ubiquity, due to its global aspect and interaction with various social and political factors, a clear-cut comprehensive definition of “nationalism” seems

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<sup>2</sup> Both writers are the defenders of modern life and themselves are known as iconoclasts in their own countries. However, it is interesting that Yakup Kadri, who was a spokesperson of Kemalist policies in press that defended a Western lifestyle, is believed to have anti-Western sentiments in his novels. Similarly, Ahmed Ali, who had a modern-Westernized lifestyle, is known by his translation of Quran and the nostalgic sentiments in *Twilight*, which are thought to evoke a traditional yearning for the deceased Mughal Empire, an elegy for the lost sovereignty and the traditional values. (See “Ahmed Ali”, Tariq Rahman, accessed March 31, 2016, <http://www.tariqrahman.net/olddocs/literatur/AHMED%20ALI.htm>.)

<sup>3</sup> Baskın Oran, *Az Gelişmiş Ülke Milliyetçiliği: Kara Afrika Modeli* (Ankara: Utku Basımevi, 1980), 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

problematic.<sup>5</sup> The relation between literature and nationalism and the impact of political order on works of cultural outputs as well as the legacy of cultural works shaping the politics in turn is a contentious area, which still necessitates further studies. In this context, the perspective of literature is not only beneficial but also necessary in bridging the gap between reductionist theories and particularistic approaches, and is also essential in enhancing our understanding of social events.

A comparative analysis of literary works written by two modernist authors from two different Muslim countries and the exploration of the relationship between nationalism and literature could open up new perspectives and provide an opportunity for contribution to the endeavor of comparative studies to surpass totalizing approaches towards social transformations of the non-western countries. A deeper look into two Muslim communities' rendition of the heritage of the same civilization tested by the experience of life and death struggle against the Western powers and the inevitable dominion of colonialism, which itself can constitute the main reason for a potential difference, could provide a chance to develop a better understanding of the impacts of colonialism as well as the problems of post-colonial societies at present.

Turkey and Muslims of South Asia have many aspects in common. First of all, governed by dynasties of Turkic origin during and after the Middle Ages, these societies share similar imperial heritages. As Stephen Dale points out, the three Muslim empires of Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal shared certain similar characteristics such as governing a territory full of religious distinctions and political fragmentations, the impact of Iranian administrative culture and Greek philosophy, and Turco-Mongol military dominance.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, Douglas Streusand, pointing to the resemblances of the three empires, calls them "Islamic gunpowder empires." The Ottoman and Mughal Empires, share some basic characteristics such as centralized governments, victories brought by almost similar army structures, articulation of sovereignty on the imperial level, sharia-based ideologies, and

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion on this problem, see *Ibid.*, 7-19.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 10.

endeavors to communicate their sovereignty through architecture, rituals, rhetoric and literature.<sup>7</sup>

From certain perspectives, the Ottoman and Mughal Empires, though ruling in completely different geographies, were the followers of an imperial system modelled primarily on the Abbasid caliphate.<sup>8</sup> When considered from the perspective of world history, the decline in the power of the Ottoman and Mughal Empires resulted in the adaptation to the Western state system and collapse of these empires respectively.<sup>9</sup> Though inheriting similar socio-political background, the political and social transformations these two societies went through and the reflexes developed by the elites, especially during the passage from political uncertainty towards a nation state during the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, deserve careful scrutiny.

Another similar aspect between the Ottoman and Mughal societies can be observed in the transformation of the old empires into secular nation states as a result of the struggles against the imperial forces and non-Muslim population. Both Muslim communities were regarded as constitutives of the “dominant element” in their multi-national and religious social order. However, with respect to population, while the Turks constituted the majority, South Asian Muslims were minority in their territory. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe the same fear of losing the dominant position in the society forever. Although there is a period of approximately twenty-five years between their national independence (Turkey 1923 and Pakistan 1947), both Muslim societies gave rise to secular states with two secularist leaders, namely Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Muhammed Ali Jinnah, which may denote to the adoption of a similar modernist assumption in their accession to the world of nation-states.

For many centuries, Turkish empires and dynasties had great influence on the spread of Islam and on governments of India until the domination of the English forces.<sup>10</sup> Loyalty to Islamic values and the Khilafat movement in India is another shared aspect of these the two societies.<sup>11</sup> As both Ahmed Ali and M. A. Aziz state in their

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<sup>7</sup> Douglas E. Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011), 291-296.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 297.

<sup>10</sup> M. A. Aziz. *A History of Pakistan* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979) 18-27.

<sup>11</sup> For Mim Kemal Öke, Islam and loyalty to Islamic values and the Khilafat movement are two

works, Islam has a very significant role in Pakistani culture and history.<sup>12</sup> Also, both societies belong to a similar literary tradition, classical poetry, which was a gift of Iranian culture to the Muslim empires in the Middle East and Central Asia.<sup>13</sup> Pakistani language Urdu is a derivation of a Turkish word *ordu* (army), which is a strong evidence to show the relation between two cultures.<sup>14</sup> Also Khilafat movement which started in late nineteenth century and continued until the abolition of caliphate by Atatürk in 1924 was a very strong and effective political movement in India that bound two societies stronger to each other.<sup>15</sup> The arduous and enthusiastic support from the Muslims of South Asia to the Ottoman Empire and Turkey in its most turbulent years as well as the symbolic importance of Ottoman leadership to the South Asian Muslims still continues its constructive effects on the cultural and political basis in the twenty-first century. In addition, although hampered by the abolition of the caliphate, the impact of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's victory over Great Britain maintained its significance for the Muslims of South Asia albeit controversial.<sup>16</sup>

As a political and social movement, nationalism is supposed to bear a worldview of its own, which designates a social order in accordance with its own understanding. Certain characteristics are included in this view, sometimes even a totalizing attitude that demands a full concord with its fundamental prerequisites. The spiritual and material corruption encountered in the works of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali cannot be merely the result of changing lifestyles and the Western influence, but the result of lack of commitment to nationalism, which manifests itself as the primary ideology, connected to the main themes and the problematic of the novels of these two writers.

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common aspects that link the fates of the two societies. Öke believes that the emergence of the Khilafat movement was the result of Abdulhamid the Second's pan-Islamist policies and opened up a convergence between the two societies, especially in their struggle against the British. Mim Kemal Öke, *Hilafet Hareketleri* (İstanbul: İrfan Yayıncılık, 2005), 12-13.

<sup>12</sup> M. A. Aziz, *A History*, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Ahmed Ali, *The Golden Tradition: An Anthology of Urdu Poetry* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5-6.

<sup>14</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu states that "[t]he evolution of Anatolian Turkish under Seljuq and Ottoman rule resembled the transformation of Urdu from a North Indian dialect to an imperial language during the Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Empire under the influence of Persian, Arabic, and, to a lesser degree Turkish." Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 33.

<sup>15</sup> Aziz, *A History*, 127.

<sup>16</sup> See İskender Gökarp and François Gourgeon, *Kemalizm ve İslam Dünyası*, trans. Cüneyt Akalın (İstanbul: Arba Araştırma Basım Yayın, 1990), 33-34.

The relation between nationalist ideology and the apparent spiritual and material corruption and deterioration in these novels will be considered in their historical context and within the framework of certain postulations of nationalist ideology. On one hand, fundamental ideas defended by nationalist ideology, given by Anthony D. Smith will be mentioned. Because of his place in *Kadro* Movement and his special attachment to Kemalism, nationalism in the novels of Yakup Kadri will be considered within its relation with “modernist nationalism,” which aims at explaining the attitudes of non-Western societies toward nationalism in a broader perspective. As for Ahmed Ali, his idiosyncratic realism and attachment to the cultural values of Mughal past and *ashraf* classes will be explained within the realm of nationalist ideology, which is supported by his anti-colonialist feelings apparent in his novels.

A comparative analysis of two modernist writers from two non-western countries would not only provide an alternative perspective by moving out of the Euro-centric literary realm but also aim at going beyond national boundaries and canons, which are mostly analyzed within a specific social and cultural context. As a work of comparative literature, this study seeks “to adjust to multiple frames of reference and to attend to relations rather than givens.”<sup>17</sup> The interdisciplinary approach that brings a multifaceted understanding of certain assumptions created in national environments is not only a way to supersede “isolationism and nationalist arrogance,” a role ascribed by Goethe to *Welt literature* to achieve, but also can be a “congenially contrarian”<sup>18</sup> method to bring down certain assumptions of a world dominated by Western-centered perspectives.

In the final analysis, the aim of this study is to compare and contrast the approaches of the two writers to their own societies which are shaped under the influence of nationalism and to explain the underlying reason for the obvious corruption in their novels, which comes out as the result of the incompatibility of the society with nationalism in the minds of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali.

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<sup>17</sup> Haun Saussy, “Exquisite Cadavers Stitched from Fresh Nightmares: Of Memes, Hives and Selfish Genes,” in *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, ed. Haun Saussy. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 34.

<sup>18</sup> Linda Hutcheon, “Comparative Literature: Congenitally Contrarian,” in *Comparative Literature in an Age of Globalization*, ed. Haun Saussy. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 226.

This study begins with a general summary of theories of nationalism and is followed by an outline of modernist nationalism, which provides a framework for the comparison of the understanding of nationalism of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali. Also Chapter 1 addresses the relationship between nationalism and literature and corruption, tracing the potential relation between these terms. In Chapter 2, a brief summary of nationalism in Turkey from the beginning of modernization process started in the last century of Ottoman Empire will be given. Chapter 3 includes the analysis of nine out of eleven novels of Yakup Kadri with respect to nationalism as an ideology. In this chapter, the relationship between nationalism and spiritual and material corruption present in these novels will be shown. Chapter 4 focuses on nationalism in South Asia before the Independence, from the perspective of South Asian Muslims. In Chapter 5, nationalism in Ahmed Ali's novels and the connection between nationalism and corruption will be analyzed. The conclusion includes the comparison of nationalism in the works of these two writers and explains the similarities and differences in their perceptions of nationalism and their connection with the corruption evident in their novels.



## CHAPTER I

### THEORIES OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism has been a subject of inquiry especially for the last three decades. Many books and articles have been written on the subject, but mostly due to its controversial and universal nature, nationalism continues to be a center of attention in academic studies and debates. Academic studies on nationalism started with the effort of some seminal historians in the first half of the twentieth century. *Essays on Nationalism* by Carlton Hayes (1926),<sup>19</sup> and *The Idea of Nationalism* by Hans Kohn (1944)<sup>20</sup> paved the way for later studies, which appeared some twenty years later. Karl Deutsch's *Nationalism and Social Communication* (1966)<sup>21</sup> and Elie Kedourie's (1960) *Nationalism*<sup>22</sup> were the two leading works that were the harbingers of successive studies on nationalism which came out during 1980s. John Breuilly's *Nationalism and the State* (1982),<sup>23</sup> Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983),<sup>24</sup> Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (1983),<sup>25</sup> Eric Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1990)<sup>26</sup> are considered to be the most prominent works written on nationalism. Anthony D. Smith, who wrote *Theories of Nationalism* in 1971,<sup>27</sup> contributed to the area with many other books, the first and maybe the most important of which is *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986).<sup>28</sup> The number and scope of studies on nationalism continues to grow; however, while the first group of works aimed at explaining nationalism in general, later works focus on elaborating and criticizing the general theories propounded by

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<sup>19</sup> Carlton J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926).

<sup>20</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944).

<sup>21</sup> Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1966).

<sup>22</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960).

<sup>23</sup> John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

<sup>24</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

<sup>25</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

<sup>26</sup> Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>27</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Duckworth, 1983).

<sup>28</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986).

the thinkers above. In his book *Theories of Nationalism* (2010), Umut Özkırımlı identifies four stages in the study of nationalism: First stage includes the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which the idea and development of nationalism took place; the second is between 1918 and 1945, during which nationalism appeared as a subject and interest of academic study. Third stage, which covers the years between 1945 and 1989, saw the proliferation and intensification of theoretical debates on nationalism, with the contribution of several other disciplines. The fourth stage started in 1989 and still continues and in this last phase the studies endeavor to move beyond classical debates on nationalism.<sup>29</sup>

Although many comprehensive theories have been developed to explain nationalism, a consensus has not been reached so far.<sup>30</sup> In this field, the main debate continues among three camps: primordialists, modernists and ethno-symbolists.

Primordialists argue that the present is determined by the past and that as a natural part of humanity, nations have existed since time immemorial. The modernist camp claims that it is the present that exploits the past; having emerged as a direct or indirect consequence of a variety of processes related to modernization, nations resort to the past in order to “validate their existence in the present and project themselves into future”. Finally, for the ethnosymbolists, the present is constrained by the past and modern nations exist through outgrowing from pre-existing ethnic communities, which appear as “a resilient feature of the social and political landscape as they respond to real human needs.”<sup>31</sup>

Due to the need for a brief explanation of the leading theories on nationalism, the main theories and approaches is explained briefly below by focusing on some of the leading works of the prominent thinkers and the differences between these approaches are further elaborated.

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<sup>29</sup> Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 4. Also see, N. Mouzelis, “Ernest Gellner’s Theory of Nationalism: Some Definitional and Methodological Issues,” in *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. J.A. Hall et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 158-165.

<sup>31</sup> Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 35.

## 1.1 Primordialists

Primordialism represents the first of the three main camps in theories of nationalism.<sup>32</sup> “[It] is an umbrella term used to describe the belief that nationality is a natural part of human beings, as natural as speech, sight or smell, and that nations have existed from time immemorial.”<sup>33</sup> In fact, there is no absolute agreement with regard to the classification of the theories of nationalism. Some authors discriminate primordialism from perennialism but in this study Umut Özkırımlı’s classification in his book *Theories of Nationalism* (2010) is our main source of reference. Both of these approaches reflect the nationalist view.<sup>34</sup> Many nationalist theories feel the need to refer to their centuries-old histories, if not antiquity, to prove their existence.<sup>35</sup>

Broadly speaking, although primordialism has lost its validity in academia now, it does still represent the common view of the supporters of nationalism; that is, it can be encountered in media or daily life more often. Smith, in his book *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, points out to this fact by stressing the taken-for-granted nature of the nationalist claims in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>36</sup>

Smith shows Edward Shils as the first source of inspiration for the primordialists. As quoted in Özkırımlı, Shiles, in his famous essay “Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties”, argues that: “[t]he attachment family members feel for each other stems from ‘significant relational’ qualities which can only be described as ‘primordial’. It is not just a function of interaction; ‘it is because a certain ineffable significance is

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<sup>32</sup> Although these three camps include primordialists, ethno-symbolists and modernists, many scholars prefer to classify them under two titles: primordialists and modernists. See Erika Harris, *Nationalism: Theories and Cases* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

<sup>33</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 49.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>35</sup> This fact is essential in our understanding of not only Turkish nationalism or Kemalism but also nationalist movements in India and Pakistan. Atatürk’s references to earlier Turkish history, which had been mostly overlooked until 1930s, claimed the inherent and authentic condition of the Turkish nation, which, in fact can be construed as an overreaction to the exclusionist policies of the Western public opinion and biased attitude of the orientalist studies towards Turkey especially after the Balkan events in 1870s and their mapping Turkey among the lands of uncivilized people. See Bedri Gencer, *İslam’da Modernleşme, 1839-1939* (Ankara: Lotus Yayınları, 2008), 285. Also a similar effort can be seen during and after the foundation of Pakistan, which bears the examples of history books written to justify the antiquity of the civilization in that era which automatically places Pakistan and the people living in this geography in the league of the civilized people. In the very opening of the book, Aziz stresses the antiquity of the civilization in Indus valley in contrast to the novelty of Pakistan, which “has been carved out of the British India in 1947.” M.A. Aziz, *A History of Pakistan: Past and Present* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979), 7-15.

<sup>36</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 7.

attributed to the tie of blood'.<sup>37</sup> Özkırımlı states that he considers perennialists as a milder form of primordialists.<sup>38</sup>

The significance of primordialist approaches lie in their association with nationalist claims and therefore they are very important in understanding other theories and approaches as well as the nationalist claims, which constitute the basis of some aspects of the nationalism of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali.

The criticism levelled at primordialist approaches can be categorized under three titles. First one is the tendency in primordialist approaches to consider ethnic and national identities as natural and their belief in the transmission of certain unchanged characteristics from one generation to another. Second criticism purports that if ethnic and national attachments are accepted as givens, then primordialist views are ineffable and unanalyzable, thus unscientific.<sup>39</sup> Third criticism, which also includes the strong modernist criticism towards primordialism, argues that the emergence of nations is not an old, fixed phenomenon, but on the contrary, a new and modern one, which took place as a result of a long process.<sup>40</sup>

## 1.2 Modernists

Modernist theories explain the novelty of nationalism relating it to the emergence of modern society. Chronologically, the emergence of modernist theories follows primordialism.<sup>41</sup> Though the major books that represent the modernist arguments were written between the end of 1970s and mid-80s, their dominance in academia had their heydays in the 1960s and the 70s.<sup>42</sup>

Smith, in his book *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*, gives the main modernist arguments: First, nationalism as an ideology and a movement is both recent and novel. Secondly, nations, too, are recent and novel and thirdly both are the products of “modernization,” the global movement of societies to the state of

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<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-62.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 65-67.

<sup>41</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach* (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 6.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

“modernity.”<sup>43</sup> Although most of the modernist thinkers build their arguments upon different perspectives, they share these common three modernist views.

There are three groups of modernist claims, categorized according to the key factors they defend. While the first group mentions political transformation, the second group puts emphasis on economic transformation and the last group prioritizes social transformation in explaining the concept of nationalism.<sup>44</sup> Three main aspects of modernism can be briefly articulated by referring to some of the main works of leading writers of the modernist camp:

The first representative of the modernists is Elie Kedourie, who emphasizes the impact of elites and intellectuals on the emergence of nationalism as a political ideology. Elie Kedourie’s seminal work *Nationalism* first appeared in 1960. This book is considered to be among the most important books written by modernists.<sup>45</sup> Kedourie, who does not like the idea of nationalism at all, traces the origins of nationalism by going through the texts of Kant and German romantic thought and sees nationalist awakening as the continuation of Kantian thought, which rests on the idea of personal autonomy. He considers nationalism as an invention of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, developed for a new political system. For Kedourie, nationalism “pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states.”<sup>46</sup>

Kedourie claims that it was not only the French Revolution that caused the emergence of nationalism, but also the revolution “in the realm of ideas”<sup>47</sup> and supposes that it was the ideal of “self-determination” that paved the way for the creation of nationalism.

Political transformation that emerged after the French Revolution is an important fact in explaining the spread of nationalism. Kedourie explains the expansion of nationalism by stressing the ideology behind the Napoleonic Wars and claims that

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 72.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>46</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960), 9.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

although Napoleon was restrained by other big powers, his ideas continued to grow.<sup>48</sup> Political habits changed and apparently “these movements are ostensibly directed against the foreigner, the outsider, but they are also manifestations of civil strife between the generations.”<sup>49</sup>

Apart from rejecting nationalism as a natural fact, Kedourie is not very optimistic about the emergence of nation-states and is highly critical of nationalism. He argues that many nationalist movements which started their life in the name of liberty became a source of suppression.<sup>50</sup> However, what actually makes him a modernist is his belief in the novelty of nationalist thought and his rejection of the claims that date the formation of nations before the eighteenth century. Therefore, he does not consider nationalism as a natural fact, but rather claims that the idea of nations and nationalism itself is a new and European phenomenon, which affected the whole world.<sup>51</sup>

Another significant representative of the modernist camp is Ernest Gellner. He explains the rise of nationalism as a consequence of industrialization and modernity. Gellner’s theory is generally considered to be one of the most important attempts to explain nationalism.<sup>52</sup> He is a modernist since he tries to show the parallelism between the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of nationalism.

In explaining his theory, Gellner divides human history into three stages: hunter-gatherer, agrarian and industrial.<sup>53</sup> He argues that both the culture and social structure of our societies changed as a result of the emergence of the Industrial Revolution and nationalism is the concomitant of these developments.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-101.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 108-109.

<sup>51</sup> Gellner opposes to the view supposed by primordialists that nations have existed from the time immemorial. Accordingly, he opposes to those who concur the nascent nationalism in the modern world as awakening of nations. “It is in reality a new form of organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state. It uses some of the preexistent cultures, generally transforming them in the process, but it cannot possibly use them all.” Sometimes nationalism even creates and completely alters the old cultures; therefore, it would be a stark mistake to take nations for granted as entities cast in a stone. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 48-49.

<sup>52</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 98.

<sup>53</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 110.

<sup>54</sup> “Culture plays a more active role in industrial societies which are characterized by high levels of social mobility, and in which roles are no longer ascribed.” Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 100.

While explaining the structure of the agrarian society, Gellner states that in the past, none of the governors had a special policy of culture except for the clerisy.<sup>55</sup> In the agrarian society, it was impossible to impose a unified single culture on people.<sup>56</sup> When compared to modern society, which is more unitary, each of the old worlds is defined as “cosmos.”<sup>57</sup> Nationalism meant the universalization of this clerisy, which also meant for each person to become a Mamluk.<sup>58</sup> Gellner coins the term “high culture”<sup>59</sup> in order to explain this process that took place in the industrial society.<sup>60</sup>

According to Gellner, “[t]he conception of the world as homogenous, subject to systematic, indiscriminate laws, and as open to interminable exploration offered endless possibilities of new combinations of means with no firm prior expectations and limits”<sup>61</sup> is the definition of the new world, which came out after the Industrial Revolution. The idea of perpetual growth made everything changeable and mobilized due to a certain kind of division of labor on which “nationalism is rooted.” This new mobility created a certain kind of egalitarian society.<sup>62</sup>

In modern society, the common prerequisite of such a unified society is education. Gellner claims that in this age compulsory education is essential and compares it to a common unspecialized and standard training like that of an army.<sup>63</sup> For Gellner, in the industrial society, “a man’s education is by far his most precious investment”<sup>64</sup> and communication becomes pivotal day by day. Although he accepts the possible inequality during the transition of the society in its early stages, social entropy and equality are subsequent results of nationalism.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>58</sup> While explaining the categories in the agrarian society, Gellner mentions the gelded people (like Mamluks or Janissaries) who are used by the state to break the “kin link by depriving the budding warrior /bureaucrat/clerisy of ancestry or of posterity or of both.” Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 15.

<sup>59</sup> “Generally speaking, nationalist ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture, it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society.” *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-25.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 73. Gellner identifies nationalism within the conditions of today. He clearly discriminates the boundary between nationalism and ideology: “Nationalism as a phenomenon, not as a doctrine

Being a modernist, Gellner opposes primordialist claims by emphasizing conditions upon which nationalism was built and says: “[nationalism] preaches continuity, but owes everything to a decisive and unutterably profound break in human history. It preaches and defends cultural diversity, when in fact it imposes homogeneity both inside and, to a lesser degree, between political units.”<sup>66</sup>

Another seminal representative of modernists, Benedict Anderson, construes nationalism as a socially constructed (imagined) phenomenon. In his book *Imagined Communities*, which first appeared in 1983, Benedict Anderson discusses the advent of nationalism with a similar attitude to that of social constructivist theory, which became very prominent in postmodern criticism. The book actually seeks to deconstruct the classical European view that shows nationalism originally as a European artifact (production) and tries to figure out the reasons that created nationalism. Three factors constitute the cultural origins of nationalism: “a change in the conception of time, the decline of religious communities and of dynastic realms.”<sup>67</sup>

Anderson explains the basis of his opinion as follows: “My point of departure is that nationality [...] nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind.”<sup>68</sup> Nations are imagined because, according to Anderson, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communication.”<sup>69</sup> He dwells on three different aspects of imagination of the nation: nations are imagined as limited (not universal), sovereign and as a community.<sup>70</sup> For Anderson, nationalism should not be understood from only a political perspective, “but with large cultural systems that preceded it.”<sup>71</sup>

One of the most striking details of Anderson’s thesis is his stress on the change in the “apprehensions of time.”<sup>72</sup> Borrowing from Walter Benjamin’s definitions, Anderson

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presented by nationalists, is inherent in a certain set of social conditions; and those conditions, it so happens are the conditions of our time.” *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 110.

<sup>68</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.



claims that our conception of time went through an important change from the Middle Ages. The idea of “simultaneity along time” was replaced with the concept of “homogenous-empty time in which simultaneity is, as it were, traverse, cross-time, marked not by prefiguring and fulfillment, but by temporal coincidence, and measured by clock and calendar.” Thus, appearance of the novel and calendar has a significant role in the imagining of nation.<sup>73</sup> These inventions played a transformative role in the minds of people: old ceremonies turned into a mass ceremony by the consumption of paper which enables millions of people to share common knowledge and creates an atmosphere of belonging.<sup>74</sup> Mentioning the changes that occurred in the eighteenth-century Europe, Anderson stresses the importance of print capitalism “which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people [...]to relate themselves to others.”<sup>75</sup> With the advent of capitalism, the number of books printed increased dramatically and at the same time they contributed to the formation of national consciousness.<sup>76</sup> Print capitalism had three important results: “they created unified fields of exchange and communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars.” Secondly, it gave fixity to language” and thirdly, “it created language of power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars.”<sup>77</sup> Therefore, parallel to the substitution of Latin with vernacular languages, religious communities gave the way for secular societies.<sup>78</sup>

Another claim of the book is that national consciousness had appeared in Latin America before it did in Europe.<sup>79</sup> The national consciousness of the Creole communities in Americas emerged before Europe. South American Republics, which were separate administrative units of the Spanish Empire between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the Creole elites developed a consciousness during their

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-25.

<sup>74</sup> “[Mass ceremony] is performed in silent privacy, in the layer of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.” *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>76</sup> “[...] the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of imagined community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation.” *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

<sup>78</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 108.

<sup>79</sup> Contrary to what happened in Europe, language did not play a significant role in Latin America. and despite the role of Enlightenment ideas, Creole officers who travelled across the Spanish Empire, which Anderson calls “pilgrimages,” developed a consciousness and “creole print men played the decisive role.” Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 65.

“administrative pilgrimages.” As a result of their voyages, “Creole functionaries met their colleagues, ‘fellow-pilgrims’, from places and families they have scarcely heard of in the course of these pilgrimages and, in experiencing them as travelling-companions, developed a consciousness of connectedness (why are we.... Here.... Together?).”<sup>80</sup>

To sum up, modernists believe in the modernity of nations and nationalisms and explain the development of nationalism with various factors such as introduction of modern thought, Industrial Revolution and invention and spread of print capitalism.

First group of criticism toward the modernist approaches claims that economic transformations put forward by different modernists in explaining nationalism are not veridical. Second criticism holds that since nationalism is a complex phenomenon, explanation of it through a single factor is reductionist.<sup>81</sup> Third general criticism opposes to the explanation of nationalism through a rational, instrumental and interest-based rationality, which overlooks the emotional and irrational factors.<sup>82</sup> An ethnosymbolist critique of nationalism suggests that modernist theories of political transformations are Euro-centric and reductionist and mostly ignore the persistence of ethnic ties, giving exaggerated role to the elites in creating national identities.<sup>83</sup>

### 1.3 Ethnosymbolists

Ethnosymbolism is an approach<sup>84</sup> developed in the 1980s. Among the important works are John Armstrong’s *Nations Before Nationalism* (1982), Anthony D. Smith’s *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1986) and John Hutchinson’s *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (1987). This approach stands between modernism (and primordialism). Unlike modernism which regards nations and nationalism as a modern phenomenon and primordialism that treat them as “immemorial” and “recurrent,”<sup>85</sup> ethnosymbolism accepts the modernity of nations by taking into account the impact of old communities (*ethnies*), myths and memories, history on modern nations and nationalisms. In this brief account, the works of Anthony D.

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<sup>80</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 111.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-129.

<sup>84</sup> Smith does not accept it as a theory. See, Anthony D. Smith, “The Poverty of Anti-Nationalist Modernism,” in *Nations and Nationalism*, 9: 357–370. doi: 10.1111/1469-8219.00101.

<sup>85</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Key Concepts*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 60.

Smith, one of today's most highly regarded scholars writing on nationalism and the representative scholar of the ethnosymbolist approach, will be utilized.

Smith states that the other main representatives of the ethnosymbolist approach, namely Armstrong and Hutchinson believe that nations and nationalisms can be conceived only with "an analysis of collective cultural identities over *la longue durée*."<sup>86</sup> (Ethnic) communities of the past, which Smith calls *ethnies*<sup>87</sup> have a connection with the formation of nations and nationalisms in the modern era. However, after agreeing with David Miller's warning that it is not always an easy task to distinguish between ethnic communities and nations, Smith, by stressing the need for a "conceptual distinction" between the two terms, elaborates their common characteristics: both *ethnie* and nation include a "proper name" and "common myths." However, while *ethnies* bear shared memories, nations possess a shared history. Culturally, *ethnies* have "cultural deferentiae" whereas nations bear a "common public culture."<sup>88</sup>

"Occupation of homeland", "common rights and duties" and "single economy" are also other important characteristics of nations that differ them from *ethnies*. Therefore, when compared with *ethnies*, nations appear to be more conscious or more "specific." Smith emphasizes two characteristics of *ethnies* that have great impact on the definition of nations: "economic unity, or a unified division of labor; the other, common legal rights and common polity."<sup>89</sup> Therefore, a standard and public culture has a significant role in the formation of nations.

However, although Smith believes in durability of *ethnies*,<sup>90</sup> he does not claim that either *ethnie* or ethnicity has been continuous (unchanged); instead they "have emerged and reemerged at different periods in different continents" and these

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<sup>86</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 83.

<sup>87</sup> "Ethnie: a named human community connected to a homeland, possessing common myths of ancestry, shared memories, one or more elements of shared culture, and a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites." *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, 31.

<sup>90</sup> For Hutchinson, the relationship between nations and *ethnies* are much stronger than it is known. "This suggests that ethnic identities change more slowly than is generally assumed; once formed, they tend to be exceptionally durable under normal vicissitudes of history, such as migrations, invasions, intermarriages, and to persist over many generations, even centuries." Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 143.

“recurrent factors [...] help to form and maintain *ethnie* and ethnic identity.”<sup>91</sup> Smith also says: “In contrast to the constructionist outlook, ethnosymbolic approaches insist on the need to place the rise of modern nations in the context of previous collective cultural identities in premodern epochs. The most important type among these communities is *ethnie* [...]”<sup>92</sup> While accepting the past and its impact on today’s national identities, ethnosymbolists also give credit to the economic and political transformations that shaped nation-states.<sup>93</sup>

The first general criticism towards ethnosymbolist approaches claims that there is a conceptual confusion in definitions and a tendency to construe the communities of the past according to the standards of today. This leads to an underestimation of the difference between ethnic communities and modern nations.<sup>94</sup> Another criticism holds that it is not realistic to mention nation and nationalisms in the pre-modern eras and more historical detail and analytical effort is needed to explain the process.<sup>95</sup>

#### **1.4 Nationalism and Literature**

The twentieth century saw the ascendancy of nationalist movements and the ubiquity of their claims in almost all parts of the world. Nationalism became a corollary of certain developments in the world order, including two great world wars. Most of the world has been shaped in the form of national states whose presence not only holds sway over the world map but also the mindset of people. Nationalist ideas have increasingly grounded themselves since the French Revolution<sup>96</sup> and enjoyed ever-growing adoption over time. We now live in “a world of nations”, the presence of which is taken for granted. According to Anthony D. Smith, what is meant by this phrase is “a political map and institutional and emotional framework in and through which personalities, events and wider processes of change leave their mark and contribute to the transformations that have forged and continue to shape the contemporary world.”<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, 32.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 85.

<sup>93</sup> Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 144.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 157-158.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 160-161.

<sup>96</sup> Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, 2.

Much as this pervasiveness of nationalism has not fully been exempt from criticisms,<sup>98</sup> it would not be wrong to say that its ubiquity has been deeply felt throughout the twentieth century. If political developments constitute one side of the reasons that underlie the existence of this phenomenon, activities in the cultural area can be said to form the other side of the situation. As Miroslav Hroch claims<sup>99</sup> there are three phases in the development of nationalism, the first of which is “a scholarly inquiry into the linguistic, historical and cultural attributes of their ethnic group.”<sup>100</sup>

As Elie Kedourie notes, the connection between literature and nationalism, developed with the adoption of realism, have supported each other and the mutual interaction between literature and nationalism cannot be underestimated. Kedourie further states that:

Literature and philosophy gave entrance to a nobler, truer world, a world more real and more exciting than the actual world; and gradually the boundary between the world of imagination and the world of reality became blurred, and sometimes disappeared altogether. [...] The reading of books became a political, a revolutionary activity. Thus, many a young man found himself advancing from the composition of poems to the manufacture of infernal machines [...]<sup>101</sup>

Sarah Corse states that, as traditional theories assume, it is generally taken for granted that there exist national literatures with their distinctive features, as do nations.<sup>102</sup> Quoting Greenfeld,<sup>103</sup> she argues that “in the nineteenth century, these ideals of cultural nationalism were so powerful that in their light ‘the lack of a national culture raised the questions to the reality of the nation itself’.”<sup>104</sup> Since the

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<sup>98</sup> See Michael Bilig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage Publications, 1995); see also Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave, 2005).

<sup>99</sup> For an analysis of the development of nationalism in Europe and the impact of literature on the development of nationalism, see Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: a Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism*, 116. By mentioning Hroch’s study on the development of Eastern European nationalisms, Smith claims that Hroch’s analysis is also true for many nationalisms in Africa and Asia and notes that it is neither with huge protests nor armed resistance do nationalist movements begin, but rather, with the appearance and contribution of literary societies, historical inquiries, music festivals and cultural activities. “As a result, ‘humanistic intellectuals’ – historians and philologists, artists and composers, poets, novelists, and film directors – tend to be disproportionately represented in the nationalist movements and revivals.” Smith, *Nationalism*, 7.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-103.

<sup>102</sup> Sarah Corse, *Nationalism and Literature: The Politics of Culture in Canada and the United States*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 7.

<sup>103</sup> For an analysis of the development of nationalism in five developed countries, namely England, France, Germany, Russia, and United States, see Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>104</sup> Corse, *Nationalism and Literature*, 25.

mutual relationship between nation and literature has been inclined to be regarded as something natural, it has been generally accepted that the presence of a certain national literature necessitates an inherent difference from that of other nations: “[I]t is felt that, the unique experience of national life generates a national, collective consciousness, or in some formulations, a ‘collective unconscious’ marked by a distinctive set of values, tensions, myths, and psychological foci, that produces in turn a certain readily identifiable national character.”<sup>105</sup>

Although traditional views take for granted the advent of national literatures as natural, another view that gained recognition is that literature also serves political ends and the appearance of national literatures is a political concomitant of the birth of nation states. To exemplify, in *The Empire Writes Back*, it is claimed that: “Once the American Revolution had forced the question of separate nationality, and the economic and political successes of the emerging nation had begun to be taken for granted, American literature as a distinct collection of texts also began to be accepted.”<sup>106</sup>

The power of literature in the creation of nations also appears as another generally accepted view. Aldous Huxley claims that “nations are to a very large extent invented by their poets and novelists.”<sup>107</sup> Similarly, Gregory Jusdanis, in his book *Belated Modernism and Aesthetic Culture*, puts forward the following views:

[L]iterature was the first art to be mass-produced and put in the service of nationalism. In a sense, literature was nothing more than the framing of these narratives, those designated as fiction, which were thought to represent the life and manners of the nation and its citizenry. It was endowed with the capacity to mirror both the individual and the general, binding in this way private moments with public truths.<sup>108</sup>

Based on the mutual interaction between national literature and the nation, Sarah Corse rejects the romantic and primordialist claims of the naturalness of literature.

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>106</sup> Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 2004), 15.

<sup>107</sup> Aldous Huxley, *Texts & Pretexts: An Anthology with Commentaries* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1933), 52, quoted in Corse, *Nationalism and Literature*, 7. Another example of this view has been put forward by Gerald MacLean who dates the creation of modern nation before French Revolution. He claims that: “[t]he increasingly emphatic understanding of literature as a key to national identity situates Restoration literary activity as a whole within the broader social and cultural developments of the modern era.” Gerald, MacLean. “Literature, Culture and Society in Restoration England,” in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. Gerald MacLean. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10.

<sup>108</sup> Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 163-164.

For her, national literatures are not merely product but at the same time the creator of nations and national identity: “National literatures are not passive reflections of naturally occurring phenomena, but integral components in the process of national development, consciously constructed pieces of the national culture, and creators of the world in which we live. The canon is chosen, not born.”<sup>109</sup>

In the light of this, it is easy to conclude that the impact of literature in the crystallization of nationalism should not be underestimated especially when the comprehensiveness of culture in human life and the impact of cultural works’ in shaping thoughts is taken into consideration. As Jusdanis states:

The ultimate mission of nationalism is the establishment and reinforcement of an autonomous state. The state, however, requires a network of linked values and sentiments to hold it together. Nation building entails the invention of collective narratives, the homogenization of ethnic differences, and the induction of citizens into the ideology of the imagined community.<sup>110</sup>

When considered as a concomitant of modernism, nationalism can be expected to manifest itself best in the form of a novel due to its connection with modern forms of expression. Although both poetry and short story have served as the expression of patriotic and nationalist sentiments, it is the novel, with its inclusiveness and novel form that seems to have fitted best for nationalist ends.<sup>111</sup>

As nationalism aims at turning individuals into citizens, the cultural means of nations tend to have great importance. Quoting from Stathis Gourgouris, Jusdanis claims that before they are either politically or geographically realized, nations have an existence as dreams. Culture is one of the significant means that maintains and revives these dreams. Literature is among those institutions that play a crucial role in the primary stage of nationalism, enabling the creation of national consciousness. When compared to the other arts, the participation of literature to the nation formation

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<sup>109</sup> Sarah Corse, *Nationalism and Literature*, 9. Franco Moretti is another critic emphasizing the connection between nation and the novel within the context of maps. He claims that “the nation-state [...] found the novel. And vice versa: the novel found the nation-state. And being the only symbolic form that could represent it, it became an essential component of our modern culture.” Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel: 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998), 17. The specialty of the novel stems from its difference from other forms and genres of narratives: “It’s a form that (unlike an anthem or a monument) not only does not conceal the nation’s internal divisions, but manages to turn them into a story.” *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>110</sup> Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity*, 28.

<sup>111</sup> A discussion about the relationship between novel and literature can be found in Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, 25.

appears to be the leading one and the novel, similar to the role of newspapers in the media, contributes to the standardization of the language and promotion the literacy. Also, it represents the collective identity and recounts the story of this collective body.<sup>112</sup>

Therefore, a two-way round relationship between the novel and nationalism itself occurs. Since the advent of nationalism impinges on the creation of the modern novel, this double effect can be assumed as follows: nationalism as expressed in the modern novel, on the one hand, reflects the social developments in accordance with its affinity with realism; on the other hand, it serves political ends by justifying nationalism through narration. As Edward Said notes in *Culture and Imperialism* about the importance of novels in the formation of imperial “attitudes, references and experiences,”<sup>113</sup> literature bears a vital role here; it is much more than a complacent phenomenon separated from the developments of its time. Also as Jusdanis claims, literature was put into the service of nationalism since it could create identification with the land and history and at the same time, it could imbue people with national symbols and insert them into daily routines. The delusive aspects of nationalism can be hidden through narratives while the nation itself remains as a concrete and real-like phenomenon, though it is imagined by its citizens. The recitation of the past, present and future through fiction is what creates an impact of truth.<sup>114</sup>

This congruence with the nation and narration attaches a great weight to cultural productions, especially to the novel, which as Benedict Anderson remarks, is the best form that represents the experiences of the nation.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, the novel becomes a veritable cultural form, which, in Edward Said’s words, maintains “a structure of attitude and reference” of nationalism in proportion to its political ascendancy in the twentieth century.<sup>116</sup>

In the light of these, it is possible to say that political sway of nationalism that grew exponentially in the twentieth century cannot be grasped without a careful scrutiny into the modern novel in which the types of nationalism and contents of nationalist

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<sup>112</sup> Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity*, 40.

<sup>113</sup> Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), xii.

<sup>114</sup> For an analysis of the creation of truth effect through representation of the past, see Ana Maria Alonso, “The Effects of Truth: Re-Presentations of the Past and the Imagining of Community,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1 (1998): 33-57.

<sup>115</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 25.

<sup>116</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxiii.



claims or, in other words, “a structure of attitude and reference” of nationalism finds its full expression. On the other hand, as a consequence, it can be supposed that a complete understanding of the modern novel could only be realized through a careful study of nationalism which is supposed to encompass the modern novel ideologically as a corollary of its dominance in the modern society.

However, it is possible to draw a myriad of meanings and functions from the term nationalism since it has been used to denote not only the state formation process, but also a wide variety of meanings such as identity, history, political preference, and ideology....<sup>117</sup> The relationship between cultural outputs such as the novel and nationalism cannot be limited to nation building process only; whether during the course of nation-building process or afterwards, cultural productions play a great important role especially when Ernest Renan’s definition of nation as a “daily plebiscite” is accepted.<sup>118</sup> In this understanding, it appears more appropriate to imagine the contribution of cultural productions to the creation of an imaginary space for the nation or nationalist ideas as a continuous process. This process naturally includes numerous inclusions and exclusions, creating and recreating the understanding of the nation. Said argues that culture in time becomes a reservoir in which the best thoughts of a culture (nation) is gathered.<sup>119</sup> Accordingly, “[i]n time culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates ‘us’ from ‘them’ almost always with some degree of xenophobia. Culture in this sense [is] a source of identity, and a rather combative one.”<sup>120</sup>

Especially in non-Western countries, nationalism is usually considered together with the process of modernization. The novelty of nationalism and the attraction of modernity may have necessitated a juxtaposition of the two phenomena.<sup>121</sup> The

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<sup>117</sup> Harris, *Nationalism*, 33.

<sup>118</sup> See Ernest Renan, “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 17-18.

<sup>119</sup> This concept of culture as a reservoir in which the best examples of art, literature, science and even religion are preserved belongs to Matthew Arnold, who considers culture as a “harmonious perfection.” For a broader discussion, see Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>120</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

<sup>121</sup> “The spread of nationalism from Western Europe to neighboring lands went hand in hand with the diffusion of European ideas and values. Since the founding of a state was posited as desirable, those drafting the blueprints for a nation naturally sought the very institutions Europeans developed to cement their own national Unity: language, literature, art. The ideology of nationalism and its symbols reinforced each other.” Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity*, 40.

universality of the Western models adopted by the rest of the world can be said to have amalgamated modernism and nationalism as Eric Hobsbawm claims: “[t]he basic characteristics of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity.”<sup>122</sup> However, it would be an overgeneralization to suppose that modernism took place ubiquitously throughout the world. For example, Jusdanis separates some countries such as Greece from the central European states with respect to their relationship with modernity or modernization.

Belated modernization, especially in non-Western societies, necessarily remains "incomplete" not because it deviates from the supposedly correct path but because it cannot culminate in a faithful duplication of Western prototypes. The imported models do not function like their European counterparts. They are often resisted. The project of becoming modern, thus, differs from place to place. This is why it is possible to speak of many modernities. Peripheral societies, however, internalize the incongruity between Western originals and local realities as a structural deficiency. The lack of modernity is seen as a flaw. Hence, "incomplete" attempts to catch up with the West are followed by calls for a new phase of modernization. Ironically, however, the flaw lies not in modernity's absence, but in its purposeful introduction, ignoring autochthonous exigencies.<sup>123</sup>

Whether it is utilized to catch up with the West or to rejuvenate old ties and language, nationalism and nationalist narratives are never exempt from totalization.<sup>124</sup> The relationship between literary texts (especially novels) and nationalism can be described as “confirmatory” when we take into consideration the modernity of the novel form and simultaneity of nationalism. In this sense, literature—and the novel of course—becomes a medium to describe or create “the nation” or “the national”, which can be also supposed to appear as the conveyor of nationalist ideology as well.

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<sup>122</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 14.

<sup>123</sup> Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity*, xiii.

<sup>124</sup> “By positing a transcendent realm of essential identity nationalist doctrines often tend to enforce a uniformity of belief. This is true in multiethnic states such as Spain, or in many African countries whose borders, drawn arbitrarily by colonialism, contain warring communities. The liberal ideal of diversity within the whole often regresses into a negation of differences. It also leads into the forceful imposition of linguistic conformity upon a heterogeneous political map. Indeed, the creation of a standardized language and a homogeneous culture usually involves the valorization of one dialect and the identity of one community.” *Ibid.*, 48.

They [literary works] depict the nation's history as a unitary process of unfolding expectations leading to ever-greater self-fulfillment. Its culture likewise is portrayed as a univocal, homogeneous organism inspired by national interest and common purpose. This collective vision is, of course, a fabrication. Literature's original role in the nationalist enterprise was to tell a new story, and then to relate personal and regional narratives to the national one.<sup>125</sup>

Accordingly, the achievement of unity through literary narratives naturally entails a totalizing look over the communities that (should) build up the nation. A transformation of the present social/political/religious reality to a more desired portrayal of the nation or national is expected. As Jusdanis claims:

Despite its claims to the contrary, art is never independent from its social space. It consists of norms, conventions, and ideas about its function that determine the way individual works are produced, appreciated, understood, and criticized. The system of beliefs cannot be schematically separated from its social organization. By the same token, these practices are neither autonomous nor immanent but function at specific locations. Like all institutions, literature supplies appropriate rules for conduct by sanctioning certain truths about itself and reality while prohibiting others. It determines human activity by ingraining patterns of behavior in readers.<sup>126</sup>

If so, literary texts, especially those written with nationalist perspectives are supposed to bear a totalizing, judgmental attitude toward the society or people they are depicting. From the vantage of ideology, they can stake a claim on shaping the destiny of the nation, as well as criticizing the inaccuracies and mistakes according to nationalist ideology. Accordingly, it is possible to assume that regardless of its genre or the type of nation it contrives, any text written with a nationalist perspective possesses some certain ideological attitudes. The repercussions of these attitudes will be traced in the novels of Ahmed Ali and Yakup Kadri. However, before leaning on the texts, it seems essential to specify basic nationalist sentiments that reflect a nationalist perspective in literary texts.

### **1.5 Nationalism and Corruption**

While nationalism is sometimes used in place of patriotism, it can denote many different meanings, such as an academic study, creation of nation-state, preference of the particular against the universal or political ideology. Since one of the aims of this study is to reveal nationalist perspective of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali, a special emphasis will be placed on nationalism as an ideology.

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

However, due to its ubiquity in the present society, it is not always an easy task to distinguish and figure out nationalist ideology in social reality and as well as daily practices. John Breuilly discusses nationalist ideology with reference to the relationship between the state and society. He proposes that except for some utopian examples, a clear distinction between the two is impossible.<sup>127</sup> A nationalist solution to this problem includes certain assumptions such as the uniqueness of societies and the impossibility of the foreign governments doing justice for the nation or national spirit. Certain aspects of society, for example history can only be understood as the successes and the failures of the nation and a nationalist always seeks a separate national state.<sup>128</sup>

Due to the relationship between the political and ideological, daily practices and identities which are standardized and normalized in time can be a result of long lasting efforts. For Breuilly, the identity of the nation can be provided only arbitrarily; it is neither purely cultural nor political, but an amalgamation of both. “National independence can be portrayed as the freedom of the citizens who make up the (political) nation or as the freedom of the collectivity which makes up the (cultural) nation.”<sup>129</sup> Nationalist ideology which is called a “pseudo-solution” by Breuilly obscures the distinctions between the state and society, private and public and culture and politics. It not only works but also operates on these values in an authentic way, selecting some of these values according to its needs.<sup>130</sup> He considers nationalist ideology as an intellectual response to the problem of the relationship between the state and the society. This response manifests itself in three areas which are “the idea of authenticity”, “the return to the spirit of the past” and lastly “the connection of the community with the political demands.”<sup>131</sup> In this case, expression of national views may either be the assertion of long lasting sentiments shared by the people or it can also be a political manipulation of certain thoughts and feelings.

Nationalist ideology is neither an expression of national identity (at least, there is no rational way of showing that to be the case) nor the arbitrary invention of nationalists for political purposes. It arises out of the need to make sense of complex social and

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<sup>127</sup> John Breuilly, “The Sources of Nationalist Ideology”, in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson et. al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 111-112.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 111-2.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

political arrangements. But that need is itself shaped by both intellectual traditions and the sorts of responses which any intellectual scheme evokes when it is activated in some way or another.<sup>132</sup>

Therefore, tracing nationalist ideology and understanding of nation in the works of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali can present insights for explanation and solutions by intellectuals with the aim of making sense out of complex social and political realities and their utilization of fiction as a cultural means in shaping social preferences.

An inquiry of certain nationalist sentiments necessitates determination of leading and common nationalist views that can find a place in nationalist works and expressions. Although these common sentiments may not be adequate to delineate the differences in the idea of nationalism expressed by the two authors, they can serve a basis for determination of their response and treatment of common nationalist claims in their works. For Elie Kedourie, “[b]riefly the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government.”<sup>133</sup>

Anthony D. Smith, in his book *Nationalism*, puts forward three common elements of the nationalist belief-system: firstly, nationalism is defined as “a set of basic proportions to which most nationalists adhere, and flowing from them”; secondly it is “some fundamental ideals which are present in every nationalism, albeit in varying degrees”; and lastly nationalism is accepted to be “a range of cognate concepts that give more concrete meaning to the core abstractions of nationalism.”<sup>134</sup>

Similar to other ideologies, nationalist ideology also stipulates certain assumptions and proportions. Since the ideology of nationalism is the most distinctive side of this subject that is brought into attention of people in political debates, elections and daily arguments related to the state a person lives in, it not only constitutes a humdrum part of daily life, but also makes up of a cardinal part of individuals’ identity as it does to a nationalist work. The style and the way these propositions occur in the

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<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>133</sup> Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, 20.

<sup>134</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 22.

novels help to determine both the type and the characteristics of nationalism in the works that are going to be analyzed in this dissertation. The basic stipulations of nationalism are as follows: Firstly, “the world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny”; secondly, “the nation is the sole source of political power”; thirdly, “loyalty to nation overrides all other loyalties”; fourthly, “to be free, every individual must belong to a nation”; fifthly “every nation requires full self-expression and autonomy”; and lastly “global peace and justice require a world of autonomous nations.”<sup>135</sup>

In addition to these propositions that appear *a priori*, nationalist ideology also bears certain fundamental ideas. These include “national autonomy”, “national unity” and “national identity”.<sup>136</sup> National “autonomy is often closely linked to the idea of collective unity.” It appeared in the ideals of Jacobins which “led to the abolition of internal customs, barriers and regional institutions and cultures during the French Revolution.”<sup>137</sup> The second idea is national unity. In a wider perspective, national unity within the realm of collective spirit of nationalism stands for the achievement and realization of cultural uniformity especially in what is considered to be “national issues”. Anthony D. Smith explains this idea as follows:

The nationalist ideal of unity seeks not some “objective” cultural uniformity, but a social and cultural union of families and of individual wills and sentiments. The nationalist does not require that individual members should be alike, only that they should feel an intense bond of solidarity and therefore act in unison on all matters of national importance.<sup>138</sup>

So, the difference between a totalitarian and a nationalist worldview is stressed. The idea of national identity, the last of the three, is distinguished by its concern for collective character and its historical-cultural basis.<sup>139</sup> This view, says Smith, was expressed by the leading thinkers of nationalism and it came out as “national character” and “cultural populism” in Rousseau’s and Herder’s writings respectively. Smith continues by explaining that according to some leading writers who were the antecedents of the nationalist thinkers,<sup>140</sup> every nation has its own distinctive characters and culture, as well as history shared by all its members: “[W]here such a distinct culture has been ‘lost’, ‘forgotten’ or ‘submerged’, it can and must be found,

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>136</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 25.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>140</sup> The names he gives include Lord Shaftesbury, Vico, and Montesquieu. *Ibid.*, 27.

remembered and brought to light. The task of nationalists is to rediscover the unique cultural genius of the nation and restore to a people its authentic cultural identity [...]"<sup>141</sup>

Therefore, in the light of these it is possible to deduce that a reading of nationalism in a literary text is supposed to include the endeavor to seek certain expressions, values, judgments and accordingly a set of signs and symbols that can be associated with nationalism in general. In parallel with the extensiveness of nationalism in the world, it would be idle to imagine the embodiment of a uniform nationalist policy in every country. Similarly, whether it is manifest or latent, expression of a nationalist thought in a literary text can be expected to bear great divergence, having idiosyncrasies of its own, related to the political, social and religious culture of the society it burgeons as well as the geography and territorial characteristics of the country. However, in spite of the greatness and divergence, it is still possible to trace common patterns, which come out as symbols, expressions, and characters in the course of the story line, the importance of which is felt in direct proportion to the main theme. According to Smith, the three main ideas of nationalism "remain at a high level of abstraction, and they require other core concepts to relate them to practical cultural and political programmes." These concepts include "*authenticity, continuity, dignity, destiny, attachment (love) and the homeland [...]*."<sup>142</sup>

Considering the general patterns in nationalist discourse, which are expressed in many different platforms including literary works, Smith quoting from Paul Gilbert asserts that the inclusion of all these concepts in every nationalist ideology or

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. Emphasis added. The same list is also given in another book of Smith:

"1. *autonomy*, the aspiration on the part of the members for their national community to live in accordance with its own laws and rhythms, free from all outside interference;  
2. *unity*, the desire of the members for both territorial unification and unimpeded mobility throughout, as well as for social solidarity, fraternity and sorority;  
3. *identity*, or distinctiveness, the recovery by the members of the 'innate' individuality of the national community, and its tangible embodiment and visible projection in ritual and artistic form;  
4. *authenticity*, the rediscovery by some of its members of the 'true nature' and sense of being of the national community in its unique origins, history and culture;  
5. *the homeland*, a sense of belonging, memory and attachment by the members of the community to an ancestral or historic territory regarded as uniquely 'theirs';  
6. *dignity*, the belief on the part of the members that their community should be accorded prestige and status commensurate with its true 'inner worth';  
7. *continuity*, the conviction on the part of the members that they are linked with often remote ancestors and earlier cultures in the homeland in a relatively unbroken line of succession;  
8. *destiny*, the conviction on the part of the members that the national community has a foreordained, and usually glorious, path of progress peculiar to itself." Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-Symbolism*, 62-63.

movement may not be possible.<sup>143</sup> Although he believes in the presence of the three main ideas (national autonomy, unity, and dignity) Smith has the contention that the core concepts shape the general world view of nationalist ideologies and political programmes derived from them; but different combinations of these concepts point them in different directions, creating the various kinds of nationalism with which we are familiar.<sup>144</sup>

One aspect of this study includes the elaboration of the repercussions of these basic nationalist ideals in the works of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali. The attachment and references to these basic nationalist sentiments and their utilization in the novels of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali are expected to reveal the relationship of these works with the nationalist ideology.

Also, along with these common traits of nationalism, which are believed to occur almost in every form of nationalism to some extent, there are a number of differences that demarcate the distinctness of the various nationalisms. The scope and the characteristics of these differences have been traced by Paul Gilbert in his work *The Philosophy of Nationalism* (1998). According to Gilbert:

The diversity and differences observed in the present nationalisms spring from contrasting conceptions of what a nation is: the population of a territory, a voluntary association, a cultural community, a sovereign people, an ethnic group. Depending on how nation is conceived, the aims of its corresponding form of nationalism differs.<sup>145</sup>

He proposes three developments that have an impact on our understanding of the concepts of nation: The first of them is “rise of the modern state with its claim to sole authority over all those who live within its borders.” The second development is “one that is based on scientific categorization of nations.” And the last is “the development of nation itself.”<sup>146</sup> These three developments have led to different conceptions of nations, bringing about various practices and regulations. However, Gilbert presents a more inclusive principle, *the constitutive principle of nationalism*, which affects all nationalisms in general and brings forward an explanation for the possible differences among them. According to this principle, “a nation is a group which has, *ceteris paribus*, a right to independent statehood by virtue of being the

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<sup>143</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 32.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>145</sup> Paul Gilbert, *The Philosophy of Nationalism* (Colorado & Oxford: Westview Press, 1998), 8.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-11.



kind of group it is. Different nationalisms should therefore be classified [...] in accordance with the different sorts of argument they deploy in support of such a right.”<sup>147</sup>

Therefore, the sole certainty about nations is that no matter how different the group is, they have this separate state in mind.<sup>148</sup> Although this may denote a political definition of the term, when sentimental side of nationalism is taken into consideration, it can easily be observed that nationalism is generally and mistakenly equated with patriotic feelings. In fact as Smith observes, “[t]he cultural and psychological importance of the nation, and hence of nationalism, is even more profound. The ubiquity of nationalism, the hold it exerts over millions of people in every continent today, attests to its ability to inspire and resonate among ‘the people’ in ways that only religions had previously been able to encompass.”<sup>149</sup>

Since one of the objectives of this study is to delineate and demarcate nationalism of Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali, making a distinction between patriotism and nationalism seems necessary. When it comes to the definition of nationalism, Gilbert claims that it is not a sentiment but “a set of beliefs or a doctrine.” For Gilbert, while patriotism is defined as someone’s love of his/her own country, this may not be necessarily for a nation.<sup>150</sup> However, for nationalism, there should be a concept of nation (or this feeling should be directed towards a nation) and the differences between nationalisms spring from “the conceptions of what a nation is.”<sup>151</sup> So, the type and the preferences of nationalism may vary greatly in accordance with “the sorts of argument they produce.”<sup>152</sup> Accordingly, the attitude toward nationalism may also vary greatly. As Smith claims, “nationalism may be seen not only as a belief system but also as a form of culture and species of religion; this is what makes it quite different from mainstream political ideologies, and therefore largely immune

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 19. “This is a corollary of the principle of national self-determination, for if a nation has a right to determine under what constitutional arrangements it should be governed, then it must, other things being equal, have a right to the various forms of government between which it must choose, and one of these will usually be thought of independent statehood.” *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>148</sup> In his definition, Gilbert includes not only certain groups that have a claim to become nation, but also established states, most of which are politically under the impact of their idea of nation. *Ibid.*, 2

<sup>149</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 2.

<sup>150</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 5

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

to criticisms[.]”<sup>153</sup> Nationalism’s association with these notions that make life more meaningful for people strengthens its relation with morality as well.

As Özkırımlı states, “nationalism is indeed a normative principle, or a language of morality; it not only describes what ‘is’, but also states a view about what ‘should be’ the case.”<sup>154</sup> Therefore, “all arguments<sup>155</sup> in defense of nationalism are motivated by belief that nationalism offers a set of moral values worthy of respect and serious consideration.”<sup>156</sup> This normative principle “holds that the continued existence and flourishing of the nation is a fundamental good. This requires that the members of the nation be loyal both to the nation and to one another[.]”<sup>157</sup> Thus, it is clear that there rests a strong connection between nationalism, moral values and loyalty. According to Paul Gilbert, “a nation has a right to state because its members have, or it is appropriate for them to have, national obligations which can be enforced as political obligations. The members of the nation are therefore those who have, or might appropriately have, such obligations.”<sup>158</sup>

Similarly, focusing on national ideology, Calhoun claims that there are three dimensions of it. These are nationalism as discourse, project and evaluation. He claims that in this last status it is possible to come across with ethical imperative. “It is through some of the actions that follow from these ethical imperatives that nationalism comes to be associated with excesses of loyalty to one’s nation [.]”<sup>159</sup> Also Yael Tamir argues that there is a direct and strong relationship between identity and obligations.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 24.

<sup>154</sup> Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates*, 63.

<sup>155</sup> The arguments grouped by Özkırımlı are the liberation argument, the identity argument, the cultural context argument, the public good argument, and the intrinsic value argument. For a detailed discussion, see Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates*, 64-85.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>158</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 21

<sup>159</sup> Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 6.

<sup>160</sup> Yael Tamir, “Pro Patria Mori! Death and the State” in *The Morality of Nationalism*, eds. Robert McKim & Jeff McMahan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 223.

“According to Williams, the readiness to die for specific projects reaffirms the self-image of the person not as someone to whom all projects are equally external or contingent but as someone who has some constitutive commitments that make his or her life meaningful. The process is one of active equilibrium; identity generates obligations and obligations define identity. This interplay between identity and obligation is of a special importance for liberal agents whose ends and commitments are elective. By expressing readiness to risk their lives in the pursuit of some of their projects, liberal agents draw a distinction between contingent and constitutive projects, between projects that are theirs and projects that define their identity.” *Ibid.*, 233.

Therefore, if a person wants to be a part of a nation, he or she should accept and fulfill certain kinds of obligations. Are these loyalties predetermined or universal? For Gilbert, the answer is a straight “no.” There is direct connection between the loyalties and the kind of nation they are being owed.<sup>161</sup> Gilbert says, “To be a member of a nation, to have a nationality, thus implies different things for different kinds of nationalists, for whom members have different relationships to the nation.”<sup>162</sup>

Loyalties also evoke a moral stance; since considerations of nationalism have variations from a belief system to a species of religion, lack of loyalty to the nation may indicate a serious moral problem. Benedict Anderson highlights the relationship between nationalism and morality and states that “if the nationalist imagining is so concerned (with death and immortality) this suggests a strong affinity with religious imaginings.” He supposes that during the passage from religious communities towards modern societies there has been a “secular transformation of fatality into continuity.”<sup>163</sup> How did this transformation take place? Anderson gives two reasons for this: first was the effect of explorations of the non-European world, “[which] widened [...] man’s conception of possible forms of human life.”<sup>164</sup> And “[s]econd was a gradual demotion of the sacred language.”<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 21

<sup>162</sup> Tamir, “Pro Patria Mori!,” 22.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 18. An example of the transformation of the religious sentiments into a more secular and nationalist one can be found in Johann Gottlieb Fichte’s philosophical treatise “Addresses to the German Nation.” Being one of the most well-known early examples of nationalist texts in the world, “Addresses to the German Nation” construes nationalism and national character in a very moral level. The “believer” of the religious community, who eternally saves himself by believing in Christianity, is transformed into the “noble-minded man” who finds an opportunity to live eternally in this world by the help of nationalism. Fichte makes a distinction between noble-minded men and the rest, claiming that every noble-minded man who really governs the world would like to live eternally on this world. He asks: “What man of noble mind is there who does not earnestly wish to relive his own life in a new and better way in his children and his children’s children, and to continue to live on this earth, ennobled and perfected in their lives, long after he is dead? Does he not wish to snatch from the jaws of death the spirit, the mind, and the moral sense by virtue of which, perchance, he was in the days of his life a terror to wrongdoing and corruption, and by which he supported righteousness, aroused men from indolence, and lifted them out of their depression? Does he not wish to deposit these qualities, as his best legacy to posterity, in the souls of those he leaves behind, so that they too, in their turn, may someday hand them on again, increased and made more beautiful?” The possibility of this continuance takes place in an “order of things,” a social environment which is defined as “the special spiritual nature of human environment.” Johann Gottlieb Fichte, “Addresses to the German Nation”,

Association of loyalties with what is moral also buttresses the relation between nation and the moral. Due to this relationship, from a nationalist perspective, what is loyal can also be moral at the same time. In fact, history is replete with serious crimes committed in the name of national interests and at least for some time, loyalty to the nation may justify wrong actions and deeds. While making such a distinction between loyal and good or disloyal and bad in real life is more difficult, in fiction, even in the most realist works, realities can be more manipulative and made to fit a nationalist perspective.

In this context, corruption appears as a concomitant of lack of national belief and loyalty to the nation. Since loyalty evokes obligations, which can sometimes evoke holiness reminiscent of religious duties, and moreover when the mutual relationship between obligation and identity is taken into consideration, such a lack denotes a moral problem which directly problematizes the identity of those who do not comply with their obligations to the nation. As nationalism “is a particular way of seeing and interpreting the world, a frame of reference that helps us make sense of and structure the reality that surrounds us,”<sup>166</sup> and it ascribes meaning to even mundane activities,<sup>167</sup> lack of commitment to the nation —from a nationalist perspective—

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in *The Nationalism Reader*, ed. Omar Dahbour et al. (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1995), 63. Moreover, Fichte sees fatherland as the guarantee of this kind of eternal life on earth. *Ibid.*, 65. The dichotomy between the purity of national identity and the corruptedness of outer elements that have a negative capability of destroying the everlasting peace, taken for granted by the nationalist ideology reveals itself in Fichte’s account of the new type of man defined as noble-minded: “The noble-minded man’s belief in the eternal continuance of his influence even on this earth is thus founded on the hope of the eternal continuance of the people from which he has developed, and on the characteristic of that people as indicated in the hidden law of which we have spoken, without admixture of, or *corruption* by, any alien element which does not belong to the totality of the functions of that law.” *Ibid.*, 64. (emphasis added)

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 30. Özkırımlı argues that the nationalist discourse has four distinctive characteristics: First, the discourse of nationalism divides the world into “us” and “them”. Secondly, it hegemonizes. Thirdly, it naturalizes itself. Lastly, the discourse of nationalism operates through institutions. *Ibid.*, 32-33.

<sup>167</sup> Tamir, “Pro Patria Mori!,” 223. “But why would the insertion of nationalistic ideals and images influence the citizens’ preferences and choices? The answer has to do with the ability of the nationalist way of thinking to transform the self-image of individuals by portraying their personal welfare as closely tied to the existence and prosperity of their national community, as well as to its ability to contextualize human actions, making them part of a continuous creative effort whereby the national community is made and remade. By so doing, nationalism imparts special significance to even the most mundane actions and endows individual lives with meaning. It is in this sense that nationalism bestows extra merit on social, cultural, or political acts and provides individuals with additional channels for self-fulfillment that make their lives more rewarding.” *Ibid.*, 232.

turns life into a meaningless routine. When this meaninglessness is combined with lack of moral stance, moral corruption is the consequence.<sup>168</sup>

When moral values constitute a definitive part of the fiction, a judgmental look towards events and characters becomes inevitable. Accordingly, when loyalty to the nation is at stake, all good values attached to nation or nationalism are in danger. Parallel to this, in a fictional work written with a nationalist perspective, while certain basic values such as good, moral, and ethical are related with the national, when this national commitment is broken the exact opposite situation becomes true.

However, due to the variety and vastness of nationalisms and nations, the values attached to the nation or nationalism are sometimes expected to differ greatly. Accordingly, while the general logic remains same, the relationship between nationalism and corruption in literary works are supposed to vary as well. While establishing a relation between nationalism and corruption, sometimes religious-like sentiments in nationalism and also the moral aspect of nationalist claims and its emphasis on duty and obligations will be elaborated. Moreover, Yakup Kadri's and Ahmed Ali's utilization of certain literary devices and values such as intertextuality, Islamic heritage, history in their works will be explained from the perspective of nationalism.

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<sup>168</sup> Apart from its reflections on literary works, in Turkey, the relationship between nationalism and corruption was first explained by Ziya Gökalp, the famous Turkish sociologist and nationalist thinker, who is also the father of Turkish folklore studies, renowned for his influence on the founders of the Republic of Turkey and the intelligentsia of his time, with regard to the understanding of nationalism. (Even Atatürk confesses that Ziya Gökalp is the father of his thought.) It is also possible to come across with his influence on the thoughts of young Yakup Kadri, whose criticism of the cosmopolitan Turkish culture is an obvious resonance of Gökalp's thoughts expressed in his book *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, first published in 1918. Another significant impact of Gökalp seems in his evaluation of nationalism as a moral phenomenon, the absence of which creates corruption in Turkish society. According to Gökalp, who wrote his book during the most calamitous years of the Empire, the misery of Turkish people stems from their ignorance of the principles of nationalism, which led to the "corruption" of the society. Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2015), 42. Also the overdevelopment of civilization, which is represented by an international culture based on religious books, impairs the culture and nations that have such culture are "degenerate nations". Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (İstanbul: Devlet Kitapları, 1970), 42.

## CHAPTER II

### NATIONALISM IN TURKEY

#### 2.1 Late Ottoman Period

The last century of the Ottoman Empire can be defined around three main points: centralization, westernization and modernization.<sup>169</sup> It has for some time been the custom to define the beginning of modern history in the Middle East, as in other parts of the world, with the impact of the West, or more specifically of European imperialism, its first arrival, its spread, and the processes of transformation which it imitated. There is no consensus on the exact date of this impact. For some, it begins with the arrival of the French expedition in Egypt in 1798; for others with the disastrous treaty of Küçük Kaynarca imposed by a victorious Russia on a defeated Turkey; for others again with the final Turkish defeat under the walls of Vienna in 1683.<sup>170</sup>

During the late eighteenth century, Ottoman Empire was going through many troubles, the biggest of which was a stark need for reforms. The power had already moved from the center to periphery and the control and administration of the Empire was more problematic than ever. The changes that had taken place in Europe compelled the Empire to go through an extensive transformation.<sup>171</sup>

To far-sighted contemporaries it was clear that the Ottoman order could survive only if the seepage of power from the center to the periphery was reversed, and if the Empire could successfully adjust to new European realities, in particular the military might of the industrializing nation-state. Certainly, a loosely bound association of

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<sup>169</sup> For the Ottoman thinkers and policy makers, Europeanization had nearly the same meaning with modernization. <sup>169</sup> Carter Vaughn Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism and Modernity: a History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 18.

<sup>170</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2000 Years* (New York: Scribner 2003), 273.

<sup>171</sup> For a detailed study of the last hundred years of the Ottoman Empire, see Alan Palmer, *The Decline and the Fall of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1994).

disparate, semi-independent territories could not expect to survive long in the Napoleonic era.<sup>172</sup>

Successive wars during the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the success of the European armies alarmed the governing elites of the Ottomans and expedited the measures that would modernize the army and therefore the Empire. Two big wars, Ottoman-Russian wars of 1768-1792 and Napoleon's invasion of Egypt opened up a new phase between the colonialist powers and the Ottoman Empire and the Empire became the Eastern question of European diplomacy from then on.<sup>173</sup>

"Selim's new order started the Ottoman turn toward rationalization that is of the essence of modernity."<sup>174</sup> The steps taken to establish this order included the implementation of certain reforms.<sup>175</sup> Following the reign of Selim the Third, Mahmud the Second, known as one of the leading reformers of the Empire, also expedited reforms started by his uncle Selim and took certain steps that would bolster up the centralization of the Empire. Different from the former sultans, westernization was applied as a formal policy during Mahmut the Second's reign.<sup>176</sup>

Ottoman leaders sought for centralization to prevent the breakup of the Empire and through reforms applied from the beginning of the nineteenth century, they were successful to a great extent. Although, in addition to giving autonomy to Serbia, Egypt and the Island of Samos, the Ottomans lost an important amount of territory including Greece and Algeria, the Empire not only increased the visibility of the state and began to gain more information about the peoples it governed but also expanded its direct rule.<sup>177</sup>

The modernization process started with the army and later spread to other areas.<sup>178</sup> Hanioglu states that it was necessary to gain new weapons and defense capabilities

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<sup>172</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 40.

<sup>173</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 28.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>175</sup> Some of the major reforms were the creation of a European-style army known as *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order), improvement of the old forces (Janissaries and Sipahis), reorganization of the central and local governance, establishment of permanent diplomatic representation in European capitals (1793), foundation of The Military Engineering School (Mühendishane-i Berr-i Hümayun) in 1795. *Ibid.*, 31-34.

<sup>176</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 63.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>178</sup> Some of the reforms implemented by Mahmud the Second were the bloody abolition of Janissaries known as The Auspicious Incident (Vak'a-i Hayriye) in 1826, clothing reform in 1829, opening of new schools (Military Medical School in 1827 and Military Academy [Harbiye] in 1834), introduction

not only to defend the borders but also to provide the power balance between the periphery and the center. To achieve this, traditional reforms could no longer remediate. “To survive, the empire’s leaders had to do more than change the state; they had to reinvent it.”<sup>179</sup>

### 2.1.1 *Millet* system and nationalism in this period

The social system of the Ottoman Empire is famous for its comprehensiveness; whether it is a continuation of the classical Islamic empire structure or a different version of the *pax romana*, the tolerance for social diversity and the opportunity for the people to practice their own beliefs under the protection of the sultan as *millets* was a considerable opportunity especially during the Middle Ages. As Bernard Lewis explains: “*Millet* was a religio-political community defined by its adherence to a religion. Its members were subject to the rules and even to the laws of that religion, administered by its own chiefs, naturally in so far as these did not conflict with the laws and the interests of the state.”<sup>180</sup>

On the other hand, non-Muslim *millets* accepted to live in the *dhimmi* status and gave their allegiance to the state. The Ottoman Empire was made up of four *millets*: Muslims (Turks, Arabs, Albanians, Caucasians, Kurds etc.), Greeks (ethnic Greeks, followers of the Orthodox Church including other ethnic groups such as Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians and Turkish Orthodox Christians), Armenians (there were a great number of Turkish speakers in this group), and the Jews (Spanish, Arabic and Greek speaking Jews in different parts of the Empire).<sup>181</sup>

Bernard Lewis states that although there were active trade between the Islamic countries (Ottomans) and Europe for hundreds of years, intellectual communication

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of European style ministries in 1830s, opening of the Translation Office in Bab-ı Ali (The Sublime Porte) in 1821, launching of the first Ottoman journal *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events) in 1831, and the Gülhane Decree in 1839. Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 39-46.

<sup>179</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 41.

<sup>180</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, 321.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 322. “Despite its ethnic diversity, faith constituted the primary organizing principle of traditional Ottoman society. Thus an ethnic Albanian, for example, could belong to the Muslim Greek Orthodox, or Roman Catholic community depending on religious affiliation. [...]. But no ethnic consciousness comparable to modern nationalism existed to an appreciable degree within any of the communities of the empire. In any event, the religious order of society was to crumble over the course of the nineteenth century in the face of the rise of ethnic nationalism. Nationalist leaders would then attempt to sever ties to their larger religious communities and form national religious institutions. Bulgarian nationalist, for example, would struggle against the domination of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and form the autocephalous Bulgarian Exarchate.” Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 25.



and the flow of ideas were very limited during the Middle Ages.<sup>182</sup> Therefore, the response given by the Ottomans to the propaganda of French Revolution was very also limited. These ideas were more effective among the Christian subjects however.<sup>183</sup> They found greater response among the Greek people and French conquered Egypt. The idea of freedom in the meaning of citizenship became very influential upon mixing other two ideas - that is patriotism and nationalism.<sup>184</sup>

Therefore, except for some of the separatist movements in the periphery of the Empire, nationalism in the modern sense was not a reality for the Empire yet. Also Non-Muslim *millets* did not have a single solution for their future in the Empire. Lewis states that the non-Muslim *millets* of the Ottoman Empire sought three different and incompatible objectives. First of these was equal citizenship which bore advantages and disadvantages as well. Second one was independence or full autonomy and the last was the retention of the rights of the *millet* system.<sup>185</sup>

### 2.1.2 Tanzimat period

The definitive character of Tanzimat is the shift of power from the sultan to the Sublime Porte in 1839, which then went back to the palace after Abdulhamid the Second came to the throne in 1876.<sup>186</sup> One of the characteristics of the period was the advance in the modern diplomacy symbolized by the Sublime Porte and one of the greatest fruits of this was the Treaty of Paris which, in Findley's words:

[F]ormally declared the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (concert) of Europe. Becoming the first non-Western state to conclude a treaty on a footing of formal equality with European powers, the empire thus attained on paper the collective European security guarantee that Ottoman diplomats had advocated for nearly a century.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, 316.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 320.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 323-324.

<sup>186</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 77. Although the power was held by the sultan especially after the abolition of janissaries, upon Mahmud the Second's death in 1839, the power went to the bureaucracy and until 1908, it changed hands from sultan to Sublime Porte and vice versa. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History*, 59-60.

<sup>187</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 83.

Although the empire went through three great crises in this period, that is the Ottoman-Egyptian conflict (1839-1841), Crimean War (1854-1856) and Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878), the reformist efforts did not falter.<sup>188</sup>

Besides educational reforms, legislative reforms during Tanzimat Period saw three peaks - Gülhane Decree of 1839, Reform Decree of 1856, and the Constitution of 1876 respectively.<sup>189</sup>

Gülhane Decree proclaimed the applicability of its promised reforms to all subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim. The Reform Decree of 1856 expanded this into equality across religious lines, while also confirming non-Muslims' communal privileges. The 1856 Decree also proclaimed the goal of strengthening the "heartfelt bonds of patriotism" (*revabıt-ı kalbiye-i vatandaşî*) among all the sultan's subjects.<sup>190</sup>

Tanzimat Decree is accepted by many historians as the symbol of westernization policies of the Empire as much as the transformation of the Empire to a modern state. As Hanioglu states, although at first glance there appears to be great similarities between imperial decrees promising fairness, it bore a great novelty in its content.

The Decree promised new laws guaranteeing life and property rights, prohibiting bribery, and regulating the levying of taxes and the conscription and tenure of soldiers. It pledged the enactment of legislation that would outlaw execution without trial, confiscation of property and violations of personal chastity and honor. In addition, it heralded the abolition of the odious system of tax farming and the establishment of an equitable draft system. [...] Most significantly, they would apply to all Ottoman subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim alike.<sup>191</sup>

Nevertheless, the Decree was also a sign for the efforts towards centralization of the country since the legal authority which was divided into three sources under the titles of "Islamic law, custom and sultan's power to issue laws and decrees."<sup>192</sup> With the implementation of reforms, the last principle of the three, that is, the decree power of the sultan was reasserted so that it could provide a legal base and an authority for the reforms.

One of the most important aspects of the period was a new constitution. Though it was announced during Abdulhamid the Second's reign, it was prepared during the

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<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>191</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 72.

<sup>192</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 24. For an overall analysis of the Tanzimat Period, see Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu and Halil İnalcık, eds., *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012).

Tanzimat Period. As Hanioglu states, although the support for the constitution was not coming from one source but from various parts of the society, it could be regarded as one of the major steps toward democracy.<sup>193</sup>

As Findley expresses, apart from legislative and governmental reforms, Tanzimat period saw a new set of regulations that buttressed the centralization of the government. Mailing letters (1840), sending telegrams (1855), travelling by steamship, the growth of print media, gas streetlights, public transport were some of them. “Modern government began to acquire monumental form with the building of headquarters, schools, courts, police stations, and docks.”<sup>194</sup>

#### **2.1.2.1 Westernization of the elites**

In the last hundred years of the Ottoman Empire, due to its close relation with the development of Turkish novel and a Western style literature<sup>195</sup> as well as the foundation of the Republic and the development of Turkish nationalism, the westernization of the elites lies in the heart of the social and political transformation that the Empire went through.

Şerif Mardin mentions about the dualism between macro and micro (big and small cultures) in the Ottoman society. While small culture represents the folk (common people) who live in the countryside, big culture stands for the ruling class living in cities.<sup>196</sup> During Tanzimat (Reformation Period), as the Western way of communication such as books, newspapers, telegram spread among elites (ruling class), they went through a greater transformation compared to the small culture. Those who had access to the Western culture held themselves separate from the rest of the society.<sup>197</sup> As Berna Moran states, when the westernization of the ruling class became obvious, traditional Islamic values that combined big and small cultures -at least in certain religious rituals- was not performing the same function anymore, deepening the rift between the big and small culture.<sup>198</sup> During the Tanzimat Period, since Mahmud the Second’s era, while the classical Islamic education was retained, institutions of higher education were opened. During the Tanzimat Period, secondary

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<sup>193</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 121.

<sup>194</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 96.

<sup>195</sup> For an analysis of the transformation of the Turkish literature in the age of modernization, see Orhan Okay, *Batılılaşma Devri Türk Edebiyatı*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2011).

<sup>196</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 26.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>198</sup> Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış I* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 13.

schools (*rüşdiye*) followed. This created a dualism in the Ottoman society. “The gulf between the traditional and the modern, the ‘other worldly and eternal’ and ‘this-worldly and transitory,’ came to be the gulf between the elite and the Turkish masses.”<sup>199</sup>

Westernization of the elites became an apparent phenomenon during the Tanzimat Period. A new group of elites who were adopting European manners into their lifestyle was a visible outcome of the westernization process. This new situation caused dichotomy among the elites and they were separated into two camps, namely traditionalists and modernists. While the former group wanted to maintain and preserve the Ottoman and the Islamic values, the latter gave importance to the idea of progress and defended the adoption of European way of life.<sup>200</sup>

One outcome of the westernization of the state and the elites was the acceptance of materialist thought of the nineteenth century among Ottoman intellectual circles. One of the foreign visitors “observed that every graduate of the new imperial schools seemed to emerge ‘a materialist, and generally a libertine and a rouge’.”<sup>201</sup> This prevalence of materialist thought had a strong impact on both the leaders of the Jeune Turc (Young Turk) Revolution and the founders of the Republic.<sup>202</sup>

### 2.1.3 The Young Ottomans

The movement that left its mark on Tanzimat and Abdulhamid periods was the Young Ottomans. Shaped during second part of 1860s, the movement came out as a resistance against Ali and Fuat Pashas. Four of the leading members of this movement were Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, and Ali Suavi.<sup>203</sup>

According to Fazlur Rahman, the belief that, retaining the traditional structure of the society without any problem while also adopting modern technology is naïve. On the other hand, supporting a full westernization policy for technological modernization is as naïve as the former one. The latter view was the stance of the Tanzimatists and “Young Ottomans like Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal a new note was struck that was

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<sup>199</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam & Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 48-49.

<sup>200</sup> Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History*, 105.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 105.

different from both: political, scientific, and correspondingly social modernization along with technological while the cultural integrity of the nation remains intact.”<sup>204</sup>

Their demand was more freedom, *hürriyet*, and they believed in the necessity of a parliament based upon a constitution.<sup>205</sup> They protested Tanzimat policies claiming that they gave European powers extra economic benefits and new laws (especially the Imperial Edict of Gülhane) and suggested that the *Tanzimat* way of westernization was a culture mimicry (*kültür taklitçiliği*). Their answers for these problems sought for a more democratic<sup>206</sup> solution based on principles of Islam, which was the only thing that could fill the moral gap created by mimicry.<sup>207</sup> They believed in the mobilization of the Ottomans, which was a concomitant of contemporary nationalisms.<sup>208</sup>

### **2.1.3.1 Minorities and Ottomanism as a new policy**

During the Tanzimat Period, a new way of patriotism was introduced to the Ottoman people. Old concepts were altered to create a heartfelt patriotism that would stick Ottoman subjects together. “The word *vatan*, originally used in localized senses, had by the 1790s begun to be readapted to mean ‘fatherland,’ so recapitulating the earlier evolution of French term *pays* and its counterparts in the other languages.”<sup>209</sup> The Arabic term *millet* also went through a transformation similar to that of *vatan*. Though traditionally used in the meaning of religious community and (the name *millet* system signifies to the same meaning), it began to be used similar to the meaning of French nation.<sup>210</sup> Findley explains this transformation as follows: “To consolidate the emotional bond that it identified as ‘vatandaş,’ sharing the same fatherland, the Reform decree of 1856 launched a series of reforms that gradually

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<sup>204</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam & Modernity*, 49.

<sup>205</sup> Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 86.

<sup>206</sup> Mardin states that although the movement is generally regarded as a monolithic one, in fact it bore three fractions symbolized by Şinasi, Namık Kemal and Ali Suavi. While Şinasi was an arduous defender of westernization, Namık Kemal suggested a parliamentary system and constitution. The last of the three, Ali Suavi, was against a parliamentary democracy. According to Mardin, although they had conflictive ideas about “freedom,” their consensus of “development” was the leading element that united this group. *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-88.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>209</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 101.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 101-102.

brought significant numbers of non-Muslims in the branches of the civil administration and into the governmental schools.”<sup>211</sup>

The adoption and implementation of Ottomanism as the supranational ideology with reference to more rational ideas rather than “religious obscurantism” and the centralization of the state policy with attachment to universal ideas paradoxically “had the effect of exposing and deepening the fissures within the Ottoman state and society.” This attitude contravened with minority groups’ tendencies to found their own national states and invigorated their group-based consciousness.<sup>212</sup>

More importantly, it accounted for a change in the official ideology of the Empire. Traditional legal categories accepted by the administration in accordance with the Islamic configuration, namely Muslim, *dhimmi* and non-Muslim foreigner were altered as Ottoman, *ecnebi*, foreigner, and non-Muslim Ottoman.<sup>213</sup> Before 1869, with the reform edict of 1856, the Ottoman Law of Nationality that accepted these categories formally had given equality to non-Muslims in all aspects of life.<sup>214</sup>

Therefore, this period is famous not only for the introduction of a new policy that was expected to solidify the *millets* of the empire but also with the dualities that were apparent almost in every aspect of the society, as Hanioglu explains:

The ideal of overarching Ottoman identity clashed with the increasing autonomy of religious communities within the empire; bureaucratic centralization conflicted with political fragmentation; the ideal of participation came up against the principle of top-down reform; the conservative spirit that gave rise to the Majalla contradicted the progressive drive to emulate the French penal code; view civil courts coexisted uneasily side by side with the traditional sharia courts; a modern university with old madrasas; an academy of modern sciences with the ulema gatherings of the past; European theater with the time-honored shadow puppet show; and the novel with Divan poetry. Although old persisted with the new, the Tanzimat backed the “new” in almost every field.<sup>215</sup>

#### **2.1.4. The Hamidian era**

The reign of Abdulhamid the Second is one of the most long-lasting and contentious periods in the Ottoman history. It covers the years between 1876 and 1909 and includes both the first and the second Constitutional Periods. During this era, the power was taken from the hands of the bureaucrats and centralized in the hands of

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<sup>211</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 102.

<sup>212</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 106-107.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

the sultan.<sup>216</sup> Some of the major political crises of this period were the Turkish-Russian war of 1877-78, the invasion of Tunisia by France (1881) and Egypt by England (1882), the Armenian crisis of 1894-1896, and the Macedonian crisis respectively.<sup>217</sup> Findley notes that in order to evaluate Abdulhamid's reign, various aspects of his policies needs to be considered. These are pan-Islamism, reformist side of the sultan, the foreign policy of the Empire and the dilemma between democratization (rationalization) and the Sultan's autocratic tendencies. Due to the disapprobation and dissatisfaction of some of his subjects, the political dissidence prepared the revolution, which was going to bring him down.<sup>218</sup>

The Hamidian era, which lasted thirty three years, saw the emergence of new politics in the Ottoman Empire. Unlike the Tanzimat Era that saw the introduction of new reforms, being a cautious and authoritarian leader, Abdulhamid II mostly tried to avoid implementing reforms that would undermine the empire. Instead, he adopted a two-pronged policy of Pan-Islamism. The first prong entailed knitting together the Muslim elements of the empire into a cohesive new core of identity. [...] The second prong of his Pan-Islamist strategy was the use of Pan-Islamic propaganda as a wild card directed against colonial powers who ruled over substantial Muslim populations.<sup>219</sup>

During a period in which Muslim population saw a dramatic rise and the threats towards Arabian Peninsula increased,<sup>220</sup> Abdulhamid's reign witnessed the implementation of Pan-Islamist policies.<sup>221</sup> Lewis states that Pan-Islamism started during 1860 and 1870s and believes that it was inspired from the nationalist movements of the Germans and Italians. However, in the Ottoman Empire, a limited and controlled version was applied.<sup>222</sup>

Although Abdulhamid's era is known for the authoritarian regime of the palace, the period also witnessed a strong opposition led by some of the middle class intelligentsia. Though he was able to overcome the opposition of the

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<sup>216</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 133.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-145.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 145. Except for the centralization of power in one hand, namely the palace, some historians consider Hamidian Era as a continuation of Tanzimat reforms, with respect to the emphasis on the continuation of modernization efforts. Many areas such as provincial administration, military and education had their share of the reforms. *Ibid.*, 150. Accordingly, the period also saw the increasing role of Germany in military reforms and modernization process. For a broader analysis of Turkish-German relations of the period, see İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Alman Nüfuzu*, (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1983).

<sup>219</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 129-30.

<sup>220</sup> The losses of 1877-1878 changed the balances in the Empire and the significance of the Balkans was replaced with an increasing focus on the Arab lands and accordingly, Ottoman statesmen started to shift their priorities towards these regions. Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 151.

<sup>221</sup> "For Abdulhamid four prerequisites for the empire's survival were Islam, the dynasty, Istanbul as capital and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina"; in this respect the building of Hijaz railway was the peak of this policy. *Ibid.*, 149-150.

<sup>222</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, 313-314.

constitutionalists and the Young Ottomans, a new opposition came out in 1889, known as the Jeune Turcs. They became very effective after 1900 and were able to restore the constitution and depose the sultan in 1909.<sup>223</sup>

Although there were big crises, the Ottoman system was still valid and despite losing most of its Christian subjects' loyalty, the Empire was regarded legitimate by the great majority of its Muslim population. According to Lewis, contrary to general belief, the Ottoman system was improving in the last decades of the Empire, and if it had not been for the entry into the First World War, which resulted in the disintegration of the Empire, such an improvement might not have been interrupted.<sup>224</sup>

### **The Jeune Turc Period**

The Jeune Turc Period is known to be the period between 1908 and 1918. The Jeune Turcs' influence on government starts with the constitutional reform in 1908. The constitutional reform was realized as a result of insurrection in the Balkans (Macedonia). The officers and members of the Committee of the Union and Progress (CUP), took to the hills and demanded restoration of the Constitution. Abulhamid yielded in 1908 and the Second Constitutional Period began.<sup>225</sup> After the CUP came to power, they came across with a strong opposition. Although the Second Constitutional Period saw the publication of many new magazines and a relative freedom was felt in the country,<sup>226</sup> the CUP leaders acted as guardians that evoked a single-party rule. Oppositional insurgence in April 1909 was organized by Muhammadan Union, *İttihad-ı Muhammedi*, and some twenty of the CUP leaders were killed. The CUP leaders, secretly organized in Macedonia gathered an army named Action Army (*Hareket Ordusu*) under the command of Mahmut Şevket Pasha to suppress the revolt. "The occasion provided the excuse for Abdulhamid's deposition and the accession of his brother Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918)."<sup>227</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 161.

<sup>224</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East*, 342.

<sup>225</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 194.

<sup>226</sup> Kenan Akyüz, *Modern Türk Edebiyatının Ana Çizgileri* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 2015), 164.

<sup>227</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 195-196. Although both of them were in the opposition and carried the title "young" in their names, the Young Ottomans and the Jeune Turcs were not similar in all aspects. Ideologically, there was a big difference between the Young Ottomans and the Jeune Turcs. Even though both groups were influenced from the European thought, the latter lacked the Islamic sentiments of the former one and was under the influence of scientific materialism. "Karl Vogt (1817-1895), Jacop Moleschott (1822-1893), and Ludwig Büchner (1824-1899), whose *Kraft und*



Many opposition parties emerged between 1909 and 1911. By this time, these parties, ineffective before the CUP, gathered under single roof. The Freedom and Accord Party (*Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*) was promising in the by-elections held in İstanbul. Alarmed, the CUP intervened in the general elections known as *sopalı seçim* (big-stick election). Though won the elections, the new government was void of legitimacy and soon dissolved. However, military losses continued and due to the defeat in the I. Balkan War, the possibility of the loss of Edirne and the occupation of İstanbul, the CUP, which pursued a radical nationalist policy, seized the government through a *coup d'état* and Mahmut Şevket Pasha became the Grand Vizier, soon before his assassination in 1913. After this time until 1918, the CUP gained entire control of the Empire and a triumvirate of Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas governed the country.<sup>228</sup>

The period witnessed succeeding wars that hastened the end of the Ottoman Empire. After the Balkan Wars (1911-12) the Empire lost most of its territories in the Balkans and entrance into the First World War started a series of wars that ended with the Battle of Sakarya in 1922.<sup>229</sup> In this period, for the CUP leaders, most of whom were of military origin, a militarized society was an ideal to be realized. To this end they made certain reforms inspired by the Japanese army after its victory against Russia and the ideas of Goltz Pasha, a German Field Marshal whose idea of “a nation in arms” was well-known by the CUP leaders during his long services for the Empire between 1883 and 1895.<sup>230</sup>

The Young Turk Period is very important for the history of nationalism in Turkey. As Naci Bostancı puts forward, to understand the intellectual background and the development of national consciousness in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as its emotional resources, it is necessary to have a look at the discourse adopted by the nationalist cadres. When the Second Constitutional Period was launched in 1908, it was celebrated by the nationalist cadre in Thessalonica by playing the Marseillaise.

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Stoff (Force and Matter) was popular among students in İstanbul's elite service academies,<sup>227</sup> were influential materialist thinkers. *Ibid.*, 163. For an analysis of the influence of positivism on Turkish intellectual thought, see Murtaza Korlaelçi, *Pozitivizm'in Türkiye'ye Girişi* (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2002).

<sup>228</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 198.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 193-226.

<sup>230</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 199.

Although this anecdote demonstrates the French nationalist sentiments in Turkish nationalism, Bostancı points out the impact of German romanticism as well.<sup>231</sup>

Especially before the loss of the Balkan territories, where many non-Muslim subjects of the Empire were living, the Unionists wanted to Ottomanize the Empire and “in June 1909 they began to introduce legislation whose aim was to curb the political and cultural autonomy of the minorities, and to give control of these activities—for example, education—to state, which would then set about creating a common Ottoman culture through schools.”<sup>232</sup>

One thing that the CUP is associated with in the minds of Turkish people is their uncontrolled dynamism that led to the breakup of the Empire. With respect to Turkey, the primary inheritor of the Empire, it is possible to observe first seeds of Turkist policies culminated with the Kemalist period. One of the significant denominators of the transition from a multi-ethnic empire to a nation-state can be observed in the Turkification policies of the CUP.<sup>233</sup> Using nationalism as a struggle against imperialism, Findley thinks that the late period of the Ottomans was twice imperial.

The Ottoman Empire was a multi-national empire that was endangered by both separatist nationalism and European imperialism. Ottoman and Turkish forms of nationalism developed in response to that untenable situation. The Empire never lost its sovereignty, although it lost territories to colonialism. The threat of imperialism was, however, pervasive. Ottoman sovereignty was eroded systematically in addition to the loss of outlying provinces and the struggle to establish the Turkish Republic really was a struggle for national survival.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Naci Bostancı, *Cumhuriyeti Anlamak: Kurucu İdeoloji, Ekonomi ve Siyasete Dair* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2008), 38-39.

<sup>232</sup> Feroz Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic: Essays on the Late Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey 1* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2008), 106.

<sup>233</sup> For the literary repercussions of Turkism and the support of the CUP government, see Murat Belge, *Genesis: 'Büyük Ulusal Anlatı' ve Türklerin Kökeni*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009). In contrast to its policy in the Arab lands, the CUP did pursue Turkification in Anatolia from 1913 on, not that doing so contradicted emphasizing Islam and Ottoman identity in its view. The CUP collaborated with the Turkist publications and with the Turkish Hearth associations (Türk Ocakları, 1912) which published the nationalist journal *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) and claimed thirty-five branches and twelve hundred members by 1918[.] Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 204.

<sup>234</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 9-10. Selim Deringil, opposes the view that during the Ottoman Empire's reign, the name Turk was used in a derogatory sense and giving examples from the writings of two Ottoman pashas claims that in late Ottoman Empire Turks were seen as the fundamental

During the period when the transition from empire to republic was taking place, some reforms similar to those applied during Atatürk's period was realized. Some of these were usage of Turkish (a more simplified Turkish), law for the encouragement of industry (27 March 1915) and even discussions about changing the alphabet.<sup>235</sup>

The three famous political movements of the CUP period, namely, pan-Ottomanism, pan-Islamism, and pan-Turkism saw a collapse upon the breakup of the Ottoman Empire on October 30, 1918.<sup>236</sup> This was due to the sudden disintegration of the Empire and the impossibility to pursue an imperial policy. However, before they collapsed, these three schools of thought were very effective and have still repercussions in modern Turkey.<sup>237</sup>

## 2.2 Republic of Turkey and Kemalist Nationalism

Except for the Gallipoli War, the Ottomans saw successive defeats in the last decade of the Empire. After the Greek army occupied İzmir in May 1919 and the invasion of Western Anatolia began, a resistance movement by the nationalist forces started. The wars lasted three years in many fronts after which nationalist forces restored their authority in all parts of Anatolia.<sup>238</sup>

The change began in 1919, when a Turkish officer called Mustafa Kemal, later surnamed Atatürk, organized and led a movement of resistance in the heart of Anatolia against foreign invaders and occupiers. In a series of remarkable victories, he was able to rid the country of foreign forces, annul the draconian peace treaty which the victors had imposed on the sultan's government and since the sultan's government had refused to align itself with these new forces, abolished the sultanate and proclaimed a republic. Under Atatürk's leadership, the republic carried through an extensive and comprehensive programme of modernization and —uniquely in the Muslim world— of secularization.<sup>239</sup>

Diplomatic successes followed those at the battlefield, which epitomized with the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. It gave international recognition to the new borders of Turkey. “On 29 October, the nationalist leadership, which was overwhelmingly

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element of the Empire and there was an endeavor to create a reliable population through education. Selim Deringil, *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 94.

<sup>235</sup> Bostancı, *Cumhuriyeti Anlamak*, 26.

<sup>236</sup> Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 431.

<sup>237</sup> For the solutions that these schools developed See Mustafa Gündüz, *İkinci Meşrutiyet'in Klasik Paradigmaları: İctihad, Sebilü'r Reşad ve Türk Yurdu'nda Toplumsal Tezler* (Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2007).

<sup>238</sup> Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 2003), 2.

<sup>239</sup> Lewis, *The Middle East*, 345.

military in its composition, established the republic and set in motion the process to create a new Turkey and a new Turk.”<sup>240</sup>

The success and the contribution of the Turkish army was definite and clear; however, still there was no consensus on the type of the regime to be created after the victory. Discussions varied from keeping constitutional monarchy and caliphate to seeking American mandate. According to Feroz Ahmad, since there was a Turkish bourgeoisie now, though in small numbers, any other choice except for the republic would be anachronistic and would not lead country towards the end of rapid progress and modernity.

The Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923 and Mustafa Kemal became its first president. His position was still not secure. There were rivals and opponents who had to be removed, especially in the army, where they could pose a serious threat. By 1926, this threat had been eliminated and some of the most prominent generals were retired.<sup>241</sup>

Mustafa Kemal was not only a successful soldier but also a determined and a skillful politician. Under his leadership, carefully designed but radical reforms were made successively. These were the abolishment of the sultanate (1922), declaration of the republic,<sup>242</sup> abolishment of the caliphate, admission of a new constitution and declaration of Ankara as capital (1924).<sup>243</sup> Atatürk had two basic goals: first, to realize a modern, secular Turkey that could reach the level of contemporary civilizations and compete with them. His second goal included the creation of a new Turkish identity, a modern or civilized man who is also conscious and proud about his country and Turkish heritage.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Ahmad, *The Making*, 2-3.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

<sup>242</sup> “It was – rightly – feared that the proclamation of the republic sounded the death knell of the caliphate. In November the president of the Istanbul bar association, Lûtfi Fikri, sent an open letter to the press in which he pleaded for a more influential position for the caliph; and in December two eminent Indian Muslims, Ameer Ali and the Aga Khan, sent a similar letter both to the prime minister and to the press.” Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey a Modern History*, (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993), 167.

<sup>243</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 248. As Patrick Kinross notes in his book, the revolutionary side of Atatürk was always very strong and his adoration for the French Revolution and Napoleon made itself apparent in his famous table speeches especially with young students. Patrick Kinross, *Atatürk: The Rebirth of a Nation* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2001), 477.

<sup>244</sup> Jacob M. Landau, ed. *Atatürk and the Modernization of Turkey* (Leiden: Westview Press, 1984), xiii

When looked from today's perspective, the national movement may be seen as a secularist, anti-imperialist movement that aimed at bringing down the old order as well as the invasion of the Western imperial powers in Anatolia. However, as Feroz Ahmad states, though it was anti-imperialist, the movement was very conservative in essence.<sup>245</sup> It came into being as an alliance between civil-military bureaucracy, notables and landlords and the new born bourgeoisie created during the CUP period. By placing the war before every kind of discussions, Mustafa Kemal was very adroit in keeping his intentions secret and mobilized vast numbers of people who regarded it a struggle at the end of which sultan was to be restored to power.<sup>246</sup>

The notion of an Islamic state was anathema to Mustafa Kemal and his supporters. They viewed such a state as the way to maintain the status quo and perpetuate the backwardness of Turkey. For their part, the Kemalists wanted to see Turkey transformed into a modern nation state which, in the words of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), would 'live as an advanced and civilised nation in the midst of contemporary civilisation'. Such a nation would have to be secular and rational, emphasising science and modern education in order to create a modern industrial economy. But before Turkey could be remade in the Kemalist image, political power had to be seized from the hands of reactionaries and conservatives.<sup>247</sup>

However, as a result of these reforms, an opposition led by the other leaders of the national struggle appeared. In 1924 a new party led by Rauf Orbay, Progressive Republican Party, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, was established. However, certain rebellions in the eastern provinces constituted a pretext for the governing party to abolish the new party, claiming that they were provoking religious opposition.<sup>248</sup> Another contentious practice, which is still an issue of conflict in Turkey, was the establishment of Independence Tribunals, *İstiklal Mahkemeleri*. "After the Şeyh Said revolt, the law for the maintenance of order and independence

<sup>245</sup> Naci Bostancı emphasizes the multiple trends in Turkish nationalism, which diversifies from romantic notion that sought for Turanic unity to establish a national state to an elastic national understanding that includes Islamicist tendencies. Atatürk and the leaders of national forces, *Kuvay-ı Milliye*, were from the second stream. Naci Bostancı, *Cumhuriyeti Anlamak*, 39.

<sup>246</sup> "1920 Assembly as an indicator, came from provincial notables and clericals as well as some representatives of the professions, the bureaucracy, and army officers." Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 52.

<sup>247</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 53.

<sup>248</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 250. Of the successive Kurdish rebellions that took place after 1925, Sheikh Said Revolt in 1925 is the most known of all. Among the reasons for the Sheikh Said revolt were uneasiness felt towards the Westernization, Turkification and centralization policies of Ankara, as well as abolition of Caliphate and revocation of Sharia. Robert W. Olson and William F. Tucker, "The Sheikh Sait Rebellion in Turkey (1925): A Study in the Consolidation of a Developed Uninstitutionalized Nationalism and the Rise of Incipient (Kurdish) Nationalism" *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 18, Issue 3/4 (1978), pp. 195-211 (199-200). The government responded strongly and took certain steps that enabled them to tighten the grips. Declaration of martial law in the east was followed by a Law for Maintenance of Order, *Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu*, "authorizing the government to ban organizations or publications that undermined the law and order." Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 251.

tribunals served as tools for generalized purge of opposition, actual and potential. What precipitated the purge was a foiled plot to assassinate Mustafa Kemal in İzmir (June 1926).”<sup>249</sup>

Radical westernizing reforms were the most distinctive character of the period. Especially after the suppression of the opposition, other group of reforms continued without stop. “Following the closing of sharia courts in 1924, legal reform resumed with the 1926 adoption of legal codes borrowed and translated from various continental European countries, civil (Swiss), penal (Italian), and commercial (Italian and German). The Swiss civil code prescribed ostensibly equal rights for men and women.”<sup>250</sup> The ban of dervish brotherhoods (1925), a law that obliged wearing Western style hats by men or the dress revolution (1925), admission of international calendar (1925), adoption of the metric system (1931), alteration of call for prayer from Arabic to Turkish (1932) and weekly holiday from Friday to Sunday (1935).<sup>251</sup> Arabic script was replaced with the Latin alphabet (1928). The surname law was accepted in 1935 and Mustafa Kemal got the surname Atatürk (the father of Turks).<sup>252</sup>

One of the reasons for the rapid implementation of the reforms without much trouble (although there was some resistance in the eastern Anatolia, it was quelled in a short time) was the great change in the population. Unlike in the years of the Ottoman Empire, most of the population in what is now Turkey was made up of Muslims. Another reason was the international balances before and during the Second World War. Unlike the last years of the Ottoman Empire, during 1920s and 1930s since global connectedness was relatively loosened, the Turkish Republic, exempt from the conflicts caused by ethnic issues, was able to concentrate on domestic policies.<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 251. The purge was officially ended by a thirty-six hour oration in RPP Congress in 1927. *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>250</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 253.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, 252.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 253. For an overall discussion of the relationship between the Kemalist reforms on the creation of a new Turkish identity, see Hale Yılmaz, *Becoming Turkish: Nationalist Reforms and Cultural Negotiations in Early Republican Turkey, 1923-1945* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2013). Also for an early assessment on the reforms and the creation of the Republic of Turkey, see Halide Edip Adıvar, *Turkey Faces West* (London: Yale University Press, 1930). Throughout the book, Halide Edip considers reforms during the first years of the Republic as a continuation of the modernization process started especially during the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>253</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 248.

In 1920s, due to secularization, a dramatic shift took place in the rationale for Turkish nationalism. Islam no more formed the basis for Turkish nationalism and secularization efforts pushed Islam out of the public domain. What Ankara proposed was a new national identity that could fill the void created by the absence of Islam/Islamic values).<sup>254</sup>

Despite the unsuccessful start in the first half of 1920s, the need for an opposition party was felt by Atatürk and the CHP cadres. Another opposition party, Free Republican Party, *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, was allowed to enter the political life of Turkey in 1930. Founded by Atatürk's close friend Fethi Okyar, the party aroused popular support and was soon annulled by Fethi Okyar himself upon Atatürk's revelation that he was not ready for such an experience yet.<sup>255</sup>

In the economic field, similar to Jeune Turcs, Kemalists also sought for creating a new Turkish bourgeoisie. And accordingly, they tried to create the proper environment for the development of that class, which would lead the country towards pluralist politics.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Çağaptay states that a varied definition of the nation was provided by Ankara: first, avoiding irredentism, Kemalism emphasized Turkish territory (Anatolia and Thrace) as the base of the nation. Atatürk declared: "the people of Turkey, who have established the Turkish state, are called the Turkish nation." Second, Atatürk stressed a shared past, interests and the desire to live together as the common denominators of the nation. Gradually, the official definition of the nation also focused on a voluntaristic formula. Accordingly, for instance, Article 5 of CHP's new by-laws adopted at the party's Second Congress held in Ankara on October 15–22, 1927 stipulated that one of "the strongest links" among the citizens was "unity in feelings and unity in ideas." Soner Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Modern Turkey: Who Is a Turk?* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 14.

<sup>255</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 258. Seeing that the support to Fethi Okyar's party, which was indeed loyal to Atatürk or the Republic (as much as İsmet İnönü), turned into an upsurge in İzmir, in 1930 Atatürk decided to annul the party. Following this, a reactionary incident took place in İzmir known as Menemen incident today, and though it was trivial and devoid of mass support, since it took place in one of the developed cities in Turkey, it was traumatic for the regime itself. To express this bitterness felt by the Kemalist cadre, Feroz Ahmad gives an example from Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: "It is as though nothing has happened all these years, as though...the idea of any of our radical reforms has not altered anything in this country [...]. Who were the passive, silent observers of this tragedy? Citizens of this secular, contemporary Republic of Turkey. That is the true calamity. It means the prevailing climate and environment, the moral climate, the moral environment was not that of the revolutionary, republican and patriotic Turkish youth; it was the climate and environment of Dervish Mehmed, a devotee of the Naqshibandi [Sufi] Order which we have described with such adjectives as 'rebellious' 'brutal', 'thieving' and 'reactionary'. Had it not been so, this man could not have found twenty minutes to do his work...Shaykh Mehmed is just a symptom, a shadow." Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 60.

<sup>256</sup> Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic 1*, 180. While the politics in the economic field is believed to have been capitalist in twenties, after the Great Depression, etatism was adopted. "Kemalist development strategy emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as a pragmatic experiment in etatism (Devletçilik), which has been variously described as "a modernised form of mercantilism," 'an advanced type of socialism,' as a "third way' outside capitalism and socialism' or, more critically, a

Since Kemalist cadre recognized the social unrest and the absence of an economic benefit of the new regime, they decided to improve the conditions through a statist policy that would take all the responsibility on itself.<sup>257</sup> The reforms made by the Kemalist cadre in the second half of 1920s were a blow to the present traditions and cultural practices of the society and they led to a general statement of amnesia that resulted with estrangement to some extent.<sup>258</sup>

Due to Kemalist elites' suspicion that the reforms were not as effective as they had planned, similar to Jacobins, they opted for creating a novel identity that would demarcate their difference from the Ottomans. It required the creation of a new Turkish identity. In this context, the endeavor to reach the levels of contemporary civilization was initiated, religion was otherized and the reforms contained anti-religious sentiments, which in turn deepened the rift between the center and the periphery.<sup>259</sup>

At the same time, the party began to produce a new ideology which was christened Kemalism (*Kemalizm*, also called Atatürkism or *Atatürkçülük*) with which they hoped to commit the state to rapid progress so as to win the allegiance of the people. Essentially, the goal was to substitute Turkish nationalism for Islam and Ottomanism so as to destroy the hold of the past on the rising republican generation.<sup>260</sup>

Though can be seen as a reverberation of French Revolution, after 1930s Kemalist elites, especially Atatürk himself, promoted cultural studies to create a history specific to Turks. Turkish history was being separated from the dominance of the Ottoman past and connected to Central Asia where Anatolian Turks are believed to have originally migrated from.<sup>261</sup>

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system providing 'a poorly managed capitalist economy in which most of the capital happens to be supplied by the government.' The immediate origins of etatism have been ascribed to either contemporary communism or fascism, but more realistically, it was conceived as a home-grown strategy to meet the challenges of nation-building rather than as a dogmatic, universalistic ideology."<sup>256</sup> Mehmet Özay, "Turkey in Crisis: Some Contradictions in the Kemalist Development Strategy," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Feb., 1983): 49.

<sup>257</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 61.

<sup>258</sup> Kadioğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism," 186.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>260</sup> Kadioğlu, "The Paradox", 61.

<sup>261</sup> A Viennese scholar, Hermann Kvergić, had developed a theory propounding all languages derived from a Central Asian tongue, which had a relation with Turkish. Although it was received with skepticism, Atatürk approved this theory named "Sun Language Theory," and through language councils gathered under his leadership, it was officially promoted by the state. Under the direct guidance of Atatürk, this theory was accepted as a support to "Turkish Historical Thesis," which claimed that the Turkish people were of Central Asian origin and had migrated to Anatolia and founded great civilizations including the Near-Eastern ones such as Sumerians and Hittites. Findley,



From the beginning of 1930s, especially with the unsuccessful trial of a multi-party system, while liberalism and democracy lost its impetus in the eyes of many Kemalists, more authoritative regimes that included single-party administrations appeared as alternatives.<sup>262</sup> Among these regimes, fascism came as the best alternative mostly because it “was nationalist and patriotic and therefore more suitable for the regime in Ankara.” Recep Peker who was the leading defender of such regime became the secretary general in 1931 and continued this post until 1936. Although certain steps were taken such as opening “People’s Houses” (1931), and the introduction of six principles and RPP’s 1935 resolution to unite party and state, especially with the resistance of İş Bankası Group led by Celal Bayar, who defended a more liberal economic program, the Republic never gave up liberal ideas and the idea of progress.<sup>263</sup> However, due to both the crisis in Europe and the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, “the regime became more autocratic and borrowed legislation freely from the fascist states.” This tendency even became more powerful during İsmet İnönü’s presidency and the regime in Turkey even adopted a fascist slogan: “One Party, One Nation, One Leader.”<sup>264</sup>

Although the principles of Kemalism was laid down during the part congress in 1931, as Zürcher expresses, Kemalism or Atatürkism was not a coherent ideology but a set of attitudes without a clear definition.<sup>265</sup> The principles were republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and revolutionism (or reformism).<sup>266</sup> Secularism and nationalism, which were two of the most significant ideologies of the

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*Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 256. For a detailed analysis of the language reform in Turkey, see Geoffrey Lewis, *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>262</sup> Feroz Ahmed thinks that Kemalist regime was by no means democratic. It was different from Western democracy since “the existence and acceptance of élites or classes and the presence of open political competition between them, was absent virtually throughout the period under discussion.” However, he also contends that since Kemalists did not only struggle against imperialism but also the old order, an expectation of democracy was not very possible. They were able to establish their power only towards mid-twenties and “they still had to cope with a latent opposition as well as a suspicious, sullen, and resentful population unable to comprehend the emerging new order.” Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic* 1, 174.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 184-187. However, in this period the government did not show any tolerance to institutions trying to contribute to Kemalist reforms from outside. *Türk Ocakları*, Turkish Hearths, is one of these institutions that were closed down during the single party period. For more information on Turkish Hearths, see Füsun Üstel, *Türk Ocakları 1912-1931* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>265</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 181.

<sup>266</sup> For a detailed account of Kemalist ideology, see İsmet Giritli, *Türk Devrim Tarihi ve Atatürkçü Düşünce*, (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2006).

Jeune Turcs, became the pillars of the new republic and were interpreted in their extreme forms.<sup>267</sup>

As for the other principles, republicanism was a fundamental one especially from 1923 on; populism was, however, a two-edged sword: on one hand it was a determination to put the interests of the nation before any group or class and on the other hand “it entailed a denial of class interests (according to Kemalism, Turkey did not have classes in the European sense) and a prohibition of political activity based on class (and thus of all socialist or communist activity).”<sup>268</sup> Revolutionism or reformism, *inkılapçılık*, meant commitment to the state’s programs and reforms and a deep belief in Kemalist reforms. Statism was an economic term, meaning the superiority of the state in the economic activities.<sup>269</sup>

Revolutions in the cultural sphere followed one another during Atatürk’s era. Reforms were aimed at creating difference from the Ottoman Islamic past in the name of a westernized and secular Turkey. One of the most differentiating reforms was the language reform, which still shows its impact in modern Turkey.

Following the alphabet reform, a second step taken in the area of language was the purification movement. Two primary reasons for this reform were the quick success of the alphabet reform, supporting the belief that “revolution by decree was possible” and the nature of the new script that made that kind of purism possible, if not necessary. In the most radical sense, it aimed at cleaning Turkish from Arabic and Persian-origin vocabulary, which in fact bore concordance with the radical nationalism of 1930s.<sup>270</sup> However, as a result of the purification movement, led personally by Atatürk himself, an artificial language was created and although Atatürk gave some speeches that were by no means intelligible to people listening to it, in 1935 he himself adopted a more conventional usage of the language. The

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<sup>267</sup> Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 181. Zurcher notes that the interpretation of secularism did not solely include the separation of state and religion; it also sought to remove religion from the public sphere and to have an absolute authority over the religious institutions. There were efforts to create a new national identity, a rather extreme one based on historical myths, in order to substitute for religious identity in many ways. Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 181-2.

<sup>268</sup> Erik J. Zurcher, *Turkey: a Modern History*, 182.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, These six principles known as six arrows, *altı ok*, were included in the Constitution in 1937 and constituted the principles of the Turkish Republic. For some Kemalists, these were the credo of the “Turkish religion.” The flexibility of the ideology was buttressed by the personality cult embodied in Mustafa Kemal’s personality. He was not only the leader of the country but also father of the nation (Atatürk). *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>270</sup> Zurcher, *Turkey: a Modern History*, 189-190.

reform was in a deadlock and tried to be saved through the adoption of *Güneş-Dil Teorisi*, Sun-Language Theory in the same year.

This theory held that all languages derived originally from one primeval language, spoken in Central Asia, that Turkish was the closest of all languages to this origin and that all languages had developed from the primeval language through Turkish. The theory, concocted by a Viennese ‘Orientalist’ by the name of Kvergic, was greeted with scepticism among Turkish linguists, but it gained the support of Mustafa Kemal, who ordered the Society for the Study of the Turkish Language (later, Turkish Linguistic Society) to study it in detail. The Society’s third congress in 1936 officially adopted the theory, and courses in it were made obligatory at the Arts Faculty in Ankara.<sup>271</sup>

History, a most important element for nations and nationalisms in general, was also under reconstruction during the single party period. The Society for the Study of Turkish History, *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti*, later Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), was founded in 1931. In its first congress in Ankara in 1932, in accordance with the endeavor to create a national history apart from the Ottoman past and Islam, “Turkish historical thesis” was put forth for the first time.<sup>272</sup> As Zurcher notes, the theory was emphatically supported by Atatürk and claimed that Turks were coming from Aryan inhabitants of Central Asia and these people, who were forced to migrate to the various parts of the world such as China, Europe and the Near East due to severe climatic conditions, were able to create admirable civilizations. Thus, Hittites and Sumerians, some of the oldest civilizations in Anatolia, begun to be regarded as proto-Turks and some of the banks established by the state in 1930s were named *Sümerbank* and *Etibank*, Hittite Bank.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> *Ibid*, 190. For an analysis of the reforms on language and the relationship between reforms in Turkish language and Turkish (Kemalist) nationalism, see Kemal Karpat, “A Language in Search of a Nation: Turkish in the Nation-State,” in *Studies on Turkish Politics and Society*, ed. Reinhard Schulze, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 435-466.

<sup>272</sup> Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 191. The theories of Turkish nationalism that were developed during the end of 1920s and 30s were utilized as the tools of the Republic that sought to displace regionalism and create a secular identity that could unite the Turkish people under a single objective. Therefore, they were not propounded to search for the truths about Turkish history but to provide an ideological basis that could be replaced with Pan-Ottomanism and Pan-Islam and a legitimate explanation that could prevent ideological divisiveness. Once the Republic achieved social transformations and felt politically stronger, they were mostly abandoned. J. Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Vol. II The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 376.

<sup>273</sup> Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 191.

Both Zurcher and Çağaptay agree that the nationalism that came out in the 30s was indeed in contradiction with the adoption of the Western ways.<sup>274</sup> However, Zurcher also notes that this made it easier for the Kemalist elites to encourage people to prefer Western civilization rather than the Middle East. Moreover, the feeling of superiority felt by the younger nations turned westernization process into an easier pill to swallow.<sup>275</sup>

Also, in 1930s, the definition of Turkish nation was becoming increasingly ethnic. First History Congress, which propounded the Turkish History Thesis, also affirmed the bases of the official nationalism of Turkey: These were “race, ethnicity, and a long glorious history [...] second, only people who spoke Turkish would be eligible for the membership to the nation; and third religion was deemed irrelevant in defining Turkishness.”<sup>276</sup>

The ethnic aspect of Turkish nationalism that came out in 1930s is in fact an important point where Yakup Kadri’s understanding of Kemalism differentiates from the official ideology. While Yakup Kadri’s emphasis seems to be restricted with the revolutionary characteristics of Kemalism, which stipulate a modernist transformation and an economic development, cultural nationalism of 30s does not find a significant place in his novels.

After Atatürk’s death, İsmet İnönü became the president and the single party regime continued another 12 years until his party lost against Democrat Party in 1950 elections. He became the “National Chief” while Atatürk was announced as the “Eternal Chief”. Under the Second World War conditions, military was mobilized and The National Defense Law, which gave extraconstitutional powers to the

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<sup>274</sup> “Turkey in 1930s was less democratic than the Jeune Turc regime before 1913. Yet Turkey never abandoned the forms of parliamentary, electoral government. Aspirationally if not actually, Turkey was a western style republic. It never veered to the extremes exemplified by Germany, Italy, Japan, or the Soviet Union.” Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 262.

<sup>275</sup> Zurcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 191. However, Kemalist policies toward the traditions of the people and Islamic practices, including the ban of *tarikats* (Dervish lodges) and recitation of *ezan* (call to prayer) recited 5 times a day from the minarets of mosques), in Turkish language, brought about politically negative consequences in the long run. “[T]hrough the simultaneous imposition of an authoritarian and –especially during the 1940s– increasingly unpopular regime and suppression of popular Islam, the Kemalists politicized Islam and turned it into a vehicle for opposition. One could say that, in turning against popular religion, they cut the ties that bound them to the mass of the population.” *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>276</sup> Çağaptay, *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism*, 52.

government, was passed.<sup>277</sup> This period saw the increasing unison of the party and the state. The pressure exerted by the state caused uneasiness among the people; the most famous policy that caused distress was the *Varlık Vergisi* (Capital Levy).<sup>278</sup>

The increasing statist politics combined with wartime economic problems and increasing control of the state on every aspect of life made everything much harder for farmers and the other classes as well. “The National Defence Law of 18 January 1940 gave the government extensive emergency powers to control prices and the supply of goods in the market, and to use forced labour, especially in the mines.”<sup>279</sup> During the war years, but especially in 1942, prices and inflation rose dramatically, and government rationed even bread. İnönü complained about hoarding and black marketeering and only ten days later the notorious “Capital Levy Law, which is known for its unjust treatment of the non-Muslim landowners and bourgeoisie.”<sup>280</sup> As Feroz Ahmad states, “[t]he uneasy political alliance between the bourgeoisie, the landlords, and the military-civilian bureaucracy which came into existence during the war of liberation had finally broken down as a result of wartime pressures.”<sup>281</sup>

In 1946 a new party was registered and at least officially, multi-party era was opened for Turkey. An early election in 1946 -which is believed to have been organized unfairly- enabled RPP’s continuation as the government for four more years. However in 1950, taking 53 percent of the votes, Democrat Party, which also believed in Kemalist ideas, won the elections and the history of Turkey changed.<sup>282</sup> Although a multi-party system had been adopted, the pressure of the army on politics, which has been an aspect of Turkish political life from CUP Period on, had increasingly grown.<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> “The law gave the government extensive control over production, supply, and labor, including powers to seize enterprises and force peasants to work at nominal wages on public works and in coal mines. Turkey’s military forces were increased to over one million men, mostly peasants; large numbers of draft animals were also conscripted.” Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 266.

<sup>278</sup> “Announced as a wealth tax, it was applied so that 70 percent of the proceeds came from İstanbul, 65 percent of them from non-Muslims.” Those who could not pay it were sent to a camp in Aşkale, Erzurum. In addition, The Soil Products Tax, 1944-46, forced labour and long-term conscription caused a great resentment among people which increased the need for a change. *Ibid.*, 266-267.

<sup>279</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 70.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>282</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 267-268.

<sup>283</sup> For a detailed analysis of military-civilian relations in Turkey and Ottoman Empire, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Asker ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2010).

Kemalism or Kemalist nationalism has been subjected to many criticisms since it became a part of Turkish politics from the beginning of 1920s. While it is possible to find very early versions such as Halide Edip Adıvar's "Dictatorship and Reform in Turkey" (Yale Review), the critical approaches were expressed increasingly after the single-party period. Those criticisms came from different fractions of the Turkish society, including liberals, conservatives, Islamists, Marxist and Socialists, Kurdish thinkers....<sup>284</sup>

Some of the main criticisms can be grouped as absence of a democratic stance, top-down imposition of reforms, inadequacy of economic reforms, and suppression of non-Turkish elements in the population. While westernization and modernization policies of the Kemalist cadre are considered acceptable, they are generally criticized as an intense and radical program.<sup>285</sup>

### 2.2.1 Nationalism as a substitute for religion

The new state was dominated by an intelligentsia (*münevverler, aydınlar*), military and civilian in composition, which formed the hard core of the Kemalist movement. Arthur Koestler describes the intelligentsia as follows:

The intelligentsia in the modern sense thus first appears as that part of a nation which by its social situation not so much 'aspires' but is driven to independent thought, that is, to type of group behavior which debunks the existing hierarchy of values (from which it is excluded) and at the same time tries to replace it with new values of its own. This constructive tendency of the intelligentsia is its second basic feature. The true iconoclasts always had a prophetic streak, and all debunkers have a bashfully hidden pedagogic vein.<sup>286</sup>

The leaders of the Republic saw reformism, *inkılapçılık*, as the lever of modernism, which led to a "creative enthusiasm" that would also serve to unite masses. However, this enthusiasm was always prone to the danger of falling into an unearned income. Those who controlled and directed this enthusiasm could exploit and transform it into a means that could provide unearned income. Bostancı contends that it was not

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<sup>284</sup> For a broader discussion, see Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekingil, eds., "Kaynakçaya Dair" in, *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, vol. 2, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 601-609.

<sup>285</sup> For an overall analysis of the relation between modernization and nationalism in Turkey, see Süleyman Seyfi Ögün, *Modernleşme, Milliyetçilik ve Türkiye* (Ankara: Bağlam Yayınları, 1995). Kemalist nationalism was also criticized to be authoritarian, not very authentic as it was regarded to be the continuation of the Jeune Turc Movement. Levent Köker, *Modernleşme Kemalizm ve Demokrasi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 234. It was also considered to be elitist. Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 83-84. And especially after 1930s, CHP was seen as a party defending westernization as a radical form of revolutionism. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 63.

<sup>286</sup> Arthur Koestler, *The Yogi and the Commissar* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 73, quoted in Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic 1*, 205.

surprising to see that some groups were able to instrumentalize this reformist enthusiasm, transforming it into an exaggerated hollow discourse that laid over stress on its mystical side. This would also guarantee their own positions. This group not only received criticism from the reformist circle but also constituted the basis for criticisms toward reforms in general.<sup>287</sup>

In the area of culture, Kemalists did aim at revolution, both by excluding religion from public life and by making the Ottoman cultural heritage inaccessible to future generations through disruptive change in the alphabet and language. In the long run, secular Turks would find it difficult to tame Islam or replace it with nationalism and secularism as alternative belief systems.<sup>288</sup>

Grace Ellison states that nationalism was a new religion in Turkey and claims that *Misak-ı Milli* (National Oath) was more valuable than the Quran. She also mentions Yakup Kadri's comparison of Atatürk to Jesus. According to Mete Tunçay, these expressions are not merely exaggerations of a foreign observer but normal considerations in the first half of Single Party period.<sup>289</sup>

According to Tunçay, especially among the people living in cities, under the impact of secularism, there appeared a spiritual void which was replaced by nationalism, and transformed into a "semi-religion."<sup>290</sup> This attitude was normalized and Atatürk and the governing elites around him were seen as dwellers of Olympus.<sup>291</sup> Tunçay thinks that secularism should be analyzed to understand this phenomenon and believes that since 1789 Revolution is believed to have had a certain amount of important impact on the Turkish Revolution, two artefacts of this revolution, namely intellectual despotism and positivism are important factors in adoption of this semi-religion.<sup>292</sup> He states that "propounding of nationalism as a religion was normalized especially

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<sup>287</sup> Bostancı, *Cumhuriyeti Anlamak*, 44.

<sup>288</sup> Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 256.

<sup>289</sup> Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması, (1923-1931)* (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1981), 324. For important observations and evaluations of Turkey in 1920s, see Grace Ellison, *Turkey Today* (London: Hutchinson, 1928).

<sup>290</sup> For an analysis of nationalism as a quasi-religion, see John E. Smith, *Quasi-Religions: Humanism, Marxism and Nationalism* (New York: Maximillian Education, 1994). Also, for an early evaluation of nationalism as a possible substitute for religious values in the modern world, see J. Carlton Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1926).

<sup>291</sup> Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti*, 325.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 326.

after CHP's fourth big (great) congress."<sup>293</sup> Even Mehmet Şeref Aykut (1874-1939), the deputy of Edirne, wrote a book named *Kamalizm* in 1936, in which he claims that Kamalizm is a religion.<sup>294</sup>

Giving an example from Yakup Kadri, who, like a shipwreck who finds consolation in repeating God's name, finds consolation by repeating Mustafa Kemal's name successively like an invocation (*Atatürk*, p. 36), Murat Belge states that "until 1960s, in Turkish Language Institute's (Türk Dil Kurumu) Turkish Dictionary, in religion article an example for the metaphorical usage of religion stated that 'Ataturkism is a Turkish religion'."<sup>295</sup>

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that Kemalist nationalism, which includes a conversion of Turkish people towards westernized, secular nationalist society, utilized the moral aspect of nationalist ideology in a way that at times it was confused or regarded as a substitution for religious values by some of the supporters of Kemalist revolutions including Yakup Kadri. This aspect of Kemalist nationalism and the glorification of the modernizing mission of Kemalist policies is not only important to grasp the mindset of the implementers of modernist national policies but also provides significant clues about the reason for the apparent moral and material corruption in Yakup Kadri's novels.

### **2.2.2 Modernist Nationalism and Revolutionary Republicanism as two key concepts**

Barbara Wards, in her book *Turkey*, states that in the period between 1925-1929, during which the distance between Turkey and Europe was further apart compared to the former years, Turkey had a great endeavor to westernize itself.<sup>296</sup> Also R.J. Kerner claims that the difference between reforms that were forced upon Turkey (the Ottoman Empire) by European forces and those that were implemented with a nationalist zeal by their own will was great.<sup>297</sup> When encountered the western

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<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 327.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>295</sup> Murat Belge, "Mustafa Kemal ve Kamalizm," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kamalizm*, 37.

<sup>296</sup> Barbara Wards, *Turkey*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), Quoted in Tunçay, *Tek Parti*, 331.

<sup>297</sup> R.J. Kerner, in *Social Sciences in the Balkans and in Turkey* (University Of California Press, 1930), 115-116, quoted in Tunçay, *Tek Parti*, 331.



hegemony, there were two ways for the Muslims to resist this hegemony; one was the way of zealots and the other was of Herodians. The zealot way of resistance includes fighting against the weapons of the enemy with your own terms and ways. Muslim zealots lived in the most infertile lands of the world and they had no attraction until the discovery of petroleum. The Herodian way, on the other hand, aims at obtaining the ways and weapons of the enemy and uses its mind rather than its heart. For Toynbee, İstanbul and Egypt have been the centers of this Herodian clique.<sup>298</sup> The boldest aspect of Herodian changes in Turkey lays in its claims to place a new social ideal before the Turkish people. Trade and industry become the new objectives that should be gained by this population.<sup>299</sup> However, Toynbee is very cautious about the success of this project and thinks that the Herodian way, which includes mimicry of the Western society, will be resisted by the rest of the population and also be restricted to a limited part of the population.<sup>300</sup>

While interpreting Kemalist nationalism or, to put it in a different way, Turkish nationalism in the first twenty five years of the Republic, due to different lines in Kemalism, definitions vary. Generally, it is seen as a continuation of the modernization process culminated in the last hundred years of the Empire: In all three periods of Turkish history (modernization) starting with the reign of Mahmud the Second to the reconstruction of the state, also during the reign of Bab-ı Ali and great pashas such as Reşit, Mithat and Ali, and even during Abdülhamid's era, the main concern was the survival/continuity of the state. According to Selim Deringil, it is this obsession about the state that provides a connection between Mahmut the Second and Mustafa Kemal.<sup>301</sup>

Selim Deringil thinks that before "Turkish nationalism" was established as a concept during the Republic, Ottoman statesmen prepared an ideological ground for it.<sup>302</sup> It would be important to also note that in the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876, Turkish was accepted as the official language of the Empire.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Medeniyet Yargılanıyor* (İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 1988), 177-187.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-190.

<sup>301</sup> Deringil, *Simgeden Millete*, 265. For a detailed account of Turkish language problem since Tanzimat, see Ziya Karal, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Türk Dili Sorunu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, V.II., (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları), 1985

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>303</sup> Deringil, *Simgeden Millete*, 267.

According to Murat Belge, “Kemalism is the national modernization ideal of Turkish people” and is very pragmatic in essence.<sup>304</sup> “In the economic area, there is hardly any doubt that Kemalism aimed for ‘industrialization’. In the area of social relations, especially reception of Western codes through law reforms can be seen as an indicator of Kemalist ideology’s will to Westernize the society in every area.”<sup>305</sup>

Generally, there is also a tendency to compare some aspects of Kemalist nationalism with the fascist regimes of its time. As Zürcher points out, the authoritarian regime in Turkey had certain similarities with the contemporary regimes in Spain, Greece and Italy in 1930s and 40s.<sup>306</sup> “It differed from them, however, in that it was not culturally and religiously conservative, but on the contrary attempted a far-reaching cultural revolution in a conservatively religious society.”<sup>307</sup>

In discussions about Kemalist (Turkish) nationalism, three aspects that come to fore are its relation with modernism, the influence of French type (its emphasis on unity of land and revolutionary characteristics) and German type of nationalism (emphasis on ethnical and cultural unity rather than land).<sup>308</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Belge, “Mustafa Kemal ve Kemalizm,” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*, 38.

<sup>305</sup> Köker, *Modernleşme*, 212.

<sup>306</sup> “There were many similarities between the Italian fascist regime and the Kemalists: the extreme nationalism, with its attendant development of a legitimizing historical mythology and racist rhetoric, the authoritarian character of the regime and its efforts to establish a complete totalitarian monopoly for its party of the political, social and cultural scene, the personality cult that developed around both Mussolini on the one hand and Atatürk and İnönü on the other, and the emphasis on national unity and solidarity with its attendant denial of class conflicts.” Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 186.

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

<sup>308</sup> The well-known typology of nationalism, ethnic/civic or Eastern/Western nationalism was first coined by Hans Kohn. According to Kohn, the emergence of nationalism took place as a “political occurrence” in certain leading western countries such as England, France, the Netherlands, United States and Switzerland. However, outside these western countries namely in “Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia” which are in a socially and politically at backward stage, nationalism occurred in a different way. In these places, the emergent nationalisms were problematic due to the problems regarding borders and nonconformity of political and ethnographic borders. This difference in the “political and social development” brought about these nationalisms to appear first in the cultural field. He suggests that the new developments taking place out of West were also affected by the West itself which “for a long time remained the teacher and the model.” This situation, as a consequence, was also treated with resistance and eventually led to these countries to adopt a nationalism of their own, which, for Kohn, meant the exclusion of the “liberal and rational outlook” of the Western model. These differences came out in opposition to the “Western rationalism and Universal standards” resulted with a different creation of fatherland, far from the political realities and predicated on “the myths of the past.” This development first took place in Central Europe (mainly Germany). In opposition to the Western nationalism, which had connection with “individual liberty and rational cosmopolitanism”, Central and Eastern Europe as well as Asia, replete with feelings of inferiority complex, social reality, lack of self-assurance, had a reverse inclination that resulted with a search for a soul and mission in their nationalist understandings. As a consequence of the difference of the effects of Renaissance and Reformation on Germany and Western Europe, Kohn suggests that

Ayşe Kadioğlu thinks that due to the manufactured character of the national identity or, to be more accurate, “Republican Turkish identity” in Turkey, the question of national identity is not “Who are the Turks?” but rather “Who and how are the Turks going to be?” This stems from the paradox in Turkish national identity which is peculiar to “Eastern nationalisms (or ethnic/non-societal) with a derivative discourse.”<sup>309</sup>

The first problem of this paradox is the necessity to find/achieve a balance between Western civilization and Turkish culture within the realm of nationalism. Since both French and German type of nationalisms have deeply influenced other springing nationalisms, the paradox or “search of Eastern nationalism, [...] is to transform the nation culturally while at the same time retaining its distinctiveness. Such a contradictory attempt is the leitmotiv in Turkish nationalism as it evolved alongside Turkish modernization.”<sup>310</sup>

The paradox of Turkish nationalism which resulted in both hostility towards and an imitation of Western ways has accompanied the modernization process since the turn of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, it is quite obvious that Turkish nationalism was not the awakening of Turks to national consciousness. It was rather a project undertaken by intellectuals whose discourse was laden with the dilemma of a choice between imitation and identity stemming from the aforementioned paradox.<sup>311</sup>

Turkish nationalism and Kemalism in particular is considered as a mixture of French and German nationalism, which is also called as Eastern and Western nationalisms. Since Kemalism both campaigned against the old order (Ancient Regime), including Sultanate and Caliphate and some of the old Islamic traditions, and prompted a

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German nationalism substituted for the legal and rational concept of ‘folk’ which is defined by imagination and emotion. Instead of (normal) political and social factors related to rights and the will of the people, in addition to the lack of the middle classes and secular learning, nationalism in Germany (and consequently in other parts of the non-western world), was an amalgamation of the medieval idea of empire and emotions. Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism*, 329-331.

As opposed to the “disinterested humanism” of the Western nationalism, Eastern model was “directed to laudable but narrower goals, self-centered and antagonistic.” The spirit of the new ideas was resisted with such feelings as “continuity and inertia” which in effect increased the gulf between nations grew in the age of nationalism.” While the Western model was based on new developments such as “educated middle class” and “socially-democratically organized labor movements,” Eastern model was “founded on history on monuments and graveyards.” *Ibid.*, 573-574.

<sup>309</sup> Ayşe Kadioğlu, “The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32/2, April (1996): 177.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, 179.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

cultural Turkism that put emphasis on primordial values such as a long history (Central Asia) and purified language (*Öztürkçe*), it is possible to come across with commentaries that sees it under the influence of either French type nationalism or German type; if not both of them at the same time.

After discussing the two types of nationalisms (ethnic and land unity), Özdoğan contends that Turkish or Kemalist nationalism united both civic and ethnic nationalism known as both French type and German (Romantic type) respectively.<sup>312</sup>

However, finding ethnic/civic categorization<sup>313</sup> inadequate,<sup>314</sup> new theories or explanations have been developed in recent years to explain and locate Turkish nationalism with regard to ethnic and civic dichotomy. As Sezgi Durgun discusses in his book, *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a*, Ayhan Aktar, in his book, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*,<sup>315</sup> also opposes the dichotomy of ethnic and civic nationalism in the context of Turkish nationalism, supposing that although Ziya Gökalp's culture-based nationalism can be regarded close to French type of nationalism, due to growing emphasis on race in Kemalist Turkish nationalism especially after 1930s, Turkish nationalism can be also compatible with ethnic and collectivist type of nationalism.<sup>316</sup> However, when Turkish nationalism is considered within the context of modernism and "the relationship established with the West", Turkish modernism can be defined as "defensive modernism."<sup>317</sup> "In this context the distinctive character of Kemalist nationalism is that it bears an understanding of politic modernity which, with its understanding of Westernization and emphasis on civilization, regards the modernization of the society related with the state."<sup>318</sup>

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<sup>312</sup> Günay Göksu Özdoğan, *Turan'dan Bozkut'a: Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük 1931-1946* (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2005), 82.

<sup>313</sup> For a discussion of Eastern/Western and Ethnic/Civic nationalisms see Louis L. Snyder, *The New Nationalism* (New Jersey: Cornell University Press, 2009).

<sup>314</sup> According to Levent Köker, the theories of modernization developed to explain transformation process in non-western societies include ethnocentric and teleological aspects. For these theories Western political system (or political organization) is the ideal to which other modernizing nations should reach. This necessitates an evolution according to the rules determined with reference to the Western societies which are preaccepted as more democratic and forward. In this context, "authoritarian political regimes" that sought to modernize or westernize their countries are accepted to be political tutelages. Such supposition includes a deductive logic which attributes certain meanings that cannot be drawn in the real political and social contexts. Levent Köker, *Modernleşme*, 231-232.

<sup>315</sup> Ayhan Aktar. *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000).

<sup>316</sup> Sezgi Durgun. *Memalik-i Şahane'den Vatan'a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 53

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 54

Baskın Oran compares Turkish intellectuals with the intelligentsia of the other developing countries and identifies three similar characteristics. First, Turkish intelligentsia is from small bourgeoisie, since they are not a separate class, they are over class distinctions, and lastly Turkish intelligentsia is the result of Western education.<sup>319</sup>

A recent criticism regarding the geographical distinction stipulated by this typology comes from Ayhan Akman. In his essay “Modernist Nationalism”, Akman opposes the generalization of the dichotomy which puts a number of countries in the east (or third world countries in general) in the same basket. By problematizing the distinction of east/west, which covers the whole world, Akman suggests a third category, opposing the supposed dilemma between authenticity and modernization regarding all non-European countries. He claims that the more a country is subjected to the experience of colonialism, that is, where the aforementioned dilemma is deeper, the more tendency there is to develop ethnic nationalism. And reversely, the more a country has resisted to the colonial forces successfully, the more likely it develops modernist nationalism. As Akman suggests, this distinction aims at explaining the nationalist experience of some non-European countries such as Turkey and Russia. Although the general distinction is made between Western and non-Western countries, it has a tendency to prioritize colonized countries’ experience.<sup>320</sup>

Because these countries (Turkey, Russia, China) fall outside of two canonical dichotomies simultaneously, the non-colonized, non-European societies suffer a

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<sup>319</sup> Baskın Oran, *Atatürk Milliyetçiliği: Resmi İdeoloji Dışı Bir İnceleme*, (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1990), 84. However, apart from similarities, there are social distinctions between Turkey and the other developing countries. These are categorized under four titles: historical, structural, ethnological and chronological. In historical aspect, since there is not a direct invasion, intelligentsia in the Ottoman lands do not bear a hatred towards the West. Structurally, class structure is much stronger than the other underdeveloped countries (Oran, *Atatürk Milliyetçiliği*, 85-88). Since Turkish people are white and they have lands in Europe, it is not possible to see other ethnic clashes based on skin color as encountered in other parts of the world. Chronologically, since Kemalist nationalism started to form after 1919, when there was no well-developed Marxist economic development system, Marxist intelligentsia could not have an impact on the governing cadre.

<sup>320</sup> Ayhan Akman, “Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey,” *Nationalities Papers* Vol.32 (March 2004): 31-32. In the last years there are new academic studies that focus on the modernization history of these non-colonized countries. See Murat Belge, *Militarist Modernleşme: Almanya Japonya, Türkiye*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011); Touraj Atabaki, Erik Zürcher, *Türkiye ve İran’da Otoriter Modernleşme: Atatürk ve Rıza Şah Dönemleri*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012); Touraj Atabaki, *Devlet ve Maduniyet: Türkiye ve İran’da Modernleşme, Toplum ve Devlet*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010); and Dilek Yiğit Yüksel, “Rus Modernleşmesi ve Türkiye” (PhD diss., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2006).

double disenfranchisement: they fall outside of the dichotomy of ethnic versus civic nationalism on one hand, and the dichotomy of colonial power versus colonized society on the other.<sup>321</sup>

Since these countries were formerly empires, which have their own histories of domination over other people, and they resisted to the invading forces of the colonial empires, they bear a different history than the ex-colonized countries. Therefore, emergence of different social and political developments in these countries is likely to occur compared to formerly colonized countries. Modernist nationalism, says Akman, aims at filling this gap which overlooks the experiences of non-colonized and non-European countries.<sup>322</sup>

“Modernist” is a different term than “modernizing” in that the latter can be encountered in countries with ethnic nationalism. It can basically mean to improve a country according to the necessities of modern industry and science. Modernist nationalism on the other hand “internalizes the ‘West’ not only instrumentally and pragmatically but also ‘ideologically’ by proclaiming the categories of its identity structure as universal and progressive.”<sup>323</sup>

Modernist nationalism differs from both ethnic and civic nationalisms. Before focusing on Akman’s elaboration of Turkish nationalism as a perfect specimen for modernist nationalism, the differences between the three models will be given in Akman’s configuration. The differences between ethnic and modernist nationalisms are given below. The vitality of the subject deserves a full quotation from Akman:

Like ethnic nationalism, modernist nationalism grounds itself with substantive claims regarding the identity of the members constituting the nation. In contrast to ethnic nationalism, however, modernist nationalism avoids adopting an ethnic or racial criterion for its substantiation. Modernist nationalism postulates a different kind of commonality of its members than ethnic nationalism: a commonality that is derived from a selectively constructed cultural model of the West. Modernist nationalism generates solidarity through the project of cultural transformation. As in the Turkish case, the project of cultural transformation can sometimes be so extreme as to call for complete “civilizational conversion.”<sup>324</sup>

Therefore, the main similarities between the two models are their focus on the identity of people in the country. However, their point of departure is substantially different in that modernist nationalism acknowledges Western values as a distinctive

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<sup>321</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 30.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

cultural denominator that marks the difference between the people rather than ethnicity. As for the divergence between civic nationalism and modernist nationalism, Akman states that:

Modernist nationalism differs from civic nationalism mainly by its suspicion of, and restrictions on, popular participation. Rather than regarding popular participation as a prerequisite of a nation defined by common political ideals and institutions (the civic model), or seeing it as a part of the process of a popular, vernacular mobilization of ethnicity (which is indispensable in ethnic nationalism), modernist nationalism finds the issue of democratic participation precarious and risky; for modernist nationalists participation by masses is suspect because dissidents may thwart the project of Westernization. To the extent that modernist nationalism requires conformity to its modernist schema of identities, it tends to restrict political and even cultural expression of non-conforming, traditional religious or local identities.<sup>325</sup>

Modernist nationalism, unlike ethnic and civic nationalisms that seek popular participation on different grounds, is highly suspicious of popular participation, that is, has an edge towards democracy. This definition, apart from containing the seeds of strong statist policies, also includes elitist tendencies requiring top down regulations and implementations.

The part that focuses on modernist nationalist experience of Turkey will be discussed in the following chapters dealing with Turkish nationalism and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's works.

Yakup Kadri's nationalism is present in all of his novels albeit in different degrees. It is not possible to equate his nationalism with only one fact, that is, Kemalism. Undoubtedly, Yakup Kadri was an arduous supporter of the Kemalist reforms and he supported their presence throughout his life. However, when we think of the transformation that Kemalism went through in 1930s, especially after Atatürk's growing interest in cultural and racial issues, it will be more difficult to associate his nationalism only with Kemalism. To evaluate his understanding of nationalism better, throughout this study we will take other nationalist thinkers and authors into consideration who has impact on Yakup Kadri's thought in general. Among these authors are Ziya Gökalp and Maurice Barrés, Anatole France and the *Kadro* Movement as well. Different from Gökalp, Barrés' impact on Yakup Kadri's thought and works have not been studied and revealed so far.

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<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*

Looking at his society with an elitist attitude from the beginning of his career, Yakup Kadri considers Turkish society as a community that is in need of a great transformation towards European standards. This transformation requires not only technological development but a cultural transition as well.<sup>326</sup> In almost all of his novels, it is possible to find an idealistic character that has this transformative potential. Through this or these characters, Yakup Kadri discusses the necessity of reformatations and also manifests some certain obstacles that reformative mind goes through. It is very rare that this hero(ine) jumps through hoops; but rather, (s)he usually comes across with various deterrents such as bureaucracy, the resistance of reactionary (conservative) people or the ignorance of superfluously Europeanized elite. Whether they belong to one of these categories or not, any character that is void of nationalist ideology/perspective (modernist nationalism is observed here) is severely criticized and ethically condemned; as a result, they are usually depicted as morally corrupt individuals. At times, this moral corruption can also become material and manifest itself as backwardness, ignorance.

Since Yakup Kadri is considered as one of the representatives of the new-born Republic and Kemalist reforms/revolutions<sup>327</sup> and as some characteristics of Turkish nationalism in this period evoked a French type republican or civic nationalism,<sup>328</sup> there exist certain parallelisms between the nationalism in Yakup Kadri's works and what Gilbert calls republican nationalism or revolutionary republicanism. Gilbert discriminates republicanism from liberalism. While liberalism is defined as "pursuit of common interest", commitment to a common value is what republicanism pursues.<sup>329</sup> "[R]epublican liberty is thought of as itself as a prerequisite of human

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<sup>326</sup> As Hasan Âli Yücel narrates, during one of his conversations with Yakup Kadri, he defends Neo-Hellenic movement that he started with Yahya Kemal in 1910s, saying that the reason for the inaccomplishment of this movement was that "our culture could not be saved from Asiatic influences. (*Asyalılık*). We are moving from French culture to *aculturel* American one. [...] Turkish culture has not been and will not be founded on the foundations of real culture (Old Greek Culture)". Hasan Ali Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2008), 255. Also, Yakup Kadri expresses the same view in one of his articles published in *Milliyet* on 22.12.1929: "For the last twenty years it is my contention that until Turkish intellectuals adopt the classic culture, it is not possible to expect a complete adjustment to the Western civilization." Mehmet Emin Uludağ, *Üç Devrin Yol Ayrımında Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu*, (Ankara: Anı Yayınları, 2005), 275.

<sup>327</sup> For Yakup Kadri's significance in Kemalist literary canon, see Ömer Türkeş, "Güdük Bir Edebiyat Kanonu," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*. ed., Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekinil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 425-448.

<sup>328</sup> "Briefly [in] Turkish nationalism [...] it is possible to see the traces of both French *ecole* that defines nation with civil (*medeni*) and political borders and historical romantism in German *ecole*." Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane'den*, 58.

<sup>329</sup> Paul Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 81.



flourishing, something to be desired and valued for its own sake, as well as for the other goods that it facilitates.”<sup>330</sup> In this type of nationalism, Gilbert says:

[w]hat ties people together into a political community is that they work together through their public roles to realize certain values. These require only public performance for their instantiation, which is constitutive of a certain kind of polity, not merely incidental to it, and hence constitutive of a certain sort of life not possible outside it. The republican argument for independent government turns, then, on the idea that such a life is good, and independent government is implied by it.<sup>331</sup>

The values in this polity are public ones. Secondly, republicanism “does not need to argue either that a state is in fact necessary for the values to be realized [...]. It is simply the desirability of this state that bears the burden of the republican argument.”<sup>332</sup> Republican patriotism and revolutionary republicanism are a concomitance of this type of nationalism, as Gilbert puts it:

What is crucial to republican patriotism is that love of one’s country is love of one’s fellow citizens. [...] A republican nation is thus a group held together by national obligations whose performance is motivated in a particular way- namely, by a concern for the welfare of fellow members and a common republican conception of what the welfare is.<sup>333</sup>

Gilbert explains the revolutionary side of the republicanism, which bears important elements in understanding nationalism in Yakup Kadri’s works.<sup>334</sup> Collective will is an important term in this understanding. “The goals of the nation are, on republican principles, to be determined collectively by the citizen body, and they are to be determined not by consulting one’s sectional interests but by discovering the common good which embodies republican values.”<sup>335</sup> Gilbert articulates Rousseau’s common will, which is above the will of other people. It should not be understood as a democratic government since the *general will* is not the result of a decision taken by the majority.<sup>336</sup> But in accordance with the (republican) revolutionary nationalism, which is further explained by the words of Rousseau, Gilbert states that “[in] order to make collective decisions match the general will, members of the nation must themselves be changed. Their membership of the nation should be part of their identity, so that their motivations stem not from any calculation of interest

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<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 82, 83.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>334</sup> “Republican nationalism often has a revolutionary application; that is, it seeks constitutional changes on the grounds that the present arrangements are of their nature oppressive,” *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

but from the pursuit of the common good.” He states three corollaries of this understanding are:

1. The common good of the nation is being uncoupled from the interests of its individual members (nondistributivity of the national good). 2. National membership is taken to constitute the primary identity of the nation’s members (the national constitution of identity). 3. What counts as moral motivation is measured by whether it originates from one’s national identity (the national relativity of morals).<sup>337</sup>

Paul Gilbert draws the framework of republican and revolutionary republicanism which bears great significance in comprehension of the nationalism in Yakup Kadri’s works. One last important conclusion he draws is that if one person does not act according to his national values, “one is not acting as a moral being.”<sup>338</sup> “The most that follows from this is that the state should enforce the pursuit of those values necessary to the continuation of society.”<sup>339</sup>

While the characteristics of revolutionary republicanism appear to be quite satisfying in explaining the relation between nationalism and corruption in Yakup Kadri’s works, it seems also necessary to denominate nationalism as modernist nationalism, since what it necessitates is not merely political consistency but a civilizational conversion peculiar to those states that were neither European nor colonized, as Ayhan Akman defines.

Although Ayhan Akman’s definition of modernist nationalism will be utilized in defining nationalism in Yakup Kadri’s novels, since Gilbert’s definitions present a useful scheme to draw the connections between nationalism and corruption, they will also be used in this study.

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<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. Especially, Gilbert argues the last characteristic is helpful in explaining and understanding the “constitution of identity by nation, for one’s identity is a moral rather than a merely appetitive and selfish one, and cannot be brought about except through socialization in the pursuit of national rather than individual goals.” *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

### CHAPTER III

#### NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF YAKUP KADRI KARAOSMANOĞLU

##### 3.1 Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's Life and Career

Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was born in 1889 in Cairo as the second child of a famous family, the *Karaosmanzades*, one of the leading families in the Ottoman Empire. Among the families that had revolted against the rule of the Sultan during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the *Karaosmanzades* was one of the exceptional families being able to continue their regional power for generations.<sup>340</sup> The family was influential in Saruhan, İzmir, Aydın, and even in Isparta. Based on Çağatay Uluçay's research, Niyazi Akı states that almost all the historical documents agree that the family was *müteğallibe*, despotic.<sup>341</sup> Even Lord Byron, during his trip to Greece, mentions *Karaosmanzades* in one of his poems written in the form of a story:

But yet the line of Karaosman  
Unchanged, in changeable hath stood  
First of the bold timaryat lands  
They won and well can keep their lands.<sup>342</sup>

Having gained its power during the weakness of the Ottoman governance in Anatolia, the family continued its might and presence by adjusting itself to the changing conjuncture resulted with centralization in Anatolia by the 1820s.<sup>343</sup>

When Yakup Kadri came into the world, the power of the family had already waned. The family was far from the glorious days of the past and their condition worsened due to the incapacity of his father to maintain the wealth of the family. His father moved to Egypt to marry his second wife İkbâl Hanım, the mother of Yakup and his sister, upon the invitation of Semsi Hanımefendi, who spent many months in his house during the tumultuous days in Urabi revolt in Egypt, which threatened the

<sup>340</sup> Hasan Âli Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 16.

<sup>341</sup> Niyazi Akı, *Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu: İnsan-Eser-Fikir-Üslup* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 15.

<sup>342</sup> Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 18.

<sup>343</sup> Hanioglu, *A Brief History*, 61.

existence of non-Arab elite in the country. When he was around six, they returned to Manisa and two years later, his father, who was suffering from a stroke, died.<sup>344</sup> Therefore, his mother plays the leading role in Yakup Kadri's life and writing career, who used to read him novels such as *Count of Monte Cristo* and *La Porteuse de Pain* during his childhood in Manisa.<sup>345</sup> Although he is not a devoted Muslim with regard to his alcohol consumption, gambling, and his affairs with women, while narrating his story of the past in an age when he "bid farewell to every kind of metaphysics,"<sup>346</sup> Yakup Kadri associates his father with religious ideas and local culture as well. His interest in French literature begins with the encouragement of his friend Akhisarlı Abdullah Rahmi. He prompts young Yakup to read French literature to reach the original sources of the works he is reading from *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* corpus.<sup>347</sup> A few years after his father's death, due to financial problems, Yakup Kadri goes back to Egypt and attends a French school, *Frères*, there. He not only learns French literature and Christian themes, but also gets in touch with some of the Turkish dissenters called *Jeune Turcs* (the Young Turks). In 1908, following the death of Prince Mehmed Ali, Yakup moves to İstanbul with his mother.<sup>348</sup>

Yakup Kadri's writing career started in 1909 with his story "Nirvana" and then he wrote a short play, *Veda*. His early works are in the form of small episodes of plays and in these works we come across with a pessimistic writer who defends the East. His attendance to the literary group, *Fecr-i Ati*, whose motto is "art is personal and sacred," must have triggered his literary production. Apart from his essays in the newspapers, Yakup Kadri wrote eight stories in the first years of his career. These are *Baskın*, *Bir Kadın Meselesi*, *Bir Ölüünün Mektupları*, *Şapka*, *Nebbaş*, *Bir Tercüme-i Hal*, *Yalnız Kalmak Korkusu*, and *Bir Serencam*. Written between 1909 and 1911,<sup>349</sup> these stories give hints about the realism and pessimism of the writer, in addition to his zeal for freedom. It is also possible to see his individualism, the East/West conflict, and nationalism in these stories.

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<sup>344</sup> Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 20-21.

<sup>345</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 16.

<sup>346</sup> Yakup Kadri Karasomanoğlu, *Anamın Kitabı*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 82.

<sup>347</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 17.

<sup>348</sup> Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 25-26.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-47.

In 1913 he started writing a series of articles called *Bir Huysuzun Defterinden*.<sup>350</sup> In these writings, with the impact of French author, politician, and nationalist Maurice Barrés' *Cult de Moi*, Yakup Kadri —with direct reference to Barrés— seeks to transform his egotistical person to a common identity. Written between 1911 and 1919 and published in 1942, the book *Miss Chalfrin'in Albümünden*, includes the letters of an imaginary English woman, Miss Chalfrin. In these letters, it is possible to see Yakup Kadri's critical stance against the current situation of the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important aspects of these letters is his awareness of the orientalist approach of the European writers towards the Turks.

Neo-Hellenism is another interesting aspect of Yakup Kadri; with his close friend Yahya Kemal, they decide to start a literary movement called Neo-Hellenism. The movement aimed at going back to the original resources of literature and proving the familiarity of this region to the ancient Greek literature, which was a source of admiration for the West at the time. Between 1914-1918, Yakup Kadri wrote some dialogues, depicting the old Hellen times with ample references to the names in mythology. He was under the influence of Anatole France at that time, an influence which continued forever.<sup>351</sup>

From 1917 to 1922 Yakup Kadri wrote prose poems. They are named *Erenlerin Bağından* and *Okun Ucundan*, which were published as a separate book in 1940. Some of these were written under the influence of Turkish sociologist and nationalist Ziya Gökalp.<sup>352</sup> However, it is also possible to see the impact of Anatole France and Maurice Barrés in these writings.<sup>353</sup>

After First World War , Yakup Kadri went to Switzerland for the treatment of his tuberculosis disease. There, he was living with a small Turkish colony, which was divided into two groups: one was supporting a solution based on Wilson Principles and the other was on the side of Anatolian resistance. Yakup Kadri was in the second

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<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 255. For the relation between Neo-Hellenism in Yakup Kadri and Yahya Kemal's works and Turkish nationalism, see Emre Yıldırım, "Türk Kimliğinin 'Nev-Yunani' ve 'Akdenizli' Formülasyonu: Yahya Kemal Beyatlı ve Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* C:6, S:26 (2013): 624-642. Also for Yahya Kemal's Neo-Hellenism see İdris Çakmak, "Identity Politics in Post-Ottoman Nationalism Reinvention of History in Taha Hussein and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı," (PhD diss, Fatih University, 2014), 205-11.

<sup>352</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 61.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

group.<sup>354</sup> As Niyazi Akı suggests, when looked at his 385 articles written after his return from Switzerland during the breakdown of the Empire and during Turkish War of Independence, the attitudes of minorities led him to search for consciousness of a specific Turkish identity. Ziya Gökalp's and Maurice Barrés' ideas were of great help in his transformation.<sup>355</sup>

After his visit to his mother, he would pay another visit to a bastion in Akhisar and despite his disappointment with what he saw there, he would support Mustafa Kemal and the Anatolian movement. Upon M. Kemal's advice, he was to come back to İstanbul, which was under British occupation during these years. He started as editor-in-chief in *İkdam* newspaper and with his articles he corroborated the national movement.<sup>356</sup>

From then on he continued his literary career as a novelist and a columnist. In 1922 he published two novels, namely *Nur Baba* and *Kiralık Konak*. These two novels were serialized in *Akşam* and *İkdam* respectively. *Nur Baba*<sup>357</sup> is a heavy critique of *Bektaşî Tekkesi*, Bektashi Dervish Lodges. This novel is based on his genuine experiences with Yahya Kemal. We see a combination of Dionysian love and traditional Bektashi Sufism in this novel. He criticizes the old customs of the Bektashi tradition.<sup>358</sup> Since the presence and continuation of (Sufi) tradition has been still based on carrying the secret of the experience, the novel came like a bombshell and the attitude of the writer is still a contradictory issue.

His second novel, *Kiralık Konak*, though not a war-time story, reflects the writer's attitude towards the unravelling of the Empire and his dissatisfaction with the ongoing cultural and political changes in the country in the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1923 Yakup Kadri was elected deputy of Mardin. He was on the side of Mustafa Kemal and supported his party.<sup>359</sup> In 1923, he got married to Mutasarrıf Asaf Bey's

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<sup>354</sup> İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü: Kadrocuları ve Kadro'yu Anlamak* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 30.

<sup>355</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 45.

<sup>356</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 32.

<sup>357</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Nur Baba* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010).

<sup>358</sup> For an in-depth psychoanalytic analysis of *Nur Baba*, see Cafer Gariper and Yasemin Küçükcoşkun, *Diyonizyak Coşku'nun İhtişam ve Sefaleti: Yakup Kadri'nin Nur Baba Romanına Psikanalitik Yaklaşım* (İstanbul: Akademik Kitaplar, 2009).

<sup>359</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada 45 Yıl* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 23.

daughter, who was also the sister of Asaf Belge, the father of Murat Belge. However, his mother died one year later.<sup>360</sup> Also, in the same year his essays on women, titled *Kadınlık ve Kadınlarımız* was published.

Yakup Kadri went to Switzerland for treatment again in 1926<sup>361</sup> and he published another novel, *Hüküm Gecesi*, in 1927.<sup>362</sup> This novel is about a journalist, Ahmet Kerim, and narrates a real event - the murder of a journalist named Samim. In this novel Yakup Kadri criticizes the CUP period and reflects the terror of the era.

In 1928, his fourth novel, *Sodom ve Gomore* was published. In this novel, Yakup Kadri depicts İstanbul under the British occupation within the context of the Biblical story of Sodom Gomorrah. His support for nationalist cause and repugnance against those who do not take action for the nationalist cause is obvious in this novel.

His fifth novel *Yaban* was published in 1932. Being the most controversial work of the author, the novel narrates the life of a crippled army officer, Ahmet Celal, who moves from İstanbul to a village in the central Anatolia. Since the effects of the war is visible everywhere, the environment he finds there is disastrous. However, the controversy of the novel lies in Yakup Kadri's attitude towards the villagers and the uneducated strata of the society. The novel claims to reflect and problematize the dichotomy between the Turkish intellectual and the peasant.

Next year his sixth novel, *Ankara* (1933) followed. Like *Yaban*, this novel was written during the *Kadro* Movement years and accepted as a utopia of Yakup Kadri. This is the story of Selma Hanım and her three marriages represent the three main different types or inclinations present at that time. However, like all other novels of Yakup Kadri, *Ankara* bears strong criticism towards the current system of its day.

The years 1932 and 1934 are very special for both Yakup Kadri and the history of Turkish intellectual thought. With his five friends, he started to publish a journal titled *Kadro* (Cadre). According to the members of this Movement, the reforms were not enough and the (reformation) process had not (should not be) stopped yet.<sup>363</sup> Upon getting permission from Atatürk, Yakup Kadri started the *Kadro* Movement

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<sup>360</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 39.

<sup>361</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Zoraki Diplomat* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 352.

<sup>362</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 17.

<sup>363</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 129.

with his friends in 1932. The names within the Movement are Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir, Burhan Asaf Belge, Vedat Nedim Tör, and İsmail Hüsrev Tökin. Two of the writers of the movement had been condemned because of their affinities with communism and Yakup Kadri, due to his close relationship with Atatürk, was the representative (paratoner) of the group.<sup>364</sup> The objective of the group was “to transform the principles of the revolution (*inkılap*)<sup>365</sup> through synthesis and systematization and to popularize it by keeping awake the enthusiasm of the revolution.”<sup>366</sup> Their point of departure was the fact that the reforms had not ended yet. They believed in the necessity of an ideology of the revolution and a continuous endeavor to publicize its principals.<sup>367</sup> However, the regime was not actually ready for such an attempt and their claim to share and to determine the ideological stance of the republic was neither admissible nor necessary for the republican elites at that time. Therefore, their relationship with the governing forces was the most important side of the movement.<sup>368</sup> Therefore, Yakup Kadri was of vital importance for the group due to his special relationship with Atatürk. After the closure of the journal, Yakup Kadri was sent to Tiran as an ambassador in 1934.

*Bir Sürgün* was published in 1937. In this novel Yakup Kadri turns back to Abdülhamid era and narrates the story of Doktor Hikmet, who was the son of Rüştü Bey, one of the statesmen of Sultan Murad period. Like other followers of the ex-sultan, they are under custody of the government. As a result of his suspicious movements, he is sent to İzmir as an exile. He then flees away to France and meets the leaders of the Jeune Turc movement but falls in disappointment and dies there. The novel levels criticism both against the Hamidian era and the Western civilization at the same time.

*Panorama I* and *II* were published in 1950 and 1954. These two novels aim at reflecting the current Turkish society within the context of *inkılap*s, revolutions or reforms. The novel includes many characters most of whom reflect a different political or social side of the society. The first volume covers the Atatürk period and

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<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>365</sup> *İnkılap*, which literally means “change” is a dubious word used for both revolution and reforms at the same time.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, 488-9.



the second volume is the narration of the period between Atatürk's death and Yakup Kadri's own time.

*Hep o Şarkı* is Yakup Kadri's last novel. Yakup Kadri goes back to the Tanzimat period to depict a sad love story. It is the story of Münire, the daughter of Faik Pasha. The novel narrates her unsuccessful marriage and unfulfilled love story. Although there are strong criticisms toward the period, this novel can be considered to be the most apolitical novel of Yakup Kadri.

He worked as a diplomat until 1954 in several countries: Tiran (1934), Prague (1935), La Haye (1939), Bern (1942), Tehran (1949-51), and Bern again. In 1960 he became a member of constituent assembly and became a deputy and between the years 1961 and 1965 he was in the parliament again.<sup>369</sup> He died in 1974.

### **3.2 *Kiralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomore*: İstanbul during the Armistice Period**

#### **3.2.1 *Kiralık Konak***

*Kiralık Konak* was serialized in *İkdam* in 1920 and was published as a book in 1922.<sup>370</sup> The events take place in the mansion of Naim Efendi (which means "asleep" in Arabic), an old Ottoman bureaucrat and ex-minister of the Hamidian period, whose married daughter stays in the same place with her family. Her husband Servet Bey (his name means "affluence" in Turkish) works at an institution called *Düyun-u Umumiye* (Public Debts), which symbolizes the economic hegemony of the West (Western imperialism). They have a son and a daughter, Cemil and Seniha, whose European lifestyles demarcate the difference and the main problems in the novel.

As a retired bureaucrat, Naim Efendi has been able to save and continue his father's properties and assets. Although he does not have much income, he still tries to continue his aristocratic life. However, neither his son-in-law nor his grandchildren, who are enchanted by the European aristocratic life and fashions, are aware of the spiritual and material values of Naim Efendi. The two generations, which are seen as the creation of Tanzimat (Tanzimat reform era) and the second Constitutional period, are far from respecting the old Ottoman patriarchal values and especially Seniha,

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<sup>369</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Zoraki Diplomat*, 2010.

<sup>370</sup> Ziya Bakırcıoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türk Romanı: Yıllara ve Yazarlara Göre Romanımızın Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2009), 109.

with her scandals, prepare the decline of the mansion and Naim Efendi, who becomes an obsolete man at the end of the novel. In parallel with his physical deterioration, Naim Efendi loses his properties one by one; and in the end he has to sublet the mansion, which has a very important value in his life and in family tradition. Hakkı Celis, Naim Efendi's nephew, is in love with his cousin, Seniha, and except for him, there is almost no positive character in the novel that can achieve a transformation for better. Though he dies at the war at the end of the novel, having acknowledged the nationalist values and a "national ideal", this young man is the sole character who can save himself from spiritual corruption and degeneration all-pervading in the novel.

Yakup Kadri's two novels *Kiralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomore* bear many similarities in many respects. The two novels depict the life of westernized middle class in the European side of İstanbul through degenerate and extreme characters.

As many critics have observed so far, in *Kiralık Konak* the author creates extreme characters representing different worldviews and depicts their conflicts in the mansion. These conflicts symbolize social camps and are by no means personal dispositions. "Generally, the types in Yakup Kadri's novels are the personification of a social situation, an idea, a force, a weakness or a metamorphosis."<sup>371</sup>

At first glance, their main conflict appears to be the impact of westernization or modernity. According to Ziya Bakırcıoğlu, "Westernization [...] gives the primary harm to family. When the family receives wound, it is not possible to find any value and institution in the society."<sup>372</sup> In this respect "[t]he collapse of [...] Naim Efendi family represents the collapse of the Ottoman Empire."<sup>373</sup> The last years of the Empire are depicted as a chaotic time in which the main characters of the novel are in confusion and helplessness. "The period between 1908-18 was chosen as the thought atmosphere" (*fikir atmosferi*)<sup>374</sup> and this atmosphere is under the bombardment of Western values and lifestyle, which is generally described as westernization. Niyazi Akı claims that "Yakup Kadri's characters are also addicted

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<sup>371</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 109.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>373</sup> Sevim Kantarcıoğlu, *Türk ve Dünya Romanlarında Modernizm* (İstanbul: Paradigma Yayıncılık: 2007), 51.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*

to bovarysm” and “since they belong to an old and tired civilization,” they are in search of a younger civilization.<sup>375</sup>

Is this a transition process? Does the writer believe in a better future? Atilla Özkırımlı comments that “we cannot say that Yakup Kadri considers this social dissociation [...] as a transition period of a new society [...] that is why, he always remains critical.”<sup>376</sup> “The process of (social) change turns from alteration to dissociation.”<sup>377</sup> The social atmosphere has so degenerated that at first the reader sees Naim Efendi as the sole positive character and accordingly, the novel appears to be a social one, depicting the cultural dissociation of the Ottoman society. However, the novel goes through a great divergence in the later chapters and Hakkı Celis, who is the cousin of Seniha, emerges as the sole positive character. Even Naim Efendi cannot save himself from the total corruption and deterioration, which, at the end, becomes evident in both physical and spiritual aspects.

The author’s sharp turn is criticized by Berna Moran, who thinks that Hakkı Celis’ transformation is not persuasive and at the end of the novel, Naim Efendi is sacrificed on the altar of Yakup Kadri’s ideology. For Moran, this situation creates a contradiction.<sup>378</sup> Other characters that cannot unite under an ideal like Hakkı Celis, pursue their own selfish interests only.<sup>379</sup> Therefore, the novel gains a nationalist outlook that judges all other characters, who lack national consciousness. As Kantarcıoğlu observes, “In *Kiralık Konak*, a trustworthy and omnipotent observer narrates the story. He shows the same point of view with the author.”<sup>380</sup> However, even “sometimes the author has the characters tell the story.”<sup>381</sup> Berna Moran succinctly shows the contradictions in the novel’s techniques by focusing on the incongruities in Seniha’s character.<sup>382</sup> Moran is of the view that Karaosmanoğlu needs a positive and reliable character who can be the spokesman of the author, and who can evaluate and judge (the other) characters in the novel. For this reason,

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<sup>375</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 170.

<sup>376</sup> Atilla Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında* (Ankara: Umut Yayıncılık, 1994), 29.

<sup>377</sup> Ensar Yılmaz, *Yakup Kadri’nin Romanlarında Türkiye’nin Toplumsal Değişim Süreci* (İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık, 2008), 73.

<sup>378</sup> Berna Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 197.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>380</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Türk ve Dünya Romanlarında*, 55.

<sup>381</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>382</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 179-190.

“Hakkı Celis changes/transforms not as a result of what he experiences but for the thesis of the novel.”<sup>383</sup>

What is the thesis of the novel then? Bakırcıoğlu claims that “Yakup Kadri defends his own westernism (modernism) through Hakkı Celis. Hakkı Celis loves the West (European way of life and culture) too but he reads Verlaine and Claudel. For Yakup Kadri, the secret of westernization is here.” In terms of Yakup Kadri’s understanding, the primary reason for Hakkı Celis’ not becoming degenerate (corrupt) like others around him is due to the fact that “he knows the West from the vintage of the better classes.”<sup>384</sup> Sevim Kantarcıoğlu also claims that “The solution Yakup Kadri offers for the cultural dissociation and the corruption [...] is Hakkı Celis’ choice: This choice — the main theme of the work — is to adopt the values (still) extant from the past, cutting out the cancerous elements of the culture, and not turning back.”<sup>385</sup>

However, especially when the novel is placed into its historical context and read in deference to the occupation of İstanbul by the Western forces, it becomes evident that it is not the westernization process but nationalism that judges the other characters, since the transformation of Hakkı Celis cannot be explained only from the perspective of “true westernization.” It is not adopting the old values that work, but attachment to the national ideal that springs out in Anatolia that transforms Hakkı Celis into a conscious adult. The corruption also reveals itself here best, when at the end of the novel, it becomes apparent that even Naim Efendi, who is a conscious and honest bureaucrat representing the old values, is on the wrong path. As Moran observes, the common mistake of Naim Efendi and the other characters in the mansion who represent the old Ottoman values (mind) and the westernized class respectively is that they lack love for their nation and instead they are busy with their own personal interests. “When Hakkı Celis grows enough to understand the difference between these old and new worlds he realizes that [...] these people] do not have any place in a future Turkey.”<sup>386</sup> Is the transformation of Hakkı Celis a change for the better? For Ensar Yılmaz, the answer to this question is “No.” “The fact that Seniha and Faik’s life continues in the same way can be said to show that the social

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<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>384</sup> Bakırcıoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, 111.

<sup>385</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Türk ve Dünya Romanlarında*, 51.

<sup>386</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 194.

transformation process is moving towards corruption.”<sup>387</sup> Özkırımlı, too, thinks that Hakkı Celis, who strictly criticizes the new (westernized) individual type, looks for salvation in nationalism but he is also destined to die. He is also a part of the corrupt social order.<sup>388</sup>

What makes *Kiralık Konak*, which appears to be a social novel at first, a political (nationalist) narrative? The setting of the novel, which narrates Naim Efendi and his family’s troubles with modern and luxurious life, turns out to be a nationalist manifestation, making all the other characters obsolete and corrupt. Murat Belge, in his book *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar*, looks for the answer to this question and discusses political novel within the context of Turkish novel. Belge claims that when compared to western intellectuals, Turkish intellectuals (novelists) are much more political. However, there is also a paradox here: when it comes to quality of the politics, Turkish intellectuals are far more naïve and shallow.<sup>389</sup> Belge tries to explain this paradox through discussing it in the context of Turkish modernization process: Since the time of Tanzimat (reform period), state institutions have been almost the only place where Turkish intellectuals could find a proper work. Therefore, at the same time, especially due to the lack of literate people in the country, this creates a relationship with the state ascribing them as well as a political mission. This situation results in the impossibility of remaining apolitical. Therefore, literary views such as “art for art’s sake” remain superficial. This is what Yakup Kadri criticizes in *Kiralık Konak* through the transformation of Hakkı Celis from individualist romantic poet to a socially conscious artist. No more does he read Verlaine and other poets he used to like and heavily criticizes literary movements such as *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* and *Fecr-i Ati*.<sup>390</sup> When he visits Seniha in her room towards the end of the novel, it is only (Maurice) “Barrés’ sentences” that he can hear now.<sup>391</sup>

Belge claims that since “political conflicts knotted in the whole superstructure as ‘East-West’ conflict, dealing with literature is itself a political action.”<sup>392</sup> Even writing love stories could be “equivalent to adopting a political attitude.” Thus literature becomes primarily an area of politics rather than aesthetics because “[d]ue

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<sup>387</sup> Yılmaz, *Yakup Kadri’nin Romanlarında*, 87.

<sup>388</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 28.

<sup>389</sup> Murat Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne Yazılar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 82.

<sup>390</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Kiralık Konak* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 179.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>392</sup> Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne*, 82.

to the scarcity of intellectual products, literature has been the conveyor of ideas.”<sup>393</sup> During the last years of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish intellectuals had to face up to the superiority of the West and the brake up of the Empire. They had to represent a new ideology —the ideology of the middle class— and were seen as the saviors of their society at the same time. “Being a savior was undoubtedly an ideological category, the ethic side of which is dominant.”<sup>394</sup> This situation caused the intellectual to consider himself in a more idealized way which has resulted in “the loss of its natural reality.”<sup>395</sup>

However, as Belge asserts, due to the rapidness of the transformation in Turkey, less change occurred “in the ideological understanding of the Turkish realities.”<sup>396</sup> Therefore, the main structure of the political novel in Turkey has experienced little change so far. Our intellectuals have provided this continuity in their idealist-based worldview. For Belge, “this idealist look interiorizes social politic relations and causes them to become more humane.”<sup>397</sup> And under the light of this idealist view, social forces which determine and encompass people from outside and social forces which work according to objective and functional categories such as relations of production in real life gain a moral spiritual appearance. This spirituality makes our work easier when we have to face changes. “Such an attitude (*bakış tarzı*) is static at the same time. Because when we accept moral-spiritual categories by isolating them from material structures that determine them, we absolutize them. And these categories become foundation stones of our world.”<sup>398</sup>

Murat Belge “looks for the moral spiritual world substituted with real political world” by focusing on the two novels of Yakup Kadri, namely *Sodom ve Gomore* and *Kiralık Konak*. Even though *Sodom ve Gomore* and *Kiralık Konak* are considered as political and social novels respectively, they bear many similarities. Yakup Kadri covers the same topic in these two novels. “For the positive male [character] the dilemma is between ‘the country’ and ‘the lover’. For the woman

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<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>396</sup> Belge, *Edebiyat Üstüne*, 85.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*

[character/protagonist] the dilemma is between her the positive patriot admirer and corrupt lover.”<sup>399</sup>

Agreeing with Murat Belge, it is possible to say that Yakup Kadri’s ideology, that is nationalism, creates a set of values enabling the writer to judge all other characters and views in the novel without referring to the material structures such as economy, work conditions, property relations, as well as culture, institutions and state relations in their real social and political context. Though its content alters in the novels depicting the (post) War of Independence period, Yakup Kadri’s judgmental look remains very political and ideological and he continues his Ottoman intellectual (elitist) stance. Since the beginning of his career, as can be seen both in his fictive essays “*Miss Chalfrin’in Albümünden*” (1911- 1919)<sup>400</sup> and in Hasan Âli Yücel’s work *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, Yakup Kadri, with some exceptions, problematizes the East/West conflict by locating it within the nationalist context.

However, although it is impossible to disagree with Moran that Hakkı Celis’ quick transformation appears to be non-persuasive, this change does not come out as a

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<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, 87. Two aspects in these novels, namely family and love relationships appear to be highly symbolic and political. Both the attachments and disengagements of the characters denote to social and political preferences rather than personal dispositions. This has a strong relationship with the nationalist thesis of the two novels revealing the political partiality of the characters: As Umut Özkırımlı observes, “[n]ational partiality is commonly justified by comparing nations to families. It is indeed true that some forms of partiality, for example, towards one’s parents and children, are morally acceptable and even a duty.” As J. McMahan puts it: “One source of the sentiment of partiality appeals to our nature as persons. Each of us is variously related to some individuals and not to others. These special relations are instrumental to or even partially constitutive of our well-being. This is most obvious in the case of relations involving love: ‘Love is discriminating or selective and involves a powerful disposition to favor those who are its objects; it is therefore necessarily partial’”. J. Mc Mahan, “The Limits of National Partiality”, in R. Mc Kim and J. Mc Mahan (eds), *The Morality of Nationalism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 112-114. Quoted in Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, 85.

<sup>400</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Alp Dağlarından ve Miss Chalfrin’in Albümünden* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1942). Miss Chalfrin observes that any Turk who is exposed to Western culture dies for change: “neither the love for country nor family, nor nationality nor tradition” is important for those who have met with the Western ideas. Karaosmanoğlu, 1942, 59. “Young girls that read the most obscene novels of Prévost, Mirbaeu, or even Oscar Wilde, youngsters that mock with their fathers’ ideas, wives and husbands defending a relationship without marriage (serbest nikah) men spending his days in Beyoğlu hotels because of not finding their houses comfortable and suitable enough, youngsters that take their mistresses to their own houses...”*Ibid.*, 59. According to Yakup Kadri “there are many of these in İstanbul.” The corruption evident here stems from the lack of nationalist thought and the lack of enthusiasm present in European culture. Copying of Western manners, clothes, is not the proper way. Yakup Kadri resembles the condition of those Turks to plants coming from exotic places. Although Turks are striving for development and change their situation is like wild animals in the cages playing with mock hunts. *Ibid.*, 64.

result of a sudden decision to have Celis adapt to the thesis of the novel. Firstly, the transformation of the focus of the novel from Naim Efendi towards Hakkı Celis proves that Yakup Kadri's nationalism is not cultural but political in essence. He carefully avoids delving into *golden ageism* though he sympathizes with the purer, less cosmopolitan culture of Naim Efendi's period. Yakup Kadri's political stance does not permit such a naiveté. Secondly, when Yakup Kadri's affiliation with Maurice Barrés is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that through Hakkı Celis, Yakup Kadri creates a second Barrés, or Yakup Kadri, whose transformation from individualism to political-social conscious writer takes place at a moment's notice.<sup>401</sup> James Huneker in his book *Egoists, a Book of Superman* (First published in 1909) expresses Barrés' transformation as follows:

His evolution from [an] Ivory tower of Egoism to the broad meadows of life is not an insoluble enigma; his books and his active career offer many revelations of fascinating, though often baffling personality. His passionate curiosity in all that concerns the moral nature of his fellow men lends to his work his own touch of universality; otherwise, it would not be untrue to say that the one Barrés passion is love of his native land. 'France' is engraved of his heart [.]<sup>402</sup>

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<sup>401</sup> In one of his memoir books, Yakup Kadri, while narrating his days in Refik Halit's kiosk (mansion) in Erenköy, he mentions a discussion regarding Yakup Kadri's affiliation with the famous French nationalist writer Maurice Barrés. This discussion is probably in the first three years of 1910s,<sup>401</sup> a very early period in Yakup Kadri's literary career. "And Refik Halit who knew that I had been under the influence of Maurice Barrés recently would say 'I have been following an opposite direction then!'" When Yakup Kadri observes that his friend is moving towards realism he states that "[a]fter being afflicted by his magical words, I was trying to find the truth in my inner world rather than the outer world and in this search like Barrés, I was going to any extent. Like him, when I was sixteen or seventeen years old, the first way I followed was socialism and again after that I got bogged down with the impasse of individualism and eventually again with him, I was able to discover the secret of the love of the country and the homeland, discovering that anything in the name of goodness, rightfulness and beauty could only be found in your own homeland." Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 60-61. The clear connection between Yakup Kadri and Maurice Barrés cannot only be regarded as an adventure of youth since Yakup Kadri is a kind of writer who cannot give up his favorites easily. In his entire writing career, it is easy to trace his preferences and choices in the past since he reflects them into his works throughout his writing career. So, these turns we observe in his career should not be regarded as a complete transformation. For example, as Hasan Âli Yücel states, although he gives up the idea of New-Hellenism movement, Yakup Kadri continues his deep attachment to the idea itself all his life. Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden*, 255. There is also a connection between his transformation to a social-conscious writer. According to Birsen Talay, his transformation to a nationalist can be seen apparently in 1917. Birsen Talay, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," 435. Also for an early discussion of Barrés' influence on Yahya Kemal and Yakup Kadri, see Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Yahya Kemal*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014).

<sup>402</sup> James Huneker, *Egoists, A Book of Supermen: Stendhal, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Anatole France, Huysmans, Barrés, Nietzsche, Blake, Ibsen, Sterner and Ernest Hello* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 208.



While discussing Barrés' early works making up his first Trilogy<sup>403</sup>, *Sous l'œil des Barbares* (1888) *Un Homme Libre* (1889) and *Le Jardin de Bérénice* (1891), Gordon Shenton claims in his book, *The Fictions of the Self: The Early Works of Maurice Barrés* (1979), that:

[...]fiction for him is the projection of his inner life, an articulation of his sense of himself at the deepest level where intellectual reflexion merges with the shifting certainties and uncertainties of the Self. It is a means of self-discovery because it is integrated into the ongoing process of questioning and search which makes up the dynamism of life, especially in youth.<sup>404</sup>

Writing from an ideological space (perspective) like Barrés, by creating a protagonist who symbolizes himself, Yakup Kadri first faces his inner self, expressed through Hakkı Celis' fondness of poetry as well as his romantic personality and prepares him for the confrontation with his environment —as Barrés did in his later career— through expression of nationalist sentiments. This is not peculiar to *Kıralık Konak* only; also in most of his other novels Yakup Kadri creates a main character that reflects his own views. As Niyazi Akı observes:

The writer had his own life lived through other people, it is as if he criticized himself through them. Yakup Kadri has ideological, sentimental or physical similarities with Emin in *Rahmet*, Hakkı Celis in *Kıralık Konak*, Macit in *Nur Baba*, Ahmet Kerim in *Hüküm Gecesi*, Celal in *Yaban*, Neşet Sabit in *Ankara* and reformist patriotic characters in *Panorama*.<sup>405</sup>

Therefore, in Shenton's words<sup>406</sup> we can say that Hakkı Celis is not simply a thinly disguised Yakup Kadri, a direct transfer of the voice that says "I", but an allegorical representation of his creator's literary self in its confrontation with his mental universe. The "universe" is, then, the ideological space of writing in which Yakup Kadri seeks to harmonize the new being within himself with the world, which he has ordered to reflect his idea.

However, Yakup Kadri's confrontation with himself and his questioning of the life around him is not as strict as that of Barrés, whose *Le Culte du Moi* begins by denying the reality of the world and by declaring that "the self-created ego is the only

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<sup>403</sup> *Le Culte Du Moi* (trilogie romanesque): Maurice Barrés, *Sous l'œil des Barbares* (Paris: Lemerre, 1888), Maurice Barrés, *Un homme libre* (Paris: Perrin, 1889), Maurice Barrés, *Le Jardin de Bérénice* (Paris: Perrin, 1891).

<sup>404</sup> Gordon Shenton, *The Fictions of the Self: Early Works of Maurice Barrés* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 14.

<sup>405</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 108.

<sup>406</sup> Shenton, *The Fictions*, 19.

refuge[.]”<sup>407</sup> Like many of the characters of Barrés, Hakkı Celis is a young educated man whose egoism includes dealing with European literature and a poetic way of life. Unlike Barrésian characters such as Philippe, he is a more one way-superfluous character, a type, who rather than manifesting the transformation of the “ego” in a fully-fledged narrative, symbolizes this transition with his presence. However, at the end of the novel, he plays a similar role to that of Barrés’ characters that we encounter in either *Colette Bedouche* (1909)<sup>408</sup> or *Au Service de l’Allemagne* (1905):<sup>409</sup> a disciple of the nationalist ideal and the recalcitrant follower of his country’s interests who embodies them in his own character.

Therefore, the presence of Hakkı Celis from the beginning of the novel is a part of the thesis of *Kiralık Konak* which reveals itself by the awakening of Hakkı Celis to the national ideal<sup>410</sup> who, as observed by other writers, judge the society from the author’s perspective that claims to have completed the same spiritual transformation with Maurice Barrés. Although the plausibility of Celis’ transformation lies as a problem at the heart of the novel, its relation with nationalism and corruption which comes out as a consequence of the attachment to basic nationalist sentiments such as “loyalty to the nation overrides all other loyalties”<sup>411</sup> constitutes the backbone of the novel and becomes a judgmental criterion in the hands of Yakup Kadri.

### 3.2.2 Sodom ve Gomore

*Sodom ve Gomore* was serialized between 4 June and 4 September in *Milliyet* in 1928 and was published in the same year. This novel came out as a result of Yakup Kadri’s determination to keep his promise. He wanted to show the miseries that the İstanbulites suffered during the British occupation.<sup>412</sup> The novel covers the years of armistice, that is, the years of British occupation of Istanbul. In the novel, the

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<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>408</sup> Maurice Barrés, *Colette Baudoche: The Story of a Young Girl of Metz* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918).

<sup>409</sup> Maurice Barrés, *Les Bastions de L’Est: Au Service de l’Allemagne* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1905).

<sup>410</sup> A similar transformation occurs in one of Yakup Kadri’s stories written in 1916 in *İkdam*. In another story, as Koroğlu states, we see the prototype of Hakkı Celis: it is the “transformation of a 22 year old, İstanbul dandy into a Çanakkale hero (war hero).” Erol Koroğlu, *Türk Edebiyatı ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 19. He kills a French soldier who was his friend in İstanbul. Upon this, the hero feels that something has changed inside of him: “It is my contention that if I were not a soldier and had not joined the war and had not lived this weird and astounding event, I would carry my real identity on my back like a load until I die.” *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>411</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 22.

<sup>412</sup> Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, “İkinci Baskısı Dolayısıyla: *Sodom ve Gomore*,” *Türk Dili* v. XV issue 179 (Ağustos 1966): 1029.

European side of İstanbul, especially Beyoğlu, is seen and the European way of life, which is depicted as a corrupt lifestyle, is presented in details. The distinction between Beyoğlu and other parts of İstanbul is clear: While people are waiting for their sons, husbands and relatives to come back from the war, people in Beyoğlu live a luxurious life with the occupiers. Balls, invitations, parties follow one another. However, the reader never learns the feelings of the common people. In this novel, again, the reader comes across the problems of the upper classes and the conflict is not between the corrupt upper classes and the common people, but rather between the true elites who have adopted a nationalist stance and those who have not.

Leyla, the daughter of Sami Bey who is an officer in *Düyun-u Umumiye* (Public Debts) and Necdet are the main characters. Characters are divided into two groups - Turks (natives) and the foreigners. Throughout the novel the reader learns everything in this society through the critical observations of Necdet, Leyla's fiancé. He is a well-educated young Turkish man of twenty five. Except for his friend Cemil Kami, who appears only twice in the novel, he is the only person that supports the national movement. Through his and Leyla's relationship, the reader learns every detail of this "mondane" life in Beyoğlu.

Although there is the presence of direct imperial invasion of the leading Western forces, the real tension is between the Turkish characters and imperialism appears rather as a décor. The "other" is not the invading forces but those who collaborate with them.<sup>413</sup>

Homosexual relationships constitute a striking detail in the course of the story. According to Atilla Özkırmı, "the main axis of the novel" is that corrupt life of the place mentioned in the novel is similar to that of Sodom and Gomorrah. "In other words, sexuality, together with the occupiers, is lived in a derisible, animalistic way."<sup>414</sup> This shocking life, especially for the readers of 20s and 30s, is depicted clearly almost throughout the novel. The protagonist Necdet is surrounded by people

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<sup>413</sup> As Abdullah Şengül observes, "[t]he two factors that come to fore in the works that were began to be written during the modernization period are 'marginalization' and 'other'." First, they were depicted as a result of moral concerns but later narratives saw a transformation to help construct the national identity. "But the other has been never seen as something to be destroyed; only our place with regard to the other has been discussed". He observes that similar to other literatures, the depiction of the "other" is sometimes made in an exaggerated manner. Abdullah Şengül, "Edebiyatıta Ötekilik Meselesi ve Türk Edebiyatında Öteki," *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, 15 (Güz 2007): 104.

<sup>414</sup> Özkırmı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 41.

capable of doing any kind of vice and immorality. Atilla Özkırımlı thinks that in *Sodom ve Gomore* there is a restriction: Only the occupiers and their collaborators are narrated. The reason for this particularity is “the author’s perspective.” Similar to his stance in *Kıralık Konak*, Yakup Kadri’s attitude to the problem is on morality and though one step further, again, the novelist is obsessed with the results (of the transformation of the society) and wants to show the most marginal examples where these results are embodied.<sup>415</sup> Niyazi Akı notes that the name of the novel is first seen in another Yakup Kadri novel, *Hüküm Gecesi*. For him the connection between these two works is only in the name: “The soul of the novel is felt as a seed in *Kıralık Konak*.”<sup>416</sup>

Dizdaroğlu points to the significance of the political aspect of the novel and claims that “the main purpose of the novel is to narrate the lowdown of İstanbul and to enlighten a period of our political history during the *mütareke* years (the armistice period)”. Therefore, he propounds that no character is significant in the novel. So, you can take out any of them. There will be no change in the structure of the novel.<sup>417</sup> İnci Enginün states that “this work can be regarded as a satire of the foreigners who are the members of the occupier army and the native people who are devoid of national consciousness trying to cooperate with them.”<sup>418</sup>

When considered through the basic premises of nationalist ideology, namely national autonomy, unity and identity, *Sodom ve Gomore* appears as a novel that places nationalism in its center. National autonomy constitutes the main problem of the novel as it depicts a time when İstanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire and the most important city of the New Republic at the same time, is under the occupation of the Allied Forces. The need for national autonomy is problematized throughout the novel as the reader directly confronts a capital city under occupation. Necdet’s reactions against the corrupt life around him are actually his reaction against the invading forces. One night, Necdet dreams of joining the war taking place in the town of Sakarya. He thinks of fighting at the front raw to lean his head towards the bullets of

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<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>416</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 103.

<sup>417</sup> Dizdaroğlu, “Sodom ve Gomore,” 1030.

<sup>418</sup> İnci Enginün, *Yakup Kadri’nin Sodom ve Gomore’sindeki Yabancılar, Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Araştırmaları* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982), 228-248. Quoted in Abdülkadir Hayber, *Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri ve Reşat Nuri’nin Romanlarında Nesil Çatışmaları* (İstanbul: MEB, 1993), 249.

the enemy. He looks for these bullets as a shower in the summer time. However, this war ends by the time he sets off.<sup>419</sup> Although he never moves in time, Necdet's resistance to the foreign (invading) forces and their collaborators maintains the problem of national autonomy throughout the novel. The solution of the novel appears after Turkish soldiers start marching towards İstanbul: When Turkish soldiers arrive, İstanbul trembles like a monolithic substance. Yakup Kadri compares it to an explosion: This is the divine punishment to Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>420</sup>

Similarly, national unity is at stake from the beginning of the novel. What is needed is a force that can unite the discrepancies among the people of Turkey. The dichotomy between Beyoğlu and other parts of İstanbul continues throughout the novel. Mehmet Törenek, in his work *Türk Romanında İşgal İstanbul'u*, states that "the real conflict between the two places starts to be seen after the Balkan Wars." While in Beyoğlu, people follow a European lifestyle, collaborating with the occupants and arms dealers, the other side of İstanbul or the real İstanbul shares food and houses with people emigrating from the lost territories.<sup>421</sup> Özkırımlı claims that Yakup Kadri mistakenly associated the whole İstanbul with a narrow circle and cursed the whole city.<sup>422</sup> Although this view is true to some extent, there are some examples in the novel proving that the author is aware of the reality: Necdet and even the foreign characters confess that there is another Turkey different from this one. Marlow warns Captain Read, saying that he should not generalize his personal observations for the whole nation. "Some types you have known in İstanbul do not represent all Turks. They are some creatures who do not know who they are."<sup>423</sup> Due to this (national) disunity, it is only after the national victory that İstanbul can act as a unity. "Trembles like a monolithic substance."<sup>424</sup>

National identity is another problem that hangs over the characters in the novel. From Necdet to Miss Jimson, national identity lies at the heart of the novel. In the end, Necdet becomes a fanatic nationalist.<sup>425</sup> The transformation from bad to good is

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<sup>419</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 167.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>421</sup> Mehmet Törenek, *Türk Romanında İşgal İstanbul'u* (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2002), 139.

<sup>422</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 43.

<sup>423</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, 276.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 283.

<sup>425</sup> Hayber, *Türk Romanında*, 285.

associated with the national movement in Anatolia.<sup>426</sup> Therefore, the transformation of Necdet and his becoming an enthusiastic nationalist at the end can be enough to point to the importance of national identity in the novel. As for the Jimsons, cosmopolitan characters in the novel, it is very difficult to trace their nationality. They could be English, Hungarian or Turkish.<sup>427</sup> Being Turk is derogatory for Ms. Jimson. However, in fact, Mr. Jimson is an İstanbul Jew and she is from Beirut.<sup>428</sup> She constantly tries to erase her past,<sup>429</sup> however towards the end of the novel the wind blows from a different direction. The cosmopolitan characters' persistent effort to disprove their Turkishness leaves itself to a great disillusionment, breakdown and endeavor to prove their Turkishness.

Also in the novel cosmopolitan and multinational settings are depicted very negatively. Yakup Kadri's attitude towards hybridity includes hostile lines and harsh criticism is leveled against multinational or hybrid elements and characters in the novel. However, here it is important to lay special emphasis on Ziya Gökalp, the famous Durkheimian Turkish sociologist who died in 1923. Ziya Gökalp, in his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, levels strong criticisms against the cosmopolitan Turks and minorities in Turkey.<sup>430</sup> Necdet, who turns out to be an enthusiastic supporter of the nationalist cause at the end, is a man who detests the English from the beginning. At first, the reason for his Anglophobia is not his nationalist feelings but his educational life in Germany and France.<sup>431</sup> There is also cultural hybridity in his past which is detested by Yakup Kadri. Necdet is a fan of Heinle. The author intervenes and tells the reader the possible reasons for a Turk (Necdet) to hate the British. The first reason is the similarity between the occupation of İzmir and their attacks on intellectuals and patriots as they did against Indians of America.<sup>432</sup> Necdet's familiarity with the German thought is also known by the occupier soldiers is the other reason. Marlow claims that Necdet must be a supporter of *KULTUR*.<sup>433</sup> From the beginning of the novel, his intellectual background and the influence of European

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<sup>426</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 42.

<sup>427</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, 204.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>429</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>430</sup> See Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (İstanbul: M.E.B. Devlet Kitapları, 1970).

<sup>431</sup> Necdet is a coward, uprooted, alienated intellectual type. Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 42. Emphasis added.

<sup>432</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, 24.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

culture and thought on his mindset constitutes the actual reason behind Necdet's oscillation.

Another point that deserves attention is that, in the novel, from the view of the occupiers and the westernized Turkish elite, anything that is Turkish is not considered to be original; therefore, they attribute his Anglophobia to his Necdet's education in Germany. In this context, it is important to note that, very similar to Hakkı Celis' transformation to the idealist nationalist patriot, Necdet goes through a similar transition and appears as a modern nationalist young man. For Özkırımlı, the reason for Necdet's transformation into a nationalist is not due to gaining consciousness but a reaction against Leyla's humiliating him.<sup>434</sup> For Abdülkadir Hayber, as a result of the innumerable incidents he has seen, Necdet saves himself from skepticism and the dominance of his personal feelings and becomes a real nationalist by melting his national consciousness in the national one.<sup>435</sup> While these two comments express a certain truth, two things, the Barrésian impact visible in also *Kiralık Konak* and the thesis or the political ideology of the novel make this transformation inevitable.

The criticisms toward cosmopolitan population in Turkey is directed from the perspective of the European invaders, which makes it a more humiliating and objective statement. Captain Read thinks that the women in İstanbul are worse than the natives in the British colonies who lack a proper clothing culture. "These wild people can even be disciplined but the women of this country cannot!" From his words the author criticizes multi-ethnic and multi-national character of the Empire: "These women are more diversified than [the women in] the British Empire! They include Turkish, Armenian, Greeks, and Jews."<sup>436</sup> Major Will's party, in which homosexual activities are abound, is defined as a Babylonian night where even Necdet becomes a tangled person.<sup>437</sup> It is even worse than the amusements of old Ottoman times which in fact refers to the hybrid and chaotic character of the party.<sup>438</sup>

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<sup>434</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 43.

<sup>435</sup> Hayber, *Türk Romanında*, 262.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, 108.

<sup>438</sup> *Ibid.*

Leyla's corruption is also expressed through this hybridity: Leyla wears different clothes: Amazon, Scottish shepherd, mans' clothes.<sup>439</sup> Therefore, to pin down the identity of these people or, in other words, to determine the national characteristics of these individuals is simply impossible. This uncertainty appears as a concomitant of the corruption in the novel. Even the sexualities are at stake: Necdet dances with a "semi-man semi-woman semi-British semi-oriental creature"<sup>440</sup> at the party in which the music is wild and chaotic.<sup>441</sup> Necdet avoids a marriage since he thinks that it would be a mistake "[t]o start a family in the middle of this ignoble, scary and funny world decaying from every side", which "resembles a play written by a drunk writer and acted by insane actors, and in which every element from other kinds is going in and out like a chaotic dance."<sup>442</sup> This situation is natural as the woman he loves is named as the woman of Babel.<sup>443</sup>

One important common aspect in *Kiralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomore* is the condemnation of İstanbul. While it is not so conspicuous in *Kiralık Konak*, in *Sodom ve Gomore* Yakup Kadri reflects the antipathy of the new regime to the old capital, by likening the city to Sodom. The proclamation of Ankara as the new capital was in fact manifestation of the new regime's resolution to sever its connection with the old Ottoman value systems. Even the choice of Ankara as the new capital is ideological rather than practical. When İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister of the newborn Republic, proposed Ankara to become the new capital, it was a great blow to the conservatives and liberals who considered İstanbul as a symbol of an old tradition. "Such was the bitterness between Ankara and Istanbul —between the Kemalists and the conservatives— that Kemal refused to visit Istanbul after its liberation and went there only in 1928 after his triumph."<sup>444</sup> Therefore, being a symbol of many civilizations and the old Ottoman order, İstanbul receives its share of ideological condemnation of the writer, who believes that this old capital is not a proper place for the realization of a modernist nationalism.

Similar to Yakup Kadri's other works, intertextuality plays a significant role in the political message of the novel. One of the most important points that should be taken

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<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>440</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>441</sup> Hayber, *Türk Romanında*, 106.

<sup>442</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>444</sup> Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 53.



into consideration with regard to Yakup Kadri's work is the link between the Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah and the novel. With regard to time, *Sodom ve Gomore* is the continuation of *Hüküm Gecesi*. The idea for the name of the novel appears here. Ahmet Kerim looks at Beyoğlu and İstanbul and says to himself: "Sodom is here, Gomorrah is here."<sup>445</sup> Yakup Kadri's choice for the name does not only signify the moral foundation his novels include with regard to the nationalist ideology, the absence of which generally appears as spiritual and material corruption, but it also turns *Sodom ve Gomore* into a nationalist narrative rewriting its relation with nation and corruption.

Yakup Kadri's affiliation with biblical themes is a well-known fact. His novels are replete with biblical references, which buttress the moral message. When considered within the ideology of *Sodom ve Gomore*, the selection of biblical stories as the moral background of the novel is not very unusual. As Avivel Roshwald observed, "Given humans' versatility and resourcefulness in the manipulation of symbols and the construction of myths, nationalism can be associated with an endless variety of ethical codes, religious beliefs, ideological agendas, and political and territorial frameworks."<sup>446</sup>

When compared to *Kıralık Konak*, though the political and moral platform that nationalism reflects itself continues in the same direction in *Sodom ve Gomore*, now it gains impetus and the miseries of a family are associated with the haplessness and degeneration of a country in a more direct way. Strong biblical references buttress this nationwide tragedy.

First of all, each chapter, from Chapter 1 to 19, begins with a biblical passage: Isaiah 789, Jeremiah 19, Jeremiah 21, Epistle to Romans, Jeremiah 16, The Song of Songs 2,3,4, Isaiah 9, Isaiah 5, Psalms 137-3, Ezekiel 16, Ezekiel 17, Epistle to Romans, Old Testament, The Song of Songs, The Book of Job, Old Testament, The Song of Songs, Book 4, Psalms 143, Psalms 50, Genesis 19 Book 13, Old Testament, Book 19, 26.

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<sup>445</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 216.

<sup>446</sup> Avivel Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism: Ancient Roots and Modern Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 13.

In his dissertation “Un Mythe et ses Trois Versions: Une Etude Comparee sur le Mythe De Sodome Et Gomorrhe Chez Proust, Yakup Kadri et Giraudoux” (Ankara, 2007), Kadir Bayrakçı states that since the story of Sodom and Gomorrah is in Genesis 19, Yakup Kadri’s novel includes 19 chapters.<sup>447</sup> In the novel, İstanbul represents Lot’s country while Anatolia stands for Abraham’s.<sup>448</sup> He also draws other similarities between the two texts. First of these is the light: like Lot’s country, İstanbul is dark. Moreover, there is a Manichean narrative in the novel.<sup>449</sup>

So far, critics have generally drawn connection between Yakup Kadri’s work and the biblical story with respect to the immoral deeds perpetrated in both narratives. However, the similarities are not limited to these; when the beginning of the story is considered, many striking resemblances manifest themselves. To begin with, the reason for Lot’s settlement can be found in Genesis 12:

The Lord had said to Abram, “Go from your country, your people and your father’s household to the land I will show you. I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you; I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you.”<sup>450</sup>

Therefore, the story begins as a quest for a great nation. Lot, Abraham’s nephew, is together with him in this journey. Since he is the only heir, Abraham takes his nephew Lot with him.<sup>451</sup> Lot is Abraham’s brother’s son.<sup>452</sup> On their way, they become wealthy and rich and the shepherds of Lot and Abraham begin to squabble with each other and Abraham offers him to separate their ways in order to prevent bigger problems.<sup>453</sup> Lot gives the decision himself and leaves for Sodom. Here, it is important that Lot does not only leave his uncle but he also deviates from the great

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<sup>447</sup> Kadir Bayrakçı, “Un Mythe et ses Trois Versions: Une Etude Comparee sur le Mythe De Sodome Et Gomorrhe Chez Proust, Yakup Kadri et Giraudoux” (PhD diss., Hacettepe University, 2007), 45.

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>449</sup> Bayrakçı, “Un Mythe.” 52.

<sup>450</sup> Genesis 12: 1-3. TNIV

<sup>451</sup> So Abram went, as the Lord had told him; and Lot went with him. Abram was seventy-five years old when he set out from Harran. He took his wife Sarai, his nephew Lot, all the possessions they had accumulated and the people they had acquired in Harran, and they set out for the land of Canaan, and they arrived there. Gen. 12:4-5.

<sup>452</sup> Terah became the father of Abram, Nahor and Haran. And Haran became the father of Lot. Gen. 11:28.

<sup>453</sup> So Abram said to Lot, “Let’s not have any quarreling between you and me, or between your herders and mine, for we are close relatives. Is not the whole land before you? Let’s part company. If you go to the left, I’ll go to the right; if you go to the right, I’ll go to the left.” Gen. 13:8.

mission that will end up with a creation of a great nation.<sup>454</sup> As narrated in the Old Testament:

Lot looked around and saw that the whole plain of Jordan toward Zoar was well watered, like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt. (This was before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.) So Lot chose for himself the whole plain of Jordan and set out toward the east. The two men parted company: Abram lived in the land of Canaan, while Lot lived among the cities of the plain and pitched his tents near Sodom. Now the people of Sodom were wicked and were sinning greatly against the Lord.<sup>455</sup>

Lot's misfortunes begin here: For material reasons he chooses to live among great sinners and he will not be happy in this place, as we learn that before the destruction of the city he receives harm.<sup>456</sup> After God's assurance to Abraham he goes and lives in Mame at Hebron.<sup>457</sup> While Abraham becomes wealthier and stronger, Lot's possessions are seized after a big war between the kings. Abraham saves his nephew and ensures that he gets his possessions back. This is the first catastrophe Lot encounters in his life among the sinners.<sup>458</sup> In Genesis:19, Lot appears again, this time angels are in the city to destroy it as they are full of great sins that attract the wrath of God. He offers his own daughters to licentious perverts who surround his house and want to take his guests for their sexual desires. The angels blind them and order Lot to leave the place immediately. After this, Lot is saved with his two daughters, and goes to Zoar. However, he cannot dare to live there and dwells in the caves near the city. When they are in the caves, first his elder daughter and then the younger one sleeps with their inebriated father since there is no other man to

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<sup>454</sup> "My point is not that Torah is a book about nationalism. It is rather that the Jewish scriptures and liturgy both presuppose and reinforce a strong sense of national particularism that is inextricably intertwined with universalistic themes of ethics and theology. This very tension between particularistic and universalistic ideals is characteristic of some of the most influential modern nationalist ideologies, including American and French Republican nationalisms." Roshwald, *The Endurance of Nationalism*, 17.

<sup>455</sup> Gen. 13:10.

<sup>456</sup> "Lot is not to be Abraham's presumptive heir for long. Following arguments among their respective workers, Abraham offers his nephew the choice of part of the promised land of Canaan, either to the north, or to the south (13:8–9). Lot, upon seeing the Eden-like, well-watered lands of the Jordan valley, however, chooses instead to go to the east, leaving Canaan and going to live among the cities of the plain (13:12). As Larry R. Helyer puts it, "[Abraham]'s heir-apparent virtually eliminates himself from the promise by leaving the land of promise, Canaan. Now [Abraham] is without an heir." That separating himself from Canaan and leaving Abraham without an heir are bad choices is further emphasized by the narrator's aside about the wickedness of those cities and their later destruction by the deity (13:10, 13)." William John Lyons, "The Eternal Liminality of Lot: Paying the Price of Opposing the Particular in the Sodom Narrative," in *Universalism and Particularism at Sodom and Gomorrah*, ed. Diana Lipton (Williston: Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and its Literature, Volume 11, 2012), 8.

<sup>457</sup> Gen. 13:18.

<sup>458</sup> Gen. 14.

continue his line. “So both of Lot’s daughters become pregnant by their father. The older daughter had a son and she named him Moab; he is the father of the Moabites of today. The younger daughter also has a son and she names him Ben-Ammi; he is the father of the Ammonites of today.”<sup>459</sup>

Therefore, since the day he strayed from the great promise, Lot has been through a number of catastrophes and it is obvious that even though he is saved from the total destruction of the city, he goes through many calamities such as loss of possessions, loss of land and incest — though done under duress.

If the connection between Yakup Kadri’s work and the biblical story is established from this point, it is clear that like Lot, Necdet is living among the sinners with his own will but this time it is his love for Leyla that keeps him there. Although many times he decides to go to Anatolia, which appears as the representation of Abraham’s country, he cannot move.

In the Bible, Lot’s uneasiness living among the sinners is mentioned: “and if he rescued Lot, a righteous man, who was distressed by the depraved conduct of the lawless (for that righteous man, living among them day after day, was tormented in his righteous soul by the lawless deeds he saw and heard)”<sup>460</sup>

Similarly, Necdet’s soul is being tormented with what he encounters in the streets of İstanbul and in halls of big houses and saloons. Necdet feels the “mourning of all the dead, miseries of the living and the sordidness and shame of these people in joy in his heart.”<sup>461</sup> He is helpless and ponders about his situation without coming up with a definite solution.

Necdet restlessly wants to tumble down an infinite abyss continually. For him the only rule and the meaning of the life is in this downfall. Here, Leyla’s lover considers himself in conformity with the universe’s old will. Sometimes, when a voice inside of him informs him about the dangers of this spiritual *corruption* the

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<sup>459</sup> Gen. 19:36.

<sup>460</sup> 2 Pet. 7-8.

<sup>461</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, 188.

only solution he could find to mute this voice was to let himself into the wuthering of his feelings again.<sup>462</sup> (emphasis added)

Like Lot, no matter how much he believes (in the savior character of nationalism), Necdet cannot step into action and join the national war in Anatolia and prefers to stay in İstanbul. Accordingly, though not directly, he becomes a part of the corruption around him. He cannot leave the universal and multiethnic world surrounding him and cannot serve the newborn ideology that will save him and the country both.<sup>463</sup> According to Lyons, the analogy is obvious:

Rather Lot's story is that of a man who has rejected the ideology of the text in which he appears. By leaving Abraham with no heir and thus seemingly with no descendants, Lot denies the necessity for the particular altogether. For him, there is no interconnectedness between particular and universal, nor is there any distinction between them because that which will come to represent the former, "Israel", has been effectively abandoned.<sup>464</sup>

In this context the message of Genesis is not construed within its universalistic message but around the nation given to Abraham as a promise. "In the ideology of Gen 18, events concerning Israel and/or the nations are never to be seen as purely particular or wholly universal, but rather they are always to be understood as being intimately related to both."<sup>465</sup> Similarly, in *Sodom ve Gomore*, the main problematic lies between the dichotomy between the universal and the particular. As an avid reader of Ziya Gökalp, Yakup Kadri's abhorrence of the cosmopolitan and universal directs him to an association with particular, which makes it possible to draw the resemblances between these two texts based on the particular, which is nationalism in this context.

In the text it is also possible to draw connections between Necdet's liminality and Yakup Kadri's interest in and love for Hamlet which appears as a direct reference in

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<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.*, 133. Emphasis added.

<sup>463</sup> "Genesis begins as a universalist narrative and narrows into particularism with the call of Abraham has long since been qualified and undermined. Scholars and members of faith communities alike now see that Gen 12–50 is not the story of how one family and people emerged separate and distinguished from all others but is rather a series of complex, enduring interactions — negative and positive, constructive and destructive (and instructive) — between Israel and its significant others. To demonstrate this in relation to Gen 16 and 21 (Sarah and Hagar, Isaac and Ishmael) or 26–32 (Jacob and Esau, Isaac and Laban) is a simple matter. The essays in this volume aim to draw out this complex engagement from the infinitely less-promising material of Sodom and Gomorrah, a story that has generated more exclusionary exegesis than most other biblical narratives put together." Diana Lipton, ed., *Universalism and Particularism at Sodom and Gomorrah*, x.

<sup>464</sup> Lyons, "The Eternal Liminality," 12.

<sup>465</sup> *Ibid.*, "10.

*Yaban*. Like Ahmed Celal, Necdet observes and narrates every bit of detail in his corrupt society and remains his critical stance thanks to his liminality. However, when considered in the context of *Sodom ve Gomore*, Necdet's liminality perfectly intersects with Lot's own liminality. As William John Lyons states:

Despite his rejection of the particular and his repeatedly expressed preference for the universal, Lot's liminal status between the two is finally retained as a feature of the canonical text. Perhaps it is that —Lot's eternal liminality— which is a fitting narrative punishment for a man who has tried so hard to leave the particular behind him.<sup>466</sup>

This liminality is compensated for at the end of the novel, however. Yakup Kadri chooses to end the story with the scene when Lot's wife turns into salt. Like Lot's wife, Leyla, who sympathizes with the nonbelievers (invading forces), cannot save herself from total destruction. Displaced from her environment that has changed as a result of the national victory, which she regards as anarchy, she tries to seduce Necdet for the last time but "Necdet's locked mouth broke down all hopes of Leyla. Her arms got exhausted, her body lost its elasticity and she stayed like a stiff statue on the lap of the young man."<sup>467</sup> Necdet silently leaves as Lot did at night and the only thing remains in his lips from the kiss is "the vapid flavor of a chemical element."<sup>468</sup> The connection between the national victory and the divine retribution as well as the transformation of Lot's wife into a chemical substance and the flavor of Leyla's kiss is enough to present the apparent association of national cause with moral premise. If the analogy is right, another similarity between Necdet and Lot shows the great misery of Necdet and Yakup Kadri's subtlety in creating Necdet's helplessness to put the reader in great shock, which at the same time manifests the corruption of the westernized Turk who is devoid of nationalism. Similar to Lot, who offers his daughters to the rapacious people of Sodom, the corrosion in the souls of the society is so bad that Necdet is relieved when he sees Captain Read with Leyla. He prefers Captain to the other men around her.<sup>469</sup> Both of them have to make a choice and prefer the lesser of the two evils since in these societies the evil is all encompassing and has no end.

Since *Sodom ve Gomore* was written six years later, unlike *Kiralık Konak*, the novel ends in a more optimistic manner. Although the description of İstanbul is similar to

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<sup>466</sup> Lyons, "The Eternal Liminality," 13.

<sup>467</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomore*, 295.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.*, 174.

Lot's city, thanks to the national victory, the transformation from bad to good takes place in Yakup Kadri's rewriting. Unlike Lot, Necdet is able to fully recover from his liminality and it is possible for him to continue his life devoted to the nationalist cause. The connection between nationalism and corruption becomes manifest through the biblical references. Despite the corruption of the contemporary Sodom, nationalism saves the city and it becomes a wrath of God for the collaborators.

Two scenes of İstanbul can be helpful in understanding the transformation and its relation with the moral corruption. As Necdet observes, at first İstanbul is sunk into a pale darkness:

The city had both a liquid and solid condition. Rather, it looked like an enormous animal lying down insidiously. It was like an animal acting dead due to the strong blow on its head and was lying down to avoid another one. This city seemed like this live creature in 16<sup>th</sup> of March in the day of occupation. [...] However, after the Sakarya victory it disappeared and instead of it, came a giant tied in chains. It again did not move like the other one but it knew how to stand strong and in a threatening manner and in none of its manners it felt a disgracing shame.<sup>470</sup>

The equation of the national with the religious not only gives sanctity to the national cause but also clearly manifests the relationship between nationalism and corruption in Yakup Kadri's works. Unlike the apparent material corruption of the Anatolian villagers in *Yaban*, these "mondane" people of Beyoğlu wallow in moral corruption and decay. In the two novels, the support to the national cause, in other words, being a nationalist determines the quality of being legitimate. It is obvious that the moral corruption of the people living in Beyoğlu is a result of their lack of support to the national cause. Westernization does not constitute the main problem here.

Yakup Kadri's protagonist is able to delineate the good from the bad and attaches himself to the nationalist cause in a religious way. Necdet wants to go near other people who sent their children to the war. He wants to do this in a religious manner similar to the hermits of the olden times. He complains about the situation in Beyoğlu, saying that the enemy has entered into their houses, even into their bedrooms. He laments saying that with Sodomite manners they seduced these people.<sup>471</sup> He likens themselves to those people who "drink their own blood" and explains it with a biblical reference. Moreover, Necdet compares people living in the other parts of İstanbul to the Christians living in catacombs. He asks the future from

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<sup>470</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Sodom ve Gomora*, 192.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

those who walk in the “right path.”<sup>472</sup> Necdet calls Beyoğlu as a contemporary Sodom. He wonders when the punishment will be visited on them.<sup>473</sup> But his mood is not always consistent and sometimes changes quickly.<sup>474</sup> Whenever he is in a crisis, Necdet thinks of Anatolia, dreams of a time when the army will come and clean all this dirt in the city. He waits for them like a religious person who believes in God.<sup>475</sup> This Sodom needs to burn.<sup>476</sup>

Despite the whole zigzag in the story, the reader understands the real tension behind the tumultuous and crinkled love story. It is nothing but the national movement in Anatolia. Leyla’s transformation from a spoilt girl to Lot’s wife develops in parallel with the national victory. The more Allied Forces take root in İstanbul, the more pervasive becomes Leyla’s manners. In the new İstanbul retaken by the Turkish forces, Leyla, like the other corrupt characters of the novel, cannot feel comfortable. Just like a saloon-type Saint Therese and Maria Magdalena and with bruises (because of her shoes) like Saint Therese’s wounds of repentance,<sup>477</sup> Leyla sees İstanbul as a chaos after the victory. This comparison is enough to show Leyla’s hollowness and her spiritual corruption. She is as if in a country whose tongue she doesn’t know.<sup>478</sup> For Sami Bey, who is a typical Tanzimat man filled with the memories of the Ottoman retreat, England is like a God determining the destinies of the world.<sup>479</sup> Anatolia is like a wild place for her.<sup>480</sup> Leyla feels suffocated in a national celebration day.<sup>481</sup>

Finally, in *Sodom ve Gomore*, Yakup Kadri with a strict dichotomy made between moral and immoral, national and non-national, particular and liminal, asserts his nationalist stance and continues the depiction of a true Turkish intellectual and nationalist, if not a citizen. Similar to the protagonists of his other novels, the main problematic revolves around the Turkish upper class citizens with a Western education, who are supposed to follow the nationalist cause not only to become

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<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, 259.

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, 293.



proper citizens but as a catalyst that can convert the rest of the society towards a modern national country. A Barrésian hero that transforms himself into a nationalist, who cares about his society above everything, not only gives the novel an optimistic character but also demarcates the features of a true Turkish intellectual who can transform the country. The silenced majority are treated with an essentialist manner. In the novel they are depicted as self-abnegating, patriotic mass, waiting to be transformed by the elites. The difference between patriotism and nationalism manifests itself here clearly: in both *Kıralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomora* while the rest of the population supports the national war, they are overlooked by the author. Since their love of country does not include a modern nationalist agenda, their sacrifices are glossed over with a few references; instead, protagonists like Necdet and Hakkı Celis who have such a potential are focused. Also, Yakup Kadri's modernist and pro-Western attitude prevents him from sympathizing with the mass of the population having an Islamic and traditional worldview. Those who do not follow the nationalist cause are depicted as morally corrupt, which is supported by the renarration of the story of Lot. By locating the story in the biblical context, the author adopts a nationalist perspective that is associated with a moral-religious stance that judges those who do not belong to this circle of thought.

### **3.3 *Hüküm Gecesi* and *Bir Sürgün*: Condemnation of the Past and the Quest for a Futile Mission**

#### **3.3.1 *Hüküm Gecesi***

*Hüküm Gecesi* is Yakup Kadri's third novel. It covers the years 1908-1914. Yakup Kadri described "his own novel as a political novel on the blurb in its 1927 edition."<sup>482</sup> Ahmet Kerim, the protagonist of the novel, is created as the representative of the Second Constitutional period.<sup>483</sup> Ahmet Kerim is a young writer and the editor-in-chief of a dissenter newspaper, *Niday-ı Hakikat*. In fact, he also writes for other papers that adopt a political stance against *İttihad and Terakki* Party. The freedom of the press is in jeopardy, which comes out strikingly when Ahmet Kerim's closest friend Ahmet Samim, another editor-in-chief of *Niday-ı Hakikat*, is killed. As soon as Ahmet Kerim pulls himself together after this great shock, another

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<sup>482</sup> Mustafa Özbacı, "*Hüküm Gecesi* Üzerine," *Türk Dili*, vol. L, issue 406 (October 1985):164.

<sup>483</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

one follows. Almost a quarter of the novel tells us about an ill-fated love affair between Ahmet Kerim and Samiye, who lives in the same neighborhood. Ahmet Kerim falls in love with the music she plays and tries to meet her. The love affair ends suddenly when one night she and her brothers, who are from *İttihad and Terakki* Party (CUP), entrap him in the girl's house. However, in an instant, the girl changes her mind and helps Ahmet Kerim to escape, from whose courageous stance she is deeply affected. Once stabbed in the back, Ahmet Kerim refuses to talk and forgive her, who after many unsuccessful attempts to redeem herself, commits suicide. Upon hearing about the suicide, Ahmet Kerim falls into deep remorse and devotes himself to the memories of his dead lover. This is a political novel and what makes him cling to life again was the political strife in the country in those years, during which successive catastrophes such as the Balkan Wars, Italy's invasion of Tunisia and the 12 Islands take place. Ahmet Kerim witnesses a *coup* by Enver Pasha and other CUP leaders, who usurp the power by killing Kamil Pasha. Ahmet Kerim is always in the dissenter movements no matter how weird it seems to him to be at the same side with certain people who, oscillating between their personal interests and national matters, are far from being serious enough in their love for their country. Ahmet Kerim is arrested twice by the *İttihad* government and though the first one ends with a quick release, his second arrest results in his exile to Samsun, where he transforms into a hopeless and useless man.

The novel depicts a period in which “the number of idealist people has declined” and those who are leading the country are not aware of the dangers surrounding the country.<sup>484</sup> Dizdaroğlu states that the novel is so much so realistic that we are not able to delineate the real events from fiction.<sup>485</sup> Özbalcı thinks that “in this novel, we find the intellectual who does not know his country in its real aspects and abhors himself.”<sup>486</sup> The author uses an unusual technique, mixing some different forms such as history writing, memoirs and interviews.<sup>487</sup> Sadık Albayrak claims that Ahmet Kerim is the first generation of defeated Turkish revolutionists.<sup>488</sup> In the two novels depicting the same period, *Sultan Hamid Düşerken* (1947) and *Hüküm Gecesi*

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<sup>484</sup> Hikmet Dizdaroğlu, “Yeni Harfler Basılması Dolayısıyla: *Hüküm Gecesi*,” *Türk Dili* vol. XVI, issue 183 (December 1966), 202.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>486</sup> Özbalcı, “*Hüküm Gecesi* Üzerine,” 165.

<sup>487</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>488</sup> Sadık Albayrak, “Ulus Devlet İnşası ve Milli Kimlik Oluşumunun Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu'nun Romanlarındaki Yeri.” (MA diss., İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2010), 61.

(1927), “the real motivation is to get rid of rotten relations of the old society and the longing for establishing a new society.”<sup>489</sup> According to Mehmet Berke Göl, Yakup Kadri’s note at the end of the novel shows that he wrote this novel in 1925-1926. These years witnessed an assassination attempt on Atatürk and 1927 is the year when Atatürk dictated *Nutuk*, which represents his “decisive victory.” Yakup Kadri’s novel bears the political thought of its time and its claim is to show the reasons for CUP’s impropriety for the administration of the country, “contributing to the legitimacy of the developments of this period.”<sup>490</sup> In formative years of the Republic, Kemalist writers depicted the CUP Period as corrupt and used this as an opportunity to praise the newly founded Republic. Therefore, “instead of real social, economic and political issues, the reader sees cliché views of corruption.”<sup>491</sup>

Although Dizdaroğlu advances two possible reasons for the title of the novel,<sup>492</sup> in my view the most plausible explanation is the first one; that is, the night when Ahmet Kerim’s destiny is decided by the leaders of CUP, which also constitutes the peak of the novel.

What is important about *Hüküm Gecesi* is that though a political novel full of political intrigues and successful and unsuccessful coups under the shadow of successive wars, its main theme hardly differentiates it from Yakup Kadri’s other novels. Written during the last years of CUP’s lifetime, the novel bears witness to the collapse of the movement. Yakup Kadri’s attitude toward the characters in the novel (except for some created as a fiction, majority of them constitute real characters as well as names of the papers and parties) carries a strong nationalist criticism judging everything in the book according to standards of this ideology. Another interesting side of this novel is that it is a precursor of three other important novels of the author: the name of *Sodom ve Gomora*, some passages describing Anatolia similar to the ones encountered in *Yaban*, , and Ahmet Kerim’s life ending as an exile which is the main theme of *Bir Sürgün*, are some of the main points developed by the author in his later novels.

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<sup>489</sup> Albayrak, “Ulus Devlet İnşası.” 63.

<sup>490</sup> Mehmet Berke Göl, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Romanlarında Kemalist İdeoloji” (MA diss., İstanbul Bİlgi Üniversitesi, 2007), 87.

<sup>491</sup> Ömer Türkeş, “Kemalizm,” 429-430.

<sup>492</sup> Dizdaroğlu, “*Hüküm Gecesi*,” 203.

As Himmet Uç observes, from the beginning of the novel, apart from his pessimistic side, Ahmet Kerim's point of view is that of a conscious patriot, a nationalist who could not find what he expects.<sup>493</sup> Although, Ahmet Kerim "does not have the resistance of a man of action",<sup>494</sup> he remains loyal to his struggle for his country till the end of the novel. With respect to basic assumptions of nationalism, namely national autonomy, unity, and identity, the novel appears to be problematizing nationalism at its core.

From the beginning of the novel, the main protagonist Ahmet Kerim questions himself regarding his attachment to the country and nationalist ideal. Being a devoted nationalist is the sole ideal of the journalist hero. In the first pages of the novel, Ahmet Kerim prefers Samiye to worldly matters and later he realizes his weakness and reasons that the CUP deserves governing the country since only saints and heroes can do that. He becomes aware of the fact that "human fate is based on such weak foundations."<sup>495</sup> All he wants to be is a young hero and mujahid. All the worldly things he likes a lot, such as well-dressed women, a marble statue or listening to Mozart, are far from him now.<sup>496</sup> In this novel it is still possible to find a protagonist that is very close to the author's worldview. He is both nationalist and an educated young person who is familiar with Western culture and tastes. For Ahmet Kerim, being a man of action in the cause of one's own country is the most precious quality one person can have; but soon, he realizes how suddenly these so-called heroes (the leading cadre of the CUP) have changed to such a great extent after gaining power.<sup>497</sup> He looks at Hasip Bey's face and thinks that even CUP's blindest and most ignorant members are better men of action than himself.<sup>498</sup> Since his consciousness does not permit him to sympathize with the CUP due to the big mistakes they made, Ahmet Kerim is obsessed with looking for an ideal refuge for his national ideal.

Similar to Yakup Kadri's other two novels (*Kiralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomore*), in *Hüküm Gecesi* Ahmet Kerim's critical perspective judges the capital of the

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<sup>493</sup> Himmet Uç, "Hüküm Gecesi Romanında Şahısların Roman Açısından Eleştirisi," in *Doğumunun Yüzüncü Yılında Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu*, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989), 194.

<sup>494</sup> Himmet Uç, "Hüküm Gecesi," 195.

<sup>495</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 17.

<sup>496</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*

Ottoman Empire: İstanbul is like Byzantium.<sup>499</sup> Although the Byzantium metaphor is explained later, it has an obvious connotation for loss of power and national autonomy. Kamil Pasha government, in a sense, represents the king of Byzantium, who had to make concessions to the foreign kings in order to receive help. Kamil Pasha is also expecting support from England. He has a photo with the Queen and the King of Great Britain,<sup>500</sup> which is seen as the proof for British support by some intellectuals in the novel. Throughout the book, the breakup of the Ottoman Empire sets the background of the events and the reader is reminded of the loss of a great amount of territory either through the invasion of other great powers such as Italy or rebellions of the minorities like Albanians. Also on a backdrop, Balkan Wars take place and the national autonomy appears to be at stake. This accounts for the oscillations of the hero, who seriously contemplates about the rightness of the CUP's policies.<sup>501</sup>

Moreover, the national unity is at stake. The author, within the context of Balkan Wars and the Italian invasion of Tunisia, manifests the helplessness of the present parties to unite the nation under one roof. He thinks about the party in opposition and wonders how mutual accord is going to be achieved. The party's policy to show tolerance to minorities seems not plausible as the party is led by the most religious conservative hodjas.<sup>502</sup> When the dissenters (Lütfi Fikri) try to organize a political campaign "according to European standards" he speaks to a group of Greeks and to a number of Arabs in Beirut with a language they do not understand and returns to İstanbul empty-handed.<sup>503</sup> In every page, the author questions national unity and is in a great endeavor to problematize it. One of the few women characters of the novel, the Greek woman Despina, who works in a nightclub and is sympathized by the readers due to her affection towards late journalist Ahmet Samim, shocks the reader by her "national dreams" realized with the invasion of İstanbul.<sup>504</sup> Despina thinks she is not Ottoman but Greek.<sup>505</sup> She appears as an embodiment of Byzantium to the

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<sup>499</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 205.

<sup>502</sup> *Ibid.*, 119. (There is an apparent strong distrust toward the minorities in Yakup Kadri's novels.)

<sup>503</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>504</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>505</sup> *Ibid.* Despina's views are not entirely fictional but are a reflection of the situation in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. As Feroz Ahmed states, "[a]mong the Greeks there were those who hoped to aggrandize the Greek Kingdom at the expense of the Ottoman Empire, and those who hoped to Hellenize it. The former wanted Athens to adopt an aggressive and hostile policy toward the Turks.

author: when Ahmet Kerim sees Despina, he remembers Byzantium, which is a “semi-Asian, semi-Greek, semi-pagan, semi-Christian hybrid and collapsed civilization.”<sup>506</sup> Yakup Kadri discusses and problematizes national unity and autonomy by focusing on the problems caused by their absence and his first group of novels bears strong national consciousness. Although he sometimes shows Turkey as a country without nation, this stems from his distaste with the conditions of the time or in other words the incompatibility of the political and social atmosphere with his ideology.

In *Hüküm Gecesi*, national identity is again problematized via assertion of negative examples and discussed in two ways: firstly, through those who do not get into action albeit being Turkish and the second group of people who are usual suspects: minorities.<sup>507</sup> Having a national identity is almost equal to supporting a modern nationalist cause in the novel. There is almost no reference to the past or certain basic symbols of the nation to stress a national identity. Hasip Bey, who constantly gives references to French thinker Edmond Demolins, is criticized by the hero. He is marginalized and criticized through his adornment to European thinkers, which displays his mimicry and preciosity. As a nationalist character who is in search of the common nationalist sentiments that can unite (Turkey, Turkish people), Ahmet Kerim tries to explore the secret ore of the people and wants to find it.<sup>508</sup> Minorities appear as a crux here; Yakup Kadri’s attitude towards the minorities can be expressed as distrust toward their faithfulness to the country. Ahmet Kerim criticizes

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The latter preferred an alliance between Athens and Istanbul to help preserve the empire which would otherwise be partitioned amongst the Powers and irrevocably lost to Hellenism.” see Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic* 1, 90.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. Here again, it is possible to trace the impact of Turkish nationalist and sociologist Ziya Gökalp’s influence on the author’s ideas about cosmopolitanism. Gökalp is known for his strong criticisms towards the cosmopolitan classes in Beyoğlu and consider them as collaborators of the enemies of the Empire. See Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*.

<sup>507</sup> In this suspicion, though it is possible to assume the presence of nationalist feelings that prioritize ethnicity (if not racism), in fact, Yakup Kadri’s criticism toward minorities and cosmopolitan atmosphere in İstanbul stem not from an ethnicity-based nationalism but changes in the attitude of minorities due to the interference of great powers. With regard to the bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire, Feroz Ahmed puts forward that “Prior to the revolution of 1908 there was no such class amongst the Muslims, and most non-Muslims did not regard the Ottoman State as their state.” Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic* 1, 24. Ahmed considers them as “comprador bourgeoisie” who made the most of economic privileges that had been exploited by the Great Powers under the name of Capitulations. “Many of them even became foreign citizens and served the interests of the foreign powers against those of Ottomans.” *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>508</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 315. Although he feels the secret, buried soul unprocessed ore in people “which is the source of every good or bad in a society”, this is mixed with dust and soil. However, he can sometimes feel this energy. *Ibid.* This notion of “national energy” is a very Barréssian concept that should be present among people of the nation.

the meeting organized by the dissenters through attacking Boşo Efendi, a Greek-origin deputy in the group: the most nationalistic motto is from Boşo Efendi [!] “My mother is Greece, my father is Turkey.”<sup>509</sup>

When the novel is considered as a *port de voix* of Kemalist struggle against remnants of the CUP movement, the novel can be regarded as Kemalist rewriting of the *İttihad* period. The harsh criticism levelled at the government and the opposition of the time legitimates the Kemalist programs and revolutions, which can be seen as the solutions Ahmet Kerim is longing to see someday. Therefore, it is impossible to disagree with Mehmet Berke Göl, who defends this point of view.<sup>510</sup> As Kemal Karpat notes, between 1923-1945, the state utilized literature as a means to inject the dominant ideas to the people. As a result of this, literature ceased being a personal area of interest and pastime activity but rather a means for the conveyor of the state imposed messages.<sup>511</sup> One thing to be remembered here is that no matter how much the novel works for legitimizing the Kemalist revolutions of its time, the striking revolutions (*inkılap*) have not appeared yet and the borders of Yakup Kadri’s criticism towards the *İttihad* movement is confined with his own understanding of nationalism. It is common nationalist sentiments defended by the government rather than the well-known revolutions of today that constitutes the backbone of the critical stance in *Hüküm Gecesi*.

Nearly all of the basic nationalist assumptions play a great role in the formation of Ahmet Kerim’s worldview. If we look for the basic nationalist terms given by Anthony D. Smith,<sup>512</sup> it becomes obvious that Yakup Kadri defends and utilizes them for the construction of Ahmet Kerim’s ideology, giving the novel a very nationalist attitude. The basic nationalist assumptions are given in italics to be followed by their repercussions in the novel:

*The world is divided into nations, each with its own character, history and destiny.* In many sections of the novel, Ahmet Kerim realizes and delineates the putative

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<sup>509</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 174.

<sup>510</sup> Mehmet Berke Göl, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Romanlarında Kemalist İdeoloji”, Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2008, 87.

<sup>511</sup> Kemal Karpat, *Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Edebiyat ve Toplum* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2009), 175- 176.

<sup>512</sup> Smith, *Nationalism*, 22.

national characteristics of the people. In Samiye he sees the Turkish nation<sup>513</sup> and in Despina's smell he feels Byzantium and the Orthodox Church.<sup>514</sup> Since it contradicts the nationalist assumptions of the author, people like Boşo Efendi, however much they seem so, cannot stand for the Turkish cause.

*The nation is the sole source of political power.* Ahmet Kerim criticizes Ali Kemal and others by stressing their distrust toward the people. "If [...] supporting *İttihat* means not giving up our hopes for the people, [and] expecting everything from the nation, and believing in the malice and harm of everything not coming (directly) from (them), yes, (then) I am an *İttihat* supporter."<sup>515</sup>

*Loyalty to nation overrides all other loyalties.* Ahmet Kerim, from the beginning of the novel, questions his attachment to the national ideal and when he realizes that his love affair is more important to him, he realizes the weak foundations of his national sentiments.<sup>516</sup> His critical stance requires a judgmental look towards people who prefer their personal interests.<sup>517</sup> Nationalism is even more important than the afterlife: at the very night of his death, he thinks about the afterlife, which, according to Ahmet Kerim, does not give any consolation to his soul. For him, if death means going to another place where you pay for your misdeeds and see the rewards of your good deeds you did in this world, in fact it is comparable to going into exile because it is another place than your own country. Thus, living in a foreign place is by no means a reward for the dead. "The eternal life could only be living in the memories of our own race [...] The owner of the talisman which is called eternity is only the nations and the humanity which is a sum of all of them." However, although he possesses such strong feelings toward his country, Ahmet Kerim is sad because he has not done enough to deserve such an end.<sup>518</sup>

*To be free, every individual must belong to a nation.* Ahmet Kerim, actually Yakup Kadri criticizes the old parliament whose members are from other ethnicities. He

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<sup>513</sup> "For him nation is this smell." Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 96.

<sup>514</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>515</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>516</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>517</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 22.

<sup>518</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.



supposes that the Turkish parliament in which “an Albanian slaps another Albanian” appears to be ineffective and corrupt.<sup>519</sup>

*Every nation requires full self-expression and autonomy.* During his dialogues with one of his friends after the famous gathering of the opposition, Ahmet Kerim accuses Sultan Abdülhamid the Second of giving the “greatest privileges” to the minorities in both “social” and “cultural” areas, thus inhibiting Turks to express themselves.<sup>520</sup> (As a matter of fact, this criticism overlooks the multi-ethnic structure of the Empire and includes a praise of the new Turkish Republic which claimed to be the representative of Turkish nation).

*Global peace and justice require a world of autonomous nations.* “Maybe, in different places there are different lives spouting from the bosoms of different nations. Ahmet Kerim could not even imagine how these lives could be.”<sup>521</sup> Although sometimes it is possible to come across with a deep remorse for the breakdown of the Empire, when the general attitude of the writer is taken into consideration, his acceptance of autonomous states for minorities and other nations can be easily seen. What Yakup Kadri criticizes here is the hybrid and multi-cultural (cosmopolitan) atmosphere of the Empire.

Though not as strong as his later novels, in *Hüküm Gecesi* it is possible to observe the reflection of modernist nationalism, which entails transformation of people towards Western understanding and a modern life. Unlike his earlier writings, in many respects the book gives Kemalist messages, accusing CUP. People in the novel detest the idea of reforms and they consider them to be somewhat catastrophic. The sole reason for this is the instability. Therefore, *İttihad* government cannot prepare

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<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*, 119, 138. It is also important that he does not get angry with the Greek dancer Despina, who dreams about killing Turks and invading İstanbul (because most probably for the author, she acts in accordance with her nationality). However, Ahmet Kerim protests Boşo Efendi, a parliamentary who claims that “his mother is Greece and his father is Turkey” *Ibid.*, 119. In fact, in the novel, Boşo Efendi’s motto not only shows the impossibility of a nation-state in a multi-ethnic empire but also it signifies a political reality, which became apparent in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Feroz Ahmed also points to the resistance of minorities to the centralization policies of the Unionist Party with the words of Boşo Efendi. “On the whole, Greek deputies in the Assembly were pan-Hellenists and their contempt for Ottomanism may be illustrated by Boşo (Boussios) Efendi’s remark ‘I am as Ottoman as the Ottoman Bank!’ Few were quite as blunt, but almost all shared the same sentiment.” Ahmed, *From Empire to Republic I*, 103. (Here he makes reference to the international character of the bank).

<sup>520</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 179-180.

<sup>521</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

people for a modernist nationalism.<sup>522</sup> Yakup Kadri places traditional values and Islam against revolutions and development. Among the CUP dissenters, a great majority follow this approach because of their enmity towards *inkılaps* and reforms. They are mostly reactionaries. Ahmet Kerim calls this a “dark feeling.”<sup>523</sup> CUP does little to change this view. Talat Bey, one of the famous trio leading the party, is a kind of leader “who likes handling people’s superstitious beliefs and their rooted bad habits in a good way” and he even thinks of gaining power from these thoughts.<sup>524</sup> What is meant by superstitions here is Islam and the Islamic values of the common people. The “national ideal” people are deprived of most probably include Kemalist Revolutions, and it is not people who are going to decide this. Ahmet Kerim does not believe that people will be mobilized by themselves. “Thinking this is beyond the dream.”<sup>525</sup> The ideal state for the close friend of Ahmet Kerim with whom he almost agrees about on every subject is a “national and nationalist state...”<sup>526</sup>

When we pay attention to the representation of ordinary people in the novel, a general mistrust towards people is apparent, which is one of the characteristics of modernist nationalism. A common suspicion overrides the nationalistic diction of Ahmet Kerim, who confesses this reservation many times throughout the book. It is possible to see the dilemma of the author divided between a populist nationalist ideology and a Kemalist, who believes in the necessity of the revolutions and transformation of the people to a westernized modern country at the same time.<sup>527</sup> The greatest harm done by the CUP Party to the youth is to leave them without an ideal.<sup>528</sup>

As İsmail Parlatır noted, there are stark similarities between the works of Anatole France and Yakup Kadri.<sup>529</sup> In his novel, Anatole France criticizes the Jacobins severely, showing the corruption of the convention. Similarly, Yakup Kadri tries to

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<sup>522</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 303.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>527</sup> See Mehmet Berke Göl, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Romanlarında Kemalist İdeoloji” (MA diss., İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2007).

<sup>528</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 54.

<sup>529</sup> İsmail Parlatır, “Tanrılar Susamışlardı ile *Hüküm Gecesi* Arasında bir Karşılaştırma,” *Çukurova Üniversitesi Türkoloji Dergisi*, (No 6200, 2010): 137- 151.

point out the corruption of CUP whose policies appear to be far from nationalistic and the terror of the party reminiscent of the French Revolution.<sup>530</sup>

Corruption, like other novels of Yakup Kadri appears as a concomitant of a lack of nationalist ideal and ruins the protagonist. In many sections of the novel the author is at pains to show why *İttihad* policies are not nationalistic, which brings about the moral and also material corruption in general. For an extreme idealist like Yakup Kadri, the proof of the absence of a nationalist policy is almost enough to show the corruption in politics and society. Therefore, under the impact of Anatole France, whose critical attitudes towards his own society is well-known, Yakup Kadri, with strong references to France's famous political novel, strives to depict the overall corruption encompassing the *İttihad* government.

Personal corruption occurs as a result of abandoning the nationalist ideal in the novel. When Ahmet Kerim gives up to his nationalist and idealist goals, he becomes a useless man, a living corpse.<sup>531</sup> Similarly, Sadık Albayrak observes that "Ahmet Kerim becomes a very different person when he leaves *inkılapçılık* (reformism)." <sup>532</sup> According to Albayrak, unlike *Yaban*'s Ahmed Celal, the reason for his renunciation is the lack of hope, a program and a suitable environment for this (reformism). <sup>533</sup>

As Ahmet Kerim contemplates, "Today's Ahmet Kerim is a scrappy man as if he has been recreated from the bones of Ahmet Kerim of the past. Physically he has changed a lot and wrinkled. And spiritually? Oh, do not mention about it. His soul has completely faded away."<sup>534</sup>

However, he continues questioning himself with respect to his nationalist views, reminding himself that it is still his own country and he tries to figure out why he still considers himself as an exile.<sup>535</sup> "But in those times, for any Turkish intellectual, anywhere [in Anatolia] was [considered] as a place of exile and a foreign land." Although Ahmet Kerim has always felt an inclination in his heart to love these

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<sup>530</sup> He tells why he hates CUP: "Demagogic militancy, attitudes special to murder novels, [...] intrigue and slander system [...] which causes people to attack on each other as though they were in a ship out of supplies." He sees the whole country as a swamp. Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 32-33.

<sup>531</sup> Death is beautiful if it is for an ideal. But he believes that the ideals in this society are not real and it is corrupt. Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 44.

<sup>532</sup> Albayrak, "Ulus Devlet İnşası." 65.

<sup>533</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.*, 310.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, 310-311.

places, they are far from being like their images in the books. The streets are replete with dirt and life here is so monotonous that he even doesn't want to live. He becomes more coarse and vulgar and has no pleasure in intellectual joys. Now, he doesn't care about national matters either. Only his longing for İstanbul saves him. His joyful life in Beyoğlu becomes the sole memory. He "reflects on" these memories in his mind.<sup>536</sup>

For the protagonist, leaving nationalist ideal(s) causes an unavoidable corruption and a physical and spiritual transformation for worse as well. His soul, which he equates with the nation and his fight for his ideals (his courageous resistance to CUP), which is associated with the religious struggle of John the Baptist<sup>537</sup> decays in an atmosphere where the pursuit of such an ideal becomes impossible. The corruption occurs as a result of the impossibility for a transformation for the future, rather than the loss of values of a nation from the past; the struggle to change and transform the country is the real motive behind the understanding of nationalism here. The real difference between Ahmet Kerim, who thinks about "Jouvence Fountain"<sup>538</sup> and the great tragedies of Western literature<sup>539</sup> when his closest friend dies, and Hasip Bey, who believes in the necessity and superiority of the Western "system" and "philosophy" for the development of the country,<sup>540</sup> is in fact their attachment to the nationalist ideal, which can be defined as "believing in the power of the people" (who should be transformed at the same time) in general terms.

The absence of a proper regime for a modern nationalist program, and the impossibility of the pursue of revolutionary republicanism, which is simply impossible as there is no republic at the time, forces the idealist protagonist to give up to the counterforces which inhibit the modernist transformation of the country. Void of his revolutionary republican ideals, the sad story of an idealist nationalist ends as a tragedy of a psychologically and morally exhausted person who has no vision of transforming the country.

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<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>537</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Hüküm Gecesi*, 14.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

### 3.3.2 *Bir Sürgün*

*Bir Sürgün* was published in 1937. The novel covers the years 1904-5 and narrates the story of a 27 year old Turkish intellectual, Doktor (Doctor) Hikmet, the only child of a Pasha, who is in disfavor and under surveillance due to his closeness to Sultan Murad, the brother of Abdülhamid the Second. In order to escape from this surveillance, he lives in İzmir and his family supports him economically. Since he is a doctor, he is a promising young man and his father has given him money to start a clinic. With that money, as a result of an instant decision, he gets on a ship at İzmir Port and escapes to France, which represents a dream-like place for him. He has learnt many things about this utopic place from the books he has read and now he wants to realize his dream and save himself from his backward country, where freedom is at stake. The novel narrates the gradual disillusionment of this young idealist, who comes to realize that the Western civilization, which he knows “very well”, is made up of materialistic concerns and the humane relationship he is used to see in the East is not present there. He meets the leaders of the Young Turk (Jeune Turc) movement in Paris, which appears to be a fiasco. His diploma is not acknowledged there and the French girl he falls in love with (Arlette) and her family is nothing but self-seekers. As a self-imposed exile, he dies in this foreign city where people prove to be utilitarian and selfish, except for the Jewish Dr. Pirineot, who never leaves him until he dies.

Özkırımlı states that, this is the novel of a generation which “strives to find the true way out” but cannot do it due to “the wrong diagnosis.”<sup>541</sup> He thinks that this is the dream of the Turkish intellectual who “adores the West but cannot sever his ties with the East.”<sup>542</sup> According to Sadık Albayrak, the author’s main problematic was not to draw a Jeune Turc typology, but to show that “national reformation, *milli inkılap*, necessitated a non-capitalistic way”, and he supports this view through showing the destruction of a naïve idealistic national reformist, *milli inkılapçı*, in miserable and alienated condition which is the result of exploitative relations brought about by the capitalist ideology.<sup>543</sup> Also, Sevim Kantarcıoğlu, in her book *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman*, puts forward the view that *Bir Sürgün* is a novel that casts light on Jeune

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<sup>541</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 23.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>543</sup> Albayrak, “Ulus Devlet İnşası.” 52.

Turcs' adventures and makes them a subject of criticism.<sup>544</sup> According to her, it is a novel that discusses their inability to deal with such big issues in both individual and social basis.<sup>545</sup> Mehmet Tekin, in his essay "*Bir Sürgün* Romanında Edebi ve Fikri Temeller" opposes this view, saying that Jeune Turcs are not at the center of the problematic; they are only depicted through indirect information given about them. He gives Fethi Naci's observation that Jeune Turcs are only mentioned in 7 pages in the novel.<sup>546</sup> He also objects to the statement that Doktor Hikmet is an intellectual that represents the intellectual type of the time of Abdülhamid the Second. To see him as an "Ottoman intellectual who is not from Turkey" is a false view.<sup>547</sup> Tekin regards the novel as a criticism of the Western civilization.<sup>548</sup> For Tekin, *Bir Sürgün* is the tragic story of a man who creates a world made up from his readings and falls into disillusionment upon seeing that the world he has created in his imagination does not conform to the present realities.<sup>549</sup>

Once ignorant of his own culture, Doktor Hikmet is now aware of his values and in this phase, Yakup Kadri and Doktor Hikmet's point of views correspond to each other.<sup>550</sup> "Why does Doktor Hikmet die then?" asks Sevim Kantarcıoğlu and her answer for this is the fact that he forgets that "spiritual values need a strong economic base."<sup>551</sup> Opposing Özkırımlı, Kantarcıoğlu contends that he was able to solve this duality, and he is mature enough to choose his own civilization's moral values as a way of life.<sup>552</sup>

According to Mehmet Berke Göl, *Bir Sürgün* is "the novel of a search during the last years of the Ottoman Empire."<sup>553</sup> He uses the Picasso scene in the novel as a proof for looking at the "past from the future."<sup>554</sup> Göl claims that the historical period before the establishment of the Turkish Republic is depicted with a Kemalist look

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<sup>544</sup> Sevim Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman: 1908-1960* (İstanbul: Paradigma Yayıncılık, 2008), 139.

<sup>545</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>546</sup> Fethi Naci, *Türkiye'de Roman ve Toplumsal Değişme* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınları, 1981), 93.

<sup>547</sup> Mehmet Tekin, "*Bir Sürgün* Romanında Edebi ve Fikri Temeller," in *Doğumunun 100. Yılında Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No:16, 1986), 179.

<sup>548</sup> *Ibid.*, 180.

<sup>549</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>550</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde*, 147.

<sup>551</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>552</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>553</sup> Göl, "Yakup Kadri'nin Romanlarında," 78.

<sup>554</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

and there is a congruity between the official ideology's formal discourse and these novels.<sup>555</sup>

Agreeing with Göl, it is possible to state that *Bir Sürgün*, like other novels of Yakup Kadri, problematizes nationalism at the core of the novel, which is the real reason behind Doktor Hikmet's failure in Paris. When other facts discussed throughout the work such as "criticism of the Western civilization, Jeune Turc movement, Hikmet as a prototype of Abdülhamid era and Kemalist historiography" is taken into consideration, a complete explanation for Doktor Hikmet's non-amendable disillusionment and physical collapse in Paris is not possible.<sup>556</sup>

Doktor Hikmet's journey is actually a self-quest reminiscent of old time romances. The main reason that invokes him to his deadly voyage stems not only from his admiration of French culture (or Western civilization) but also his lack of national consciousness. In various episodes, Yakup Kadri shows this side of Hikmet's character to the reader and in overall, it constitutes the main, if not the sole reason behind his downfall. This tragic fall is not tragic in the strictest sense of the word, but gradually becomes more meaningful when he begins to realize his mistake. His adoration of French culture is not a healthy, intellectual curiosity: he is looking at the French papers and journals "like a sick man watching his favorite food."<sup>557</sup> Yakup Kadri handles this unbalanced adoration within the context of national consciousness since the whole problem Doktor Hikmet creates in his mind is attached to his national identity: "If Doktor Hikmet were not an exile in a country of autocracy, or rather if he had not been born as a *Türk*, he would go to the dock in fifty steps, would jump into a small boat and in five or ten minutes he could find himself among those people in the ship."<sup>558</sup> (emphasis added)

Yakup Kadri underlines his ridiculous admiration for French culture: Even French adverts "should be read aloud and with special rhythm as something like holy books."<sup>559</sup> As Sevim Kantarcıoğlu suggests, Doktor Hikmet's approach to the outside

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<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>556</sup> In fact, *Bir Sürgün* is a novel written under the influence of *Les Déracinés*, one of the novels of famous French nationalist writer Maurice Barrés, who has great impact on Yakup Kadri's mentality and can be seen as the peak point where Yakup Kadri faces the West and challenges to this world in the name of nationalism. See Maurice Barrés, *Les Déracinés* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1897).

<sup>557</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 13.

<sup>558</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 16.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

world is subjective<sup>560</sup> and Tekin observes that he is not knowledgeable enough to criticize the Western civilization.<sup>561</sup>

As obvious from the beginning of the novel, the problematic of *Bir Sürgün* is handled within the context of nationalism and not only national identity but also the issue of national unity is problematized: The people he is travelling with on the ship are important signs for his false choice. On the ship, Yakup Kadri creates almost a similar atmosphere to that of *Sodom ve Gomore*.<sup>562</sup> The people around him in his voyage are apparently either unpleasant or hostile towards Turkish sovereignty (nation). The most strident criticism comes from the Turkish (Ottoman) citizens who put national unity as well as the national identity at stake. There are even people jumping from the ports to these sailing ships in order to escape from the oppression in the country. The discussions about the fugitives in the ship are scandalous since those who discuss are English and French people and the “true commentaries” about Turkey is done by a Levantine (“freshwater French”<sup>563</sup> in Yakup Kadri’s terms), who shows the situation much worse than it really is.<sup>564</sup> That Levantine says that the revolution Jeune Turcs are striving for is a “utopia.” “How can they ignite a revolution? With which people or nation?” He thinks that a revolution with 500 people is impossible and accuses those people of reading books about the French Revolution and believing in dreams. He claims that in (today’s) Turkey, except for the contribution of non-Muslim minorities and Europeans, to see anything related to civilization is impossible. “You can’t even find any hotel to stay at, any club or any store to buy a handkerchief.”<sup>565</sup> Any dialogue that starts with a realistic depiction of the situation always diverges towards radically scandalous commentaries when uttered by Levantines or minorities in both *Sodom ve Gomore* and *Bir Sürgün*. And a Jew from Samatya (a district in İstanbul) complains that the civilized nations don’t do anything to send Turks back to Asia, where they originally came from. He defends that the crimes committed on these lands do not belong to Turks only; as long as they watch these crimes passively, this sin also belongs to the European

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<sup>560</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde*, 145.

<sup>561</sup> Tekin, “*Bir Sürgün* Romanında Edebi ve Fikri Temeller,” 187.

<sup>562</sup> In fact, he resembles France to Sodom at the end of the novel. See Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 318.

<sup>563</sup> This is Yakup Kadri’s most favorite nickname for Levantines used in a derogatory way and it is also often used by Ziya Gökalp. See Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*.

<sup>564</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 26.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.



civilization.<sup>566</sup> Therefore, Yakup Kadri succinctly shows the environment that Doktor Hikmet strives to be a part of; he is so much devoid of his national consciousness that he does not feel any resentment towards these people. Even, in the ship he almost hugs an Armenian guerilla, *komitacı*, whose head is like the head of a sphynx.<sup>567</sup>

National autonomy of the country is discussed within the economic context in this novel. Since during the Abdülhamid era, the number of wars was very few<sup>568</sup> it appears to be a convenient time to discuss European civilization and national sovereignty without focusing on the dominant characteristics of the war period. In the beginning of the novel, we come to learn that the ports in the country do not belong to Turks and even they cannot arrest a fugitive.<sup>569</sup> Marxist friends of Hikmet in Paris criticize *Düyun-u Umumiye*<sup>570</sup> and they call it “colonialism with no risk”. Turkish nation was one of the richest countries in the world until a century ago. It had industries of its own but it quickly moved back to the conditions of the Medieval Period.<sup>571</sup>

By continuing to trace Doktor Hikmet’s self-realization and development as observed by Kantarcıoğlu, we may have a better idea about nationalism’s place in the novel. This self-realization manifests itself through the character’s embracement of its cultural world and national identity. In his first days in Paris on the train, when asked about his nationality, he can only say that he is an İstanbulite Greek.<sup>572</sup> Later, when asked the same question by a woman, he can only say “Turkish” secretly in a closed room in the hotel.<sup>573</sup> Also, Doktor Hikmet’s admiration of the Western culture contrasts with his national identity, thanks to the criticism of the Marxist youth that helps him to realize the truth about the Western culture, Yakup Kadri seems to be on

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<sup>566</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>567</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>568</sup> Except for Turko-Russian war (1876), which did not start in Hamidian period, only Turkish/Greek war ended with Turkish victory (1897). See Findley, *Turkey, Islam*, 157.

<sup>569</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 24.

<sup>570</sup> Due to the debt crisis Ottoman Empire went through especially after the Turko-Russo War in 1877-78, an international agency named Public Debt Administration (PDA), known famously as *Düyun-u Umumiye*, was established in 1881. It exercised “European control over the parts of Ottoman government finance and service the foreign debt, the nominal value of which had been negotiated downward by about half. The PDA took control of specific state revenues, using the proceeds first to pay bondholders and turning over any remainder to the Ottoman government.”<sup>570</sup> See Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 108.

<sup>571</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>573</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

the side of the Ottoman Empire in this novel: When the ship arrives in Greece, Doktor Hikmet thinks that Athens is now a developed city because it saved itself from the Ottomans.<sup>574</sup> But he is mistaken; at the end of the novel he realizes that no civilization is the best and thus denies the Eurocentric views.<sup>575</sup> He becomes happy when he realizes that he can now insult Abdülhamid the way he wants and thinks that constitutional monarchy is a wonderful thing.<sup>576</sup> However, including the newspaper seller in Piraeus who defrauds him, Jeune Turc movement in Paris is nothing but a fiasco. Also, the sentimental enthusiasm he has towards freedom is refuted by his Marxist friend. In his long monologue, Hikmet's Marxist friend criticizes the discourse of "freedom" in Turkey and equates it to fetishism. He says that freedom is sacrificed for money. He binds the discussion to the criticism of European imperialism and private ownership.<sup>577</sup>

As Sadık Albayrak states, *Bir Sürgün* includes the nationalism of *Kadro* Movement and bears a strong anti-capitalist criticism.<sup>578</sup> With respect to modernist nationalism the novel presents interesting details however. *Bir Sürgün* does not only reflect the ideas Yakup Kadri defended during the *Kadro* Movement but also it is possible to encounter with many ideas he expressed twenty or some thirty years ago. His articles in *İkdam* (journal) around 1920 manifest the roots of the novel and his suspicion toward emulating European culture<sup>579</sup> without a critical approach:

Europe is not a single entity. It has swamps and corners which give out stinking gases causing malaria. Those who wanted to explicate the West from all of its aspects were not aware of this fact and they considered everything good from printed fabric to aesthetic works of literature without exception. It is because of our writers' ignorance who lived some 40 years ago that the souls' sanitary was not considered. And these souls left all these malarias they took from Europe to one generation to the other as a heritage as residue. The new European culture which is called modern culture stays in our brains like a tumor.<sup>580</sup>

Yakup Kadri also asserts the difference of Turkey from other colonized countries and this gives us strong clues about what he means when he mentions about the Orient.

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<sup>574</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 37.

<sup>575</sup> *Ibid.*, 319.

<sup>576</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>578</sup> Albayrak, "Ulus Devlet İnşası." 48-49.

<sup>579</sup> Yakup Kadri, after mentioning that Turkish literature is highly indebted to the French literature and thought, claims that France is also indebted to Turkey. He sees Turkey as the sole representative of the French culture, helping it to substantiate (in the Middle East). He sees Turkey as a bridge between East and West. However, he states that in recent years they became suspicious of European ideas and literature as they do for politics and economics. He warns Turkish people to be careful about the ideas coming from the West and wants them to be careful not to lose our sense of nationality (*İkdam*, 1920).

<sup>580</sup> Mehmet Emin Uludağ, *Üç Devrin Yol Ayrımında*, 148.

In Yakup Kadri's mind, there is a strong distinction between Turkey and other countries under colonial rule. The thing he pleads from Europe is both the cultural and scientific elements that can help the development of Turkey, which constitutes the backbone of modernist nationalism.

Why does Europe withhold or is too jealous to share its industrial know-how and literature from us? It wants that, like other Islamic countries which are under the sovereignty of foreign powers, Turkey, deprived from (modern) knowledge and civilization of any kind, should stay in absolute ignorance and be corroded like iron. But Europe forgets that we are not one of those countries that have been away from their own culture. We have not sent away our skins to the museum. It stands beside us and therefore, we can stand on our own feet. But only if they leave us alone. In return for their needs from us, we will be in need of them in many things but in a limited way.<sup>581</sup>

He claims that we [Turkey] will learn technical knowledge from Europe but this will be restricted to a very limited part of our lives.<sup>582</sup> But later in the same article, Yakup Kadri complains that:

Although we express ourselves with respect to our religion, history and our political and geographical situation, nobody has ever been aware of how we think and what we feel. In many places of the earth there are many people who think that we are [Turkish people] a nation similar to the Eskimos and the blacks. Albeit, either in Germany or England some great orientalist such as Gibb and Brawun [Brown] have written books about our literature, the equals of which cannot be found in our libraries yet, and even they mentioned many Turkish poets and scholars we had not known about, but unfortunately these kind of scholarly works are not known out of the university circles [...]<sup>583</sup>

Similar things happen in the novel as well. A poet in a café mimics all the nations including China and the blacks and even Northern Americans (meaning American Indians). Ragıp Bey complains that he mentions every nation from Chinese to the blacks but does not mention Turkey.<sup>584</sup> Professor Foissard's assistant in the office confuses Egypt with Japan<sup>585</sup> and the doctor does not know where Turkey is. He says "it is obvious that you come from a country far from France."<sup>586</sup>

Yakup Kadri problematizes orientalist attitude in this novel again. In a party given by aristocratic society, Doktor Hikmet observes that there is something derogatory in their interest in the oriental things and people. There is a sarcastic attitude. Due to Doktor Hikmet's Western-like appearance, they do not believe that he is Turkish.

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<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>582</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-50.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid.*, 151-2. İkdâm "Fikri Türkiye", 29.11.1920 no: 8523 And he mentions about a necessary transformation in ourselves for new kind(s) of literature and refuses the cosmopolite effects. *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>584</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 90.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>586</sup> *Ibid.*, 110

Ragıp assures them that their appearance is like that in Turkey.<sup>587</sup> Aristocratic women cannot believe that there is a school of medicine in Turkey either. Therefore, gradually, Doktor Hikmet feels the need to confront his own prejudices against his own culture and this instance both creates self-awareness and contributes to in his self-development.

Turkey's contribution to civilization and its unique situation in the world is verbalized by the Marxist campaign in the novel.<sup>588</sup> By giving these details, Yakup Kadri tries to put his confrontation with the West and levels strong criticism against Turkish intellectuals who are devoid of the knowledge of their own culture. One of the Russian Marxists claims that the Ottomans also taught Russians many things about agriculture and Russia owes its prosperity to the Turks.<sup>589</sup> Doktor Hikmet wants to oppose him on some occasions but he cannot. He still refuges to the classical comments on Ottoman history, saying that incompetent Sultans after Kanuni caused the collapse of the Empire. And now under the reign of Abdülhamid it is the worst. However, these discussions again contribute to his self-development and he dreams of a time when "a regime under the control of the people will be established, science will be taught in the schools without a limit, freedom of speech and thought will foster all the secret abilities laying in the bosom of the nation."<sup>590</sup> However, Hikmet has not fully recovered yet and he thinks that the Russians' comments were very mechanic and economy-centered, ignoring the heroic side of the freedom movement.<sup>591</sup> In order to assure us about Hikmet's defensive behavior, Yakup Kadri makes him defend the European powers as an entity bringing civilization to the rest of the world. Ottoman aristocracy's befooling and their superfluous knowledge about the West is represented by his father and remembered by Hikmet as a resistance to Marxist thought: His father believes that one day only if

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<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>588</sup> "What is the Ottoman Empire? Turkey is a unique thing. It is among the colonies but it is not a colony. It is different from India and Egypt [...] Ottomans are not the property of anybody. Neither the sultan nor any other European country has full sovereignty." They criticize the capitulations. The Ottoman Empire is "like a farmland being utilized under an incorporated country the members of which are all foreigners." Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 214.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

one of the big powers like Great Britain takes hold of the country, can Turkey get used to humanity and civilization.<sup>592</sup>

As a consequence, we can say that Yakup Kadri asserts the dominance of the Marxist criticism through ridiculous and (unnationalistic) defense of Hikmet but gives the reader hints about his self-correction process at the same time. Hikmet's development reaches its peak towards the end of the novel. From his Russian friends, Hikmet learns that the Ottoman Empire is going to be divided and shared and asks Ragıp Bey about this. His answer shocks Hikmet: "Oh, Mon Cher! I wish they would do it at once and save us and the world both... [from this burden]." Upon hearing this, Doktor Hikmet ceases seeing him.<sup>593</sup>

In fact Doktor Hikmet's transformation from a mere admirer of Europe into a conscious nationalist to some extent reflects Yakup Kadri's disillusionment with the Western civilization during the national movement. In this period, he experiences an inevitable conflict in his mental world, which constitutes his distaste toward the Western culture and thought, which reinforces his national determination: "The biggest lesson I have learned throughout my life is to see the other face of the Western civilization, which constituted all of my culture and beliefs during the national struggle, and to fall into disillusionment."<sup>594</sup>

Therefore, the protest felt in his criticism toward the West is the result of the mentioned conflict in Yakup Kadri's mind. The uncritical adoration of the West can only exist if there is not a fully developed national consciousness in somebody's mind and this creates moral corruption, which Dr. Hikmet falls into as a result of his lack of national consciousness. For a better understanding of the moral side of his corruption and the dominant nationalist perspective of the novel, it would be more convenient to trace the intertextual allusions of the text.

Like in Anatole France's famous novel *Thais*, Doktor Hikmet, with a wrong epiphany, decides to set out on a journey.<sup>595</sup> France is among the leading writers

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<sup>592</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>593</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>594</sup> M. Baydar, *Edebiyatçılarımız Ne Diyorlar?* (Yakup Kadri) (İstanbul: A. H. Yaşaroğlu Kitabevi, 1960), 106. Quoted in Tekin, "*Bir Sürgün Romanında*," 189.

<sup>595</sup> In *Thais*, the first epiphany is a jackal which symbolizes the Devil: "As he was meditating in this way, he saw a little jackal lying at his feet. He felt much surprised, for the door of his cell had been closed since the morning. The animal seemed to read the Abbot's thoughts, and wagged its tail like a

whom Yakup Kadri is fond of and just like in *Hüküm Gecesi*, in *Bir Sürgün* it is possible to find some episodes similar to France's novels, including the criticism of the Western society.<sup>596</sup> In *Thais*, the famous epiphany of Paphnutius takes place after he decides to set out for Alexandria to save a whore (dancer), Thais from her sinful life. When he heads for his cell, he observes the miraculous but futile warning. In Anatole France's words:

As he was walking along, he saw a plover, caught in the net that a hunter had laid on the sand, and he knew that it was a hen bird, for he saw the male fly to the net, and tear the meshes one by one with its beak, until it had made an opening by which its mate could escape. The holy man watched this incident, and as, by virtue of his holiness, he easily comprehended the mystic sense of all occurrences, he knew that the captive bird was no other than Thais, caught in the snares of sin, and that--like the plover that had cut the hempen threads with its beak--he could, by pronouncing the word of power, break the invisible bonds by which Thais was held in sin. Therefore he praised God, and was confirmed in his first resolution. But then seeing the plover caught by the feet, and hampered by the net it had broken, he fell into uncertainty again.<sup>597</sup>

The so-called miraculous event Doktor Hikmet sees takes place in a bar. He thinks that a small ant turning in a circle of beer left over from a glass is similar to his life. Therefore, he at once decides to break this water circle and takes the first ship to France.<sup>598</sup> Similar to Paphnutius, he cuts off his intellectual and spiritual development (in the novel Hikmet's leaving for abroad due to his adoration to a foreign culture endangers his spiritual development and his chance to be in a struggle for his own country) and runs after his selfish desires. Unlike his claim, Doktor Hikmet is not a real exile. Apart from its self-imposition, both Hikmet's and Paphnutius' exiles are also pseudo-crusades taken for the sake of their corrupt wishes. Like Paphnutius, he sees the dream of a sin—a forbidden fruit—; and when taken comparatively, the analogy becomes stronger as Doktor Hikmet talks to a priest on the ship, who criticizes some of the most famous literary texts of French literature. This is, in fact, a prewarning for the doctor: The idealized civilization that he leaves his country for is not so perfect. Similarly, when Paphnutius tells about his intention to an old and wise hermit named Polemon, he warns him that this may not be a good idea for a hermit, urging him to question his real intentions.<sup>599</sup> Therefore, similar to Anatole France, Yakup Kadri feeds the reader with prewarnings and signs.

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dog. Paphnutius made the sign of the cross and the beast vanished. He knew then that, for the first time, the devil had entered his cell, and he uttered a short prayer; then he thought again about Thais.” Anatole France, *Thais* (Doylestown Pennsylvania: Wildside Press, 2005), 12.

<sup>596</sup> *The White Stone* is a very famous novel for its criticisms of the modern French society.

<sup>597</sup> France, *Thais*, 14-15.

<sup>598</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 14.

<sup>599</sup> France, *Thais*, 14.

Like Paphnutius, who gets away from the blessing of God as he sets out for his holy quest, Doktor Hikmet moves away from his national identity as he sets out for his own “holy quest.” The analogy stops here as Yakup Kadri gives the actual message of the novel with another allusion to a famous French novel, *Les Deracines* by Maurice Barrés, whose socially conscious and nationalist stance is believed to have an important impact on Yakup Kadri.

*Les Deracines* (The Uprooted) written in 1897, is Maurice Barrés’ fourth novel. It is the first novel in his second trilogy named as the *Novels of National Energy*. The other two novels are *L’Appel au Soldat* and *Leurs Figures*. As Guerard notes:

Les Deracines are young men estranged from their natural surroundings by moving to Paris; and, worse still, estranged from the culture of their race by the cosmopolitan ideal of such denationalized dreamers as Kant. They are young trees that will bear bitter fruit or none at all, in an uncongenial soil. The moral of the book is: “Back to your province, which has molded your ancestors and yourselves; where you feel the close kinship of field, wood, and river; of church, castle, and cottage; where you are in line with an immemorial tradition! Root yourselves again into your native ground.”<sup>600</sup>

The seven young Lorienters are in Paris for their further education and they are looking for ways to serve their nation. They are Maurice Roemerspacher, one of the two most idealist Lorienters who is praised by Taine; François Sturel, another idealist poet; Renaudin “a rising journalist”; Suret Lefort, “a rising barrister”, “philosophic Saint-Philin”; Radacot, the one who used his wealth for the paper and killed a Turk (Armenian); and Moucheffrin, the son of a serf.<sup>601</sup> There are two gatherings in the novel having a great impact with regard to the flow of the storyline. The first one takes place in the grave of Napoleon and in the words of Stephens:

Obsessed by Taine's idea of sociability, which Roemerspacher has conveyed to him, Sturel invites the members of the group to meet him at Napoleon's tomb on the anniversary of the Emperor's death, the 5th of May.

“Napoleon is the Professor of Energy. The tomb of the Emperor for the Frenchman of twenty,” writes Barrés, “is not a place of peace, the philosophic ditch where a poor body once so active lies crumbling away; it is the meeting-place of the energies we name audacity, will, appetite [...] Level history, suppress Napoleon, and you annihilate the condensed imagination of a whole century.”<sup>602</sup>

<sup>600</sup> Albert Leon Guerard, *Five Masters of French Romance* (London: T. Fisher Unwin LTD., 1916), 224. Found in [https://archive.org/stream/fivemastersoffre00guuoft/fivemastersoffre00guuoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/fivemastersoffre00guuoft/fivemastersoffre00guuoft_djvu.txt)

<sup>601</sup> Lord Northcliffe, Alfred Harnsworth and S. S. McClure eds, *The World's Greatest Books*. (New York: S.S. McClure Company, 1910), 1037.

<sup>602</sup> Winifred Stephens, *French Novelists of To-Day: With Portrait and Bibliographies, 1st Ser.* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), 203. The book was first published in 1908.

The energy of Napoleon is what they admire, and Barrés' harsh criticisms toward the politics of French Republic, especially Gambetta, constitutes the core of the novel. "Third Republic, had tried to stamp out all monarchial and imperial sentiment in France by educating the younger generation to disregard the prejudices and feelings of their parents, and to examine everything from the point of view of French revolutionary thought."<sup>603</sup> Paul Boutellier, their instructor, is the representative of this system, who "had taught them to criticize the traditions and ways of life of Lorraine, in the light of the abstract ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity."<sup>604</sup> However, as a result of this false education they turn to "rebels" who adopt critical stance against French Revolution using Darwinism and "other modern branches of science."<sup>605</sup> They decide to publish a paper, *The True Republic*, to get hold of the power with the money of Radacot. Founded with an idealist objective, the paper diverges from its path since Radacot's money has vanished and the paper is by no means profitable. Through blackmailing, Radacot tries to save the paper but it ends up with great disappointment: Radacot goes to guillotine.<sup>606</sup> Radacot plays the leading role in another story as well: He kills an extraordinary beautiful Turkish-Armenian woman, the ex-lover of Sturel, Astine Aravian, who, upon the death of her husband, came from İstanbul with great wealth.<sup>607</sup> The Orient is felt through her character in the novel and she symbolizes the wealth and hopes for the young Lorienters who have economic problems in capitalist Paris just as Doktor Hikmet does for Arlette and her family.

During her married life, Astine had amused herself by reading French novels of the worst type, and now that she was free, she had journeyed to Paris to try and live the life of wild pleasure which she had admired in her favorite books. She came straight from the railway station to the boarding-house, still dressed in her native costume, and wearing long strings of splendid turquoises. All the romance of the Orient hung about her. Her fine oval face, her black hair, long black eyelashes and somber blue eyes fascinated Sturel.<sup>608</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> Northcliffe & McClure, *World's Greatest Books*, 1038

<sup>604</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>605</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>606</sup> *Ibid.*, 1042.

<sup>607</sup> Northcliffe & McClure, *World's Greatest Books*, 1039.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*



Though the similarities between Doktor Hikmet and the oriental lady and their deaths in Paris are obvious, Yakup Kadri's rewriting problematizes the disillusionment as a concomitant of failure of understanding the real nature of nationalism, which occurs as a result of wrong universalist education of the Republic in Barrés' novel. In *Les Deracines*, the resentment felt by loss of an ideal, the failure of the Lorienters to save their country is discussed differently but attains a central place in Yakup Kadri's work. Both of the novels focus on the harms of wrong education, that is, teaching false ideals to the youth that ruin their lives. These ideals are placed on the opposite of the national ideal, which, if not comprehended rightly, destroys the minds and lives of the young people.

The second assembly around the funeral of Victor Hugo is what leaves great impact on The Lorienters. Sturel, who witnessed the crime scene, gives up revealing Moucheffrin's crime (murder):

Far on into the night Sturel watches the surging crowd, including doubtless many individuals low and base, yet as a whole animated by one noble, generous impulse. It brings home to him the solidarity of mankind, the idea so forcibly presented by Hugo in his works, the sacrifice of millions of beings in order that nature may produce greatness. Who knows? Perhaps after all, reflects Sturel, Moucheffrin's and Radacot's squalid lives were necessary to the great scheme of things. He must accept their destiny as he must accept his own. He will keep silence; and Moucheffrin shall live.<sup>609</sup>

Maurice Barrés' transformation from individualism to collectivism finds its expression first in this novel. His understanding of nationalism includes the embracement of the past and the role of the environment on people. The culture of hometown is located and defended against the Universalist, generalizing scientific doctrines. Barrés thinks that:

They are the distant reaction of ancient physiological tendencies, [...] and our reason, that chained queen, causes us to plant our feet in the footsteps of our ancestors. [...] We are both the continuation and the continuity of our fathers and mothers. It is not enough to say that the dead think and speak in us; the whole line of descendants constitutes one single being. The ancestors of whom we are the continuation can only fully transmit to us the accumulated inheritance of their souls through the permanence of local influences. It is only by keeping before our eyes that same horizon which bounded their work, their happiness, and their decline, that we shall best comprehend what is lawful and unlawful. [...] Every act in disaccord with the spirit of our country and our ancestors is a lie which renders us ineffectual.<sup>610</sup>

As Stephens states, the actual story ends here, but Barrés adds an extra chapter to his novel, focusing on the wrong education given by Boutellier.<sup>611</sup> Yakup Kadri handles

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<sup>609</sup> Stephens, *French Novelists*, 206.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid.*, 198-199.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

this problem by changing it into a clash of civilizations, and sends Doktor Hikmet to Paris in order to make him understand the real value of his culture and nation, of course, by gradually stripping him of his prejudices towards his own nation as he encounters a series of failures. Here occurs the spiritual corruption of the young Turkish intellectual, who thinks that through escaping from the national ideal, he can save himself. When Jewish Doctor Pienot's help to Hikmet is taken into consideration, the attachment to the land alters into the solidarity of the people of the non-European world to some extent. The real failure of Hikmet results from his childish or ignorant assumption that he has an option to continue his life in a place other than his own country. What is provincial in Barrés becomes international or inter-civilizational in Yakup Kadri's hands.<sup>612</sup>

In the two novels, both physical and spiritual corruption emerges as an outcome of dissociation from nationalism or the national identity. Like Barrés, Yakup Kadri makes young intellectual man/men the focus of the novel and similarly, Turkey is at the center of the narrative as is France in Barrés' work. Wrong education and universalism poses a great threat and seduction of the heroes is inevitable when its effects are underestimated. Although Yakup Kadri transforms local characteristics of Barrésian nationalism into a civilizational feud, it is still possible to trace the impact of the French novelist's considerations on the connection between the soil and the human beings in general.<sup>613</sup>

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<sup>612</sup> One of Yakup Kadri's close friends in his youth, a prominent Turkish poet of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Yahya Kemal, who is, under the influence of Barrés like Yakup Kadri, handles the problem from a similar angle but in a very different way in his poem "Mehlika Sultana Aşık Yedi Genç." In the poem, seven young men in love with a mysterious Sultan leave their homeland for a dream and die on this journey. Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Kendi Gök Kubbemiz* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1974), 121-123.

<sup>613</sup> It is even possible to trace the impact of Barrésian thought back to 1911. *From Miss Chalfrin's Dairy* series are replete with many examples: Miss Chalfrin: "Dear James, *the souls which are not in harmony with their environment are so much miserable and vagabond!* They are like things exposed to a punishment; they twist slowly in the wind for some sin they are not aware of. [...] Meanwhile, a class of Turks carries this punishment doubly." These people are those that have cut their connection with their motherland. They constitute almost half of İstanbul and they are crazy about the books coming from Europe. They (those books) have served better than the weaponry, "they have conquered the castles from inside." (emphasis added) Karaosmanoğlu, *Alp Dağlarından*, 112. Miss Chalfrin writes to her friend James: "Dear James how right you are in regarding internationalism as one of the despicable ideals?" Later on she continues: "People can only be seen favorable in the atmosphere they are brought up in." *Ibid.*, 95.

Also another quote that explicitly shows the Barrésian effect: "Dear James, we should pity those who do not know God and cry for those who deny their own nationalities (nations). However, those vagrants I tell you about do not deny their nationalities but they do something worse: they look down on their nationalities. They are not aware of the fact that the only principle for happiness and

From the day he left his own environment and country and especially since he stepped his foot on Paris, he has fallen into a weird suspicion: He regards himself the most ridiculous and the most funny man of the world; or to put it another way, he thinks he is seen like this and everybody is laughing at him secretly. Moreover, he wears his nationality as a shame. When people ask him where he is from, he becomes stunned, stuttering for a while and saying the name of an unknown country. As he is scared that they will understand from his accent, he walks with a locked mouth.<sup>614</sup>

Moreover, in one instance Doktor Hikmet is also shocked by Ragıp Bey's assertiveness about his nation.<sup>615</sup> One of the mistakes Doktor Hikmet repeats is the importance he gives to his outer appearance. His presumption that everybody is laughing at him stems from his inferiority complex, which arises from the feeling of shame about his nationality. On his first day in Paris, from the first step on, Doktor Hikmet finds "something wrong with his walking that does not conform to the general harmony, revealing his alienage to the public."<sup>616</sup> However, again, he attributes the problem to his clothes. He suffers from his zigzag feelings in Paris and cannot find the relief he has been anticipating. He is surprised by his inconsistent feelings; nevertheless, cannot discover any connection between these contradictory impulses in him.<sup>617</sup>

Although he was under pressure in his own country, he is free as a bird in Paris; nonetheless, he feels as if "he is in front of the door of a dungeon" now.<sup>618</sup> The reason for this disillusionment and the uncontrollable dissatisfaction emanates from his departure from his country and his negligence of his national identity. His supposition was that the environment of France was superior to that of his own country, which gradually comes out to be false. Doktor Hikmet hopes to find the "summation, *hülâsa*, of a lover" in conformity with Barrésian terms because "from the flowers that have grown up by sucking the essence of the French civilization, from these soils that human minds' and souls' most elegant and exquisite forms

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correctness (salvation) is to be like ourselves and *to take root in the place we were born*" *Ibid.*, 112-113. Emphasis added.

<sup>614</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 96.

<sup>615</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>616</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>618</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

appear.”<sup>619</sup> However, unfortunately, in these soils, this fairy-like woman appears to be nonexistent. In accordance with Barrés’ understanding, Yakup Kadri equates the lands with women. Arlette is always compared to Paris throughout the novel and the enigma behind this has proven to be unsolvable by an “uprooted” man. “Arlette and Paris... But what was the connection between these two things? In Arlette, there is no artificial side of beauty. But, Paris was a ‘monumental city’ and it could be the opposite of Arlette. She could be an ‘exotic flower’ in it. However, that girl neither helps to love the city nor vice versa.”<sup>620</sup> As a natural consequence of his uprootedness, Yakup Kadri’s hero is not able to discover the real reason behind the enclosable distance between himself and Paris. Similarly, there is a secret distance between himself and Arlette no matter how close they become to each other.<sup>621</sup> When he is away, he can love her better. Like Paris<sup>622</sup> she is like a dream and made up of an “outer image,” *görünüüş*; when he touches her, the dream will collapse.<sup>623</sup>

Doktor Hikmet confesses his disillusionment to himself about Europe, French culture and Western civilization and realizes that these concepts were abstract in his mind. Now, what he needs to do “is [...] to find the direct connections between the nature and society.” This is not an easy task as it seems because it is something that “he has never read in any book nor learned in any laboratory.”<sup>624</sup> And following this passage come a few paragraphs that mention his inability to find the connection between the works of art and the place he lives in. The reality he finds here is the hard conditions of life in France and the absence of such a dream world.<sup>625</sup> Therefore, a Turk cannot reveal the relation between the nature and the work of arts in foreign lands that he pretends to know better than his own country.

One interesting fact is that, in contrast to his other works, in this novel the positively depicted Jewish Dr. Pienot is the only person who is able to speak in a similar tongue with Hikmet, which actually stems from his non-European identity. Like him, his roots are not from Paris. As Tekin observes, the Jewish doctor is the only one who

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<sup>619</sup> *Ibid.*, 95-96.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*, 244.

<sup>622</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 245.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>625</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-127.

criticized the West most harshly and most sympathetic to the writer.<sup>626</sup> Yakup Kadri expresses his own views through the Jewish doctor's words. These are as follows: before the eastern religions, Europeans were barbaric people.<sup>627</sup> Art and literature belongs to Greko-Latin culture.<sup>628</sup> Colonies are the repercussions of barbaric Europe; while artists are creating great works, the armies still continue to invade the world.<sup>629</sup> It is like Sodom.<sup>630</sup>

Doktor Hikmet's uprootedness result in his moral and physical deterioration and his survival in an alien place appears to be impossible. His disconnection from his own soil looms over his mind and body like a spell and once again, Yakup Kadri clearly manifests the connection between nationalism and corruption. No matter how much Hikmet realizes the importance of his country and becomes aware of the national ideal he has escaped, which carries utmost importance for his identity, it becomes impossible to compensate for his uprootedness. Once the hero renounces national ideal and tries to get rid of his identity present in his veins, it becomes impossible for him to survive. His body is buried in a general cemetery in Paris, which means that he will belong to a place that is alien to his soul. If Ahmet Kerim's considerations about eternal life in *Hüküm Gecesi* are taken into consideration, as a failure that has not been able to find any place in the memory of his own country, Dr. Hikmet's fate appears as an eternal torment for his soul.

The strong connection between *Bir Sürgün* and *Les Deracines* reveals that Yakup Kadri's work approaches the most famous problematic of the Turkish novel, namely, westernization from the viewpoint of nationalism and especially in the second part of the novel, by inserting *Kadro*'s answers for the backwardness of the country, which lays at the center of the discussions, he readjusts his confrontation with the West and tries to handle the problem from an economic base and underlines the necessity for a modern nationalist project, without a strong attachment to capitalism as well. Although Berke Göl considers *Bir Sürgün* a Kemalist rewriting of the history, it is obvious that the Jeune Turc movement is in the shadow of Marxist criticism and the solutions that *Kadro* offers dominates the political discussions in the novel. The

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<sup>626</sup> Tekin, "Bir Sürgün Romanında," 187.

<sup>627</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 316.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

<sup>629</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

<sup>630</sup> *Ibid.*, 318.

limits for adopting Western culture and the possible application of the Western models and thought as a program in the country is deeply discussed and limited by this novel, which depicts the real face of this dream-like fantasy world, and includes a strong warning as the nationalist perspective is located at the core of the narrative. The problems with respect to Turkey's place in the World and misconceptions about its nature and cultural values are also problematized; which also consists of the characteristics of Yakup Kadri's short stories before the War of Independence.

As a novel written in the last years of Atatürk's life, *Bir Sürgün* appears as a critique of the West, which was predominantly symbolized by France at the time. Carrying his ideal for a modern nationalist program, Yakup Kadri, with the critical perspective he had gained during his *Kadro* years, both criticizes the economic exploitation of capitalism and manifests the dangers of Western adornment especially when it is not equipped with the perspective of nationalism. If only one side of modernist nationalism, namely, modernism is adopted, the reality becomes twisted and a capitalist country like France, the economy of which is based on exploitation of colonies, turns into an idyllic place, where somebody who goes there is likely to find, "green shadowy wide and straight roads and the flowing of free, civilized and noble people clean as waterfall water, poets' singing, scholars' lessons and philosophers' aphorisms on virtue and humanity and finally the love songs of beautiful women"[...].<sup>631</sup>

And before the harsh reality of the Western political and economic situation, this dream turns into a nightmare ending with a commiserable death.

Once uprooted from his national ideal, Doktor Hikmet, who is a prototype similar to Yakup Kadri's other novels covered here, falls into a spiritual corruption and physically deteriorates as well. It becomes impossible for him to survive in a foreign country anymore. While the novel justifies Kemalism by showing pre-Republican intellectual in an impasse, the criticisms towards the adoption of capitalist system from the point of Marxist perspective expresses to a certain disillusionment, which becomes manifest also in his novels written in the following years. What is certain in *Hüküm Gecesi* and *Bir Sürgün* is the condemnation of the past – pre-Republican era as an unnationalistic atmosphere, which had not the convenient environment for the

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<sup>631</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Bir Sürgün*, 15.

necessary transformation that could only be realized by a westernized nationalist republican cadre.

### **3.4 *Yaban*, Ankara and Panorama: Kadro Movement and the Problems in the Implementation of Modernist Nationalism**

#### **3.4.1 *Yaban***

Why are the villagers or the village life in the novel is full of negative images? Or are the Turkish villagers as bad as they are depicted in the novel? Is this Anatolian inferno the denouement of Yakup Kadri's realism? Certain questions like these have engaged the attention of Turkish critics since the appearance of *Yaban*. Yakup Kadri was both praised to the skies and won the Second Best Novel Prize in 1942 by CHP and also has been subjected to severe criticism. For example N. Ziya Bakırcıoğlu criticizes Yakup Kadri harshly, saying that *Yaban* is a black spot on Turkish villagers' reputation.<sup>632</sup> Cemil Ekiyor opposes him and says that Yakup Kadri's novel has the same main characteristics with another novel, *Küçük Ağa*, written by Tarık Buğra, which Bakırcıoğlu praises for its correction of the false image created by Yakup Kadri. In his essay, Ekiyor defends Yakup Kadri asserting that in both novels poverty, lack of education, physical similarities between the main characters, imams' reluctance in supporting the war, people's attitude toward the intellectuals are similar.<sup>633</sup> Hüseyin Altunya in his essay "Yabancı Olunan Bir Konunun Romanı: *Yaban*" observes that the novel's technique is defective, the descriptions in the novel are not realistic but rather abstract, facts about the local places do not conform to the reality.<sup>634</sup> Selim İleri in his essay "Yaban Üzerine" discusses Yakup Kadri's work extensively and claims that "the reality is [protagonist] Ahmet Celal's outsidership, his inability to associate himself with the village even if he wants to do so." This is because "Ahmet Celal approaches problems from the point of poetry and draws [a picture of] Anatolia from Vergilius to Yunus Emre."<sup>635</sup> For Selim İleri, one of the main reasons for Ahmet Celal's mentioned inability to associate himself with

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<sup>632</sup> Bakırcıoğlu, *Başlangıcından Günümüze*, 121.

<sup>633</sup> Cemil Ekiyor, "Yaban Romanı Köylümüzün Alnındaki Kara Leke midir?," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi* 598 (October 2001): 447-456

<sup>634</sup> Hüseyin Altunya, "Yabancı Olunan Bir Konunun Romanı: *Yaban*," *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, C: XXXV, (March 1977): 265.

<sup>635</sup> Selim İleri, "Romanlar Üzerine: Yaban Üzerine", *Türk Dili Dil ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, July, C: XXXIV, 298, (1976): 55.

the villagers is Yakup Kadri's and Ahmet Celal's ignorance of the closed village economy. Therefore, Yakup Kadri is not able to see the main problem due to his lack of necessary knowledge on this issue.<sup>636</sup> Sevim Kantarcıoğlu in her book *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman: 1908-1960* considers *Yaban* as a tragedy. "Yaban is a modern historical novel created with dramatic novel techniques."<sup>637</sup> In the novel "we not only find Ahmet Celal's fall but also the tragic defeat of Turkish intellectuals."<sup>638</sup> Acar Sevim in his essay "Tahlil Metodunun Yaban Romanına Uyarlanması" claims that *Yaban* is a novel written under the influence of naturalism to a great extent; this is the reason why the villagers are not shown as perfect reflections of reality but rather how they should be.<sup>639</sup> In his book *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Köy*, Ramazan Kaplan states that the village as a subject was written by the writers who actually did not know much about the villages. At first, the writers writing about village focused on the sentimental side but later it gave way to a more realist attitude. National struggle was of utmost importance and economic problems were the dominant motive in depicting and understanding the village life. Therefore, a writing style with ample clichés became dominant and the village novelists remained as writers of the appearance."<sup>640</sup> As seen in *Yaban*, a generalization of the villagers' situation or an accusation of all the intellectuals "means denying the presence of the people who won the national struggle." Kaplan states that "this is the point where Yakup Kadri has been subjected to criticism most."<sup>641</sup>

One of the best answers given to this conundrum belongs to Berna Moran. Famous for his studies on theories of criticism and the Turkish novel, he was a professor in English Language and Literature Department in İstanbul University. Parallel to Murat Belge's statements on westernization –novel relationship-, his answer suggested that it was the ideology of Yakup Kadri rather than his realism that pictured such hell on earth. This answer was able to handle the problem of realism and its reflections in the novel whereas it created a series of other questions the most

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<sup>636</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>637</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman*, 250.

<sup>638</sup> *Ibid.*, 237.

<sup>639</sup> Acar Sevim, "Esere Dönük Tahlil Metodunun Yakup Kadri'nin *Yaban* adlı Romanına Uygulanması," in *Doğumunun 100. Yılında Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu*, (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları No 480, 1989), 143.

<sup>640</sup> Ramazan Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Romanında Köy*, (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1988), 74.

<sup>641</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.



important of which is doubtlessly “what was the ideology of Yakup Kadri?” Moran’s answer is Kemalism.<sup>642</sup>

When the ideology of the novel is examined closely, the novel appears as a conveyor of nationalist ideology and propaganda. Yakup Kadri’s attachment to nationalism and his critical, judgmental look toward the society of his time had served to create an aesthetics of his own that placed nationalism at the core of the novel. Primarily, throughout the novel the three concepts of nationalist ideology, namely national autonomy, unity and identity are at the center of the problematic. On the surface, the abyss between the Turkish intellectual and people is in fact nothing other than the void of three basic concepts of nationalism.

*Yaban*’s protagonist Ahmed Celal is not a happy man when he comes to the village. He is there because the place where he lives is under occupation and throughout the novel, on all occasions the author is at pains to make his reader feel the importance of the autonomy of the country: “For a Turk, İzmir and Sivas have the same meaning. Diyarbakır and Samsun mean the same. If İzmir is under occupation, it means that the strings of Anatolia are in the hands of the enemy. Here is not safe before that place is saved.”<sup>643</sup> Also as Moran states, the War of Independence is continuing in the background of the story, which provides the unity of a series of events.

Secondly, the necessity and significance of national unity is stressed throughout the novel, which embodies itself in the presence of two different villager images: At one side there are villagers fighting for their country and on the other side we see illiterate villagers ignorant of their nationality. Ahmed Celal’s endeavor to teach them their real identity and his disillusionment has a wide coverage in the novel.

One day... one day, will I be able to express to them that I am not a stranger (*yaban*)? The blood in my veins is circulating in their veins. We speak the same language. We came together from the same historical [and] geographical ways. Will I be able to prove that we are the people of the same Lord?! The same political fate and social ties have joined us together with an intimacy more superior than the ties of brotherhood, filial relationship, motherhood and fatherhood.<sup>644</sup>

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<sup>642</sup> Moran Berna, *Türk Romanına*, 216.

<sup>643</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 152.

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-36.

National identity is closely related with the two other criteria. The villagers' ignorance of their national identity is the result of the calamities they encounter in the novel, which is a great drawback in the establishment of national unity as well.

"How can a person be a Turk but not on the side of Kemal Pasha?"

"We are not Turks, sir."

"Then what are you?"

"We are Muslims, *Alhamdulillah*... Those people you say live in Haymana..."<sup>645</sup> (emphasis added)

Unlike his other novels covered so far, in *Yaban*, Yakup Kadri depicts a period in Turkey when Kemalist revolutions could be started. Although like *Sodom ve Gomore*, *Yaban* covers the years of the war of Independence, the real tension occurs between Ahmed Celal and the villagers. Despite the Greek invasion, a reader of the novel can easily realize that *Yaban* is a political novel in which under the problematic of Turkish "intellectual and villagers" distinction, the politics of its time is discussed with strong passages, and is replete with tirades and messages. According to Ömer Türkeş, *Yaban* is the manifesto of *Kadro* Movement and the most controversial aspect of the novel is its ideology. Both the villagers and men of religion appear as a great obstacle in the path towards enlightenment. The Turkish intelligentsia suffers from "utopian individualism".<sup>646</sup>

Together with *Yaban*, his other two novels written later, *Ankara* and *Panorama* depict the reformist modern intellectual's confrontation with the common people, rather than the westernized elites and the minorities in İstanbul. Hence, these three novels cover the problematic of the implementation of the true nationalist program in Yakup Kadri's mind. The general discontentedness seen in these novels arises from the incompatibility of the general political situation to the ideal nationalism defended by the author.

Apart from the common nationalist principles, Yakup Kadri's nationalism in *Yaban* is actually an amalgamation of different nationalist approaches. It is possible to trace the impact of Ziya Gökalp, Maurice Barrés, *Kadro* Movement and Kemalism at the same time. Actually, *Yaban* and *Ankara* coincide with Yakup Kadri's experience of

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<sup>645</sup> *Ibid.*, 153. Although the ethnic identity is stressed here, the real conflict does not take place around an ethnic conflict. As Birsen Talay observes, Yakup Kadri always remained distant from ethnic nationalism defended by some of the Kemalist elites such as M. Emin Yurdakul. During his life, Yakup Kadri was a defender of Westernization and Nationalism. Birsen Talay, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," 435-6.

<sup>646</sup> Ömer Türkeş, "Güdükl Bir Edebiyat Kanonu," 428.

*Kadro* Movement and especially his second novel of this period, *Ankara*, is accepted to be a repercussion of the movement's ideas.<sup>647</sup>

Since Yakup Kadri has been accepted as a representative and defender of Kemalism, nationalism in his works have been mostly considered to be the expression of official ideology and thus very limited criticism has been directed towards his works so far. Until now, it has been taken for granted as though nationalism in his works was a concomitant of the advent of Kemalism. However, besides his novels, most of which were written during and after Atatürk's period, when his earlier works that include literary essays, short stories and plays are taken into consideration, it can easily be seen that his inclination towards a modernist nationalism which, as Akman states, is a kind of nationalism emerged in countries that have resisted colonial and imperialist forces like Turkey<sup>648</sup> does not start with Kemalist revolutions. Both before and after the advent of Kemalist movement, as an Ottoman intellectual aware of the West, Yakup Kadri's works can be analyzed under the title of modernist nationalism and though changed in time, the different nationalisms in his novels have molded together to express a certain kind of nationalism peculiar to those countries that resisted colonialism.<sup>649</sup>

According to Ayhan Akman, "source of national identity is project of modernity that demands a civilizational conversion."<sup>650</sup> In *Yaban* this constitutes one of the main distinctions between the protagonist Ahmed Celal and the villagers. In fact, this is a consequence of the process going on since the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Berna Moran, by depending on the works of outstanding Turkish scholars on Ottoman society, states that in the Ottoman society although there was a distinction between Ottoman intellectuals and people in general, the practice and ideology of Islam united these people, which especially manifested itself at religious

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<sup>647</sup> Evren Karataş, İpek Yıldız, "The Articles of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu Published in *Kadro Journal* and The reflections of *Kadro Idea* to *Ankara Novel*," (The Journal of International Social Research Volume: 3, Issue: 14, Fall 2010).

<sup>648</sup> Akman, "Modernist Nationalism," 22-24.

<sup>649</sup> Especially his collection of two essays written between 1911 and 1926, *Alp Dağlarından ve Miss Chalfin'in Albümünden* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1942) provides ample examples to support this view. Although they were published in 1942 they were written in a period that makes Yakup Kadri's experience more valuable. His support to New-Hellenism (*Nev-Yunanilik*) could also be considered to be the result of the same objective. For Yakup Kadri's criticism of Turkish culture for being still Asian in the context of New-Hellenism, see Hasan Âli Yücel, *Edebiyat Tarihimizden* (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 255.

<sup>650</sup> Akman, "Modernist Nationalism," 24.

ceremonies.<sup>651</sup> However, with the impact of westernization, which came out as a consequence of the search for a solution for succeeding military defeats against the Western powers, the discrepancy between big culture and small culture gradually increased, resulting in cultural duplication.<sup>652</sup> As a soldier, Ahmed Celal tries to encourage people to act as members of the Turkish nation and warns them against the dangers of underestimating the enemy. As Moran expresses in his book, many critics and authors criticize *Yaban*'s technique and claim that as a novel it is void of a plot and is rather like an essay. However, this does not reflect the truth, since the War of Independence, which happens concurrently in the background, gives a unity to the whole plot.<sup>653</sup> Accordingly, this aspect of the novel locates the whole plot into a nationalist problematic.

The struggle between East and West or the problematic of westernization has been at the heart of Turkish novel since its early stages. Murat Belge, in his book *Sanat ve Edebiyat Yazıları*, considers Ahmet Mithat Efendi, whose novels, translations and other works are considered to be the first works in Turkish literature in Western style, as the main representative of East-West problematic.<sup>654</sup> He states that Ahmet Mithat Efendi claimed our superiority within the context of religion and was in struggle for delimiting the scope and the effect of westernization to a "necessity of pragmatic technological equipment."<sup>655</sup> From then on, the same problem was handled by many different authors. According to Belge, this westernized clown figure was transformed into westernized traitor in the writings of Ömer Seyfettin and Yakup Kadri, which was the result of emergence of nationalism in Turkey. This Western ideology was also our weapon against the West.<sup>656</sup> However, Belge is not satisfied with this name, that is, East/West problematic and thinks that the heart of the matter lies elsewhere. He mentions Yakup Kadri's protest against English and French forces during the years of British occupation in İstanbul: "Why do you treat us as if we were blacks from Africa?" And Belge notes that this attitude of Yakup Kadri shows that "[t]herefore, when we look at our east [...] we do not see our

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<sup>651</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 13.

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.

<sup>654</sup> Murat Belge, *Sanat ve Edebiyat Yazıları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009), 96.

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>656</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-99.

friends there either. At best, some wretched people below our level.”<sup>657</sup> In the light of these, Murat Belge adduces that “when we look from the point of view of nationalist literature, it is more plausible to suggest that there is a ‘we/others’ problematic rather than East/West.”<sup>658</sup> Others that are in the east of us do not deserve to be better than us and the real problem is not colonizer/ colonized dichotomy but why we are not on the proper side.

He further states that, later, “blacks from Africa” discourse was given up since one branch of Kemalists saw this as “the beginning of oppressed peoples’ resistance against imperialism.”<sup>659</sup> Here, this branch of Kemalists that Belge means is the *Kadro* Movement in which both his father and Yakup Kadri were members.

Another answer for Yakup Kadri’s negative attitude can be provided if we take his experience in *Kadro* Movement. The Movement’s relationship with the Kemalist elites has always been considered through their goal to develop and create an ideology for the Kemalist revolutions.<sup>660</sup> Therefore, Yakup Kadri’s stance can be associated with Kemalist elitism that aims at shaping the whole society. Mehmet Berke Göl, in his thesis “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Romanlarında Kemalist İdeoloji,” observes that in the novel there is not only negative sides of the villagers; it is also possible to see an idealized portrait of the villagers and these two images coexist side by side.<sup>661</sup> Göl does not agree with the idea that the novel is an anti-villager work.<sup>662</sup> Rather, the reason for such a negative depiction is that Yakup Kadri’s attitude to “help consolidate a set of distinctions” that can be summarized as “developed/ underdeveloped, ruler/ruled, upper/downward, those who should help/need help, which is in total harmony with Kemalist governments’ principle of populism and village politics of the time.”<sup>663</sup>

Tekeli and İlhan, in their colossal work, *Kadrocular ve Kadro Hareketi*, state that:

Since the *Kadro* group was trying to reflect their thoughts into practice through influencing the central government, they tried to direct the society from the top. They were trying to benefit

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<sup>657</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>658</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>659</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>660</sup> See Tekeli and İlhan, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 129.

<sup>661</sup> Göl, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Romanlarında,” 25.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

from the central government's opportunities to shape the society. In the first place the people they were trying to impact were not the society but those who held power.<sup>664</sup>

The suspicion of the Kemalist elites towards ordinary people can be said to be adopted by the members of the Movement. In this approach it seems fairly easy to associate Ahmed Celal's stance with Kemalism. However, as Ömer Türkeş, in his book *Kadro Hareketi: Ulusal Sol Bir Akım*, stresses, going towards people defended by Ziya Gökalp and the intellectual—commons distinction, which is at the center of Gökalp's theory of nationalism "was never brought to the forefront by Kemalists." On the contrary, CHP's populism regards people as the sovereign.<sup>665</sup> Ziya Gökalp, the famous Durkheimian Turkish sociologist who died in 1923,<sup>666</sup> is renowned for adopting and defending an elitist stance and thus is an important reference in explaining the real source of their elitism. If Gökalp's impact on Yakup Kadri's thought is traced,<sup>667</sup> it is possible to find many examples of Gökalp's impact on Yakup Kadri in his early essays, including *Miss Chalfrin'in Albümünden*.<sup>668</sup>

When the necessary attention is paid to the Movement's ideas, it is possible to draw the connection between another important point that remains outside of the official ideology and *Yaban*, which can be contextualized in modernist nationalism: *Kadro* Movement developed its arguments within the context of developed countries/colonized world contradiction. According to the Movement, in 1930s the struggle was taking place between the metropolis and the periphery, namely, between the European colonizers and the colonized world, where most of the independent countries of today were campaigning for their independence through national struggles at the time. As Tekeli & İlkin suggest, one of the main points of the movement was that, while the class conflict was the leading cause in European countries in the implementation of historical materialism, for countries like Turkey, the conflict lay between the colonies and the metropolises. For them, Turkey was the representative of a new group of countries which inspired original ideas to most of

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<sup>664</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 486.

<sup>665</sup> Mustafa Türkeş, *Kadro Hareketi: Ulusal Sol Bir Akım*, (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1999), 36.

<sup>666</sup> For examples of his elitism, see Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*.

<sup>667</sup> See İlhan Tekeli & Selim İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü Kadro'yu ve Kadrocuları Anlamak* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), 25.

<sup>668</sup> Yakup Kadri's hatred towards cosmopolitism and minorities seems a direct reflection of Gökalp's thoughts collected in his book *Türkçülüğün Esasları*.

the third world countries and also helped them to avoid both fascism and communism.<sup>669</sup>

Therefore, Turkey would have a special place among the third world countries. The movement sought a new international role for the center of the old Empire, a new starting point rejuvenated by the vaccination of a nationalism tinged with an anti-imperialist ideology. Instead of confining themselves to the glories of the past, they were in a sense, looking for ways to integrate “Bab-ı Ali” (used for bureaucracy) to the new international system which was to undergo a great transformation. According to İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, one question had a central place throughout the lives of those young people: “how can the Empire save itself from a total breakup or under which circumstances can the Republic realize a rapid industrialization and modernization?”<sup>670</sup> During and after the few years following the war, they found the answer either in socialism or the communist party. However, the government did not consider this as a legitimate option and accordingly, they had to find a new way to locate themselves in the emerging political system. The movement was very careful in their relationship with the governing elite; nevertheless, their project could only survive three years. Though not seen dangerous individually, they as a group were considered to be dangerous.<sup>671</sup>

During *Kadro* years, Yakup Kadri must have been influenced by the other members of the Movement, since they had regular meetings and were very careful with the essays they were publishing in an atmosphere where single party elites’ attitudes towards them were defined by the word suspicion at best.<sup>672</sup> Only after the second issue was released, Yakup Kadri, upon a crisis echoed from Atatürk’s table, assured him that he was ready to close down the journal.<sup>673</sup> Despite this early crisis, the Movement was able to continue for nearly three years. Mustafa Türkeş states that in spite of the journal’s aforementioned closeness with the official ideology, the development strategy *Kadro* was defending was not identical with the Kemalist one.<sup>674</sup> If this was one of the reasons for the short life of the journal, it also proved that the cogency of the Movement and the popularity of their ideas were not affective

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<sup>669</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 497.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.*, 484.

<sup>671</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

<sup>673</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>674</sup> Türkeş, *Kadro Hareketi*, 11.

as it was supposed to be. Moreover, there were always reactions and criticisms against their proposals and the new role they cast for the newly independent country. For example, in 1933 Recep Peker, one of the most influential leaders of the Kemalist movement at the time, criticized *Kadro* Movement, complaining from their commentaries about Turkey being a semi-colonized and a raw material country.<sup>675</sup>

The interaction between Yakup Kadri and the other members of the Movement can be traced in his novels after 1930s and their impact on Yakup Kadri's nationalism can be understood. The economic theories of the movement do not seem to have found their way into his novels to a great extent. At first glance, the idea of progress and development and attachment to the ideology of nationalism were the two main ideas that can be found in *Yaban*. Another important point that can explain Yakup Kadri's attitude toward the villagers or village life can be traced in the Movement's understanding of Turkey's place in the world: Türkeş states that for the Movement (especially according to Süreyya Aydemir) the world was divided into two: mechanized countries and colonized countries. The second group of countries were also divided into two: countries deprived of mechanized system and colonized countries. For him, as long as the system of colonization continued, the struggle of national movements against the colonizing forces was essential and then distribution of industry to the world was vital.<sup>676</sup>

Accordingly, different from his other novels, Yakup Kadri's depiction of the villagers as backward people waiting to be saved by the enlightened nationalist elites and the supposed similarity of this narrative with the imperialist/orientalist discourse may emanate from the Movement's idea to locate Turkey among the group of (semi)colonized countries. With the discourse of the Enlightenment in their mind, they were craving for a developed country which had the capacity to lead other independence movements in the world. This attitude, which also concurs with the Khilafat movement and the excitement felt by the Indians about the successes of the independence movement could not be regarded totally baseless.

When considered from this point of view, the two references to the Indians in the novel gain meaning. Ahmet Celal complains that "the difference between an

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<sup>675</sup> Tekeli and İlkin, *Bir Cumhuriyet Öyküsü*, 262.

<sup>676</sup> Türkeş, *Kadro Hareketi*, 134.



educated İstanbulite boy and an Anatolian villager is bigger than the difference between a Londoner and an Indian from Punjab.”<sup>677</sup> Throughout the narrative, Yakup Kadri treats the villagers as though they were Indian people in the British army.<sup>678</sup> Similar to those people, the villagers believe in the propaganda of the enemy to save them in the name of the Caliph. Ahmet Celal loses himself upon seeing that they believe in this propaganda: “Even the angels from the skies cannot save you. Because, you should be saved from yourselves first.”<sup>679</sup>

It should not be forgotten that this emphasis of the third world is always followed by Ahmed Celal’s wish to associate himself with the villagers due to his nationalist ideology. One of the members of *Kadro*, İsmail Hüsrev Tökin defends that nationalist integrity is very important for the movement<sup>680</sup> and bears the key role in the colonized-metropolis relation. “The *Kadro* Movement, who was aware that nationalism as an ideology was not monolithic, tried to create a common point between nationalism and its own views through rejecting the racist and imperialist versions of nationalism and giving prominence to its anti-imperialist side.”<sup>681</sup> It is important to note that Yakup Kadri’s references to the third world coincides with Ahmed Celal’s losing his temper upon seeing the villagers’ insensitivity or ignorance toward national consciousness. Therefore, in accordance with the ideology of the Movement, Yakup Kadri is at pains to manifest that when a modernist nationalist ideology is not adopted, people will go through deterioration, as a result of which, the country will bear resemblance to other underdeveloped “third world” countries towards which Yakup Kadri seems not to have much positive feelings. For him, the villagers’ religious consciousness can be abused easily, which he sees as an obstacle for the improvement of the country and thus will be followed by material and spiritual deterioration or corruption.

Yakup Kadri’s harshness in his ideological stance and his desire to mobilize peasants and the Turkish people under the flag of nationalism causes him to diverge from the

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<sup>677</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 36.

<sup>678</sup> A very well known fact by the Turkish intellectuals at the time was the presence of Muslim (Indian African) soldiers during the Gallipoli wars. Although they were Muslims, these soldiers were brought from different parts of the British colonies to fight against the Caliph. Mehmet Akif, in his poem to the Çanakkale martyrs expresses this situation as follows: “Some were Indian, some cannibals, some I know not what” Mehmet Akif Ersoy, *Safahat 2* (İstanbul: Feza Yayıncılık, 1999), 842.

<sup>679</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 150-151.

<sup>680</sup> Türkeş, *Kadro Hareketi*, 147.

<sup>681</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

realities he witnessed during the War of Independence. The humanistic and benignant attitude he manifests in his short stories towards villagers' sufferings in the war completely alters and in *Yaban*, the political dissatisfaction he feels towards the villagers' lack of enthusiasm for the Kemalist revolutions causes him to ignore the harshness of the war-time conditions. As Niyazi Berkes expresses:

The peasants, who had carried the real burden of the wars from 1913 to 1918, remained outside of these formations except when pressed directly into them by local incidents. The physical as well as economic exhaustion of the peasantry was manifest in the flight of deserting soldiers to their villages. The bulk of the peasantry was moved neither by nationalist frenzy nor by revolutionary zeal to confiscate property.<sup>682</sup>

When Yakup Kadri wrote his novel, however, the war had ended almost ten years ago and the victory was decisive. Thus, the problematic of the novel is not to point to the deserters in a "glorified national victory" but to criticize the lack of enthusiasm felt by the villagers towards revolutions over well-known values that are unobjectionable. Since sacrifices during the war is an indisputable area, the author criticizes the general attitude of the villagers with reference to the national war. Zürcher explains the general indifference of the villagers as follows:

At the same time, the reforms hardly influenced the life of the villagers who made up the great mass of the Turkish population. A farmer or shepherd from Anatolia had never worn a fez, so he was not especially bothered about its abolition. His wife wore no veil anyway, so the fact that its use was discouraged did not mean anything to him or her. He could not read or write, so the nature of the script was in a sense immaterial to him, although the fact that the only man in the village who was able to read and write was the local imam tended to strengthen the religious connotation of the Arabic alphabet. He had to take a family name in 1934, but the whole village would continue to use first names (as is still the case) and the family names remained for official use only. The new family law made polygamy illegal, but those farmers who could afford it would still quite often take into the house a second woman, without marrying her, ascribing her children to his legal wife, if need be.<sup>683</sup>

Therefore, Yakup Kadri's real objective is not to criticize lack of patriotic feelings among people but their resistance to attend modernist nationalist policies of his time. Overlooking the harsh wartime conditions going on for more than 10 years in Anatolia, Yakup Kadri, through Ahmed Celal, mentions about the harshness and the enmity of the nature for many times. Nature has a double reference in Yakup Kadri's work: One is the real obstacle before modernization of the country and this sentiment is expressed in his writings in early 1910s and the mid-twenties. And the second one

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<sup>682</sup> Berkes, *The Development of Secularism*, 433.

<sup>683</sup> Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History*, 194.

is the nature of a landscape that has great impact on the formation of the characteristics of a group of people, if not a nation.

He considers the civilization of the West as a successful struggle of the mankind against nature. In fact, today's Western civilization is the result of West's victory over nature: "In the Anatolian war we saw an example of such struggle [...]. For this reason the most tragic phase of this human catastrophe does not include humankind's struggle with other human beings but with nature itself and again it's because of this reason that the greatest victory endowed with people is called civilization."<sup>684</sup>

Here, it is obvious that in Yakup Kadri's thought, despite the catastrophic effects of the World War I, the real success of the humankind is the technological developments it has achieved so far. Although he levels strong criticism against the cruelty of the war and the role of the advanced technology in the death of millions, nevertheless, the achievement of the Western civilization remains the highest goal in his mind. And it is the reluctance of villagers' attendance to the war of modernization against the nature that really annoys the author.

Ahmed Celal's struggle in the village and his war against the nature bears double edge: Firstly, he has to beat this nature to achieve a modernist nationalism which at the end will create a new, modernized Turkey, conscious of its own nationality. On the other hand, the soul of these soils (and everything on it) which has created the characters and the souls of these people is like a bell jar; Ahmed Celal can neither penetrate it nor take these people out. It appears to be stronger than the wall of China and he remains foreign since he is not originally from this place: "Foreign place? Is this land of the country, where no enemy troops' feet have landed - a foreign land? No matter how much I deny, I won't keep this feeling secret. While I was getting nearer to M. Ali's village, I was feeling that I was departing from something sacred."<sup>685</sup>

The things he learned at school and in the books become useless in front of this harsh reality. When he sees the changes in Mehmet Ali's behavior, Ahmed Celal says:

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<sup>684</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Alp Dağlarından*, 6-7. This collection of essays titled as *Alp Dağlarından* was written in 1925-1926 but published in 1942.

<sup>685</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 23.

When I started to become a villager I came to realize that it was the environment's effect on person. Education, training, setting a good example; all these are temporary things. And a man cannot change unless the environment changes him. Using this simple contemplation, we can induce and see why westernization and modernity movements in Turkey are unsuccessful.<sup>686</sup>

Although we have been shown the necessity of such an action, this wild nature having a transformative impact on people cannot be beaten easily. This is the paradox of Ahmed Celal here: Although his elitism and modernist character, combined with his nationalist ideal, forces him to fight for the improvement of his nation, which here means undertaking the great burden of transformation of a backward society to the degree of modern (Western) civilization, his uprootedness and strangeness to the soil he is fighting on is the greatest enemy and obstacle for the implementation of such a task.<sup>687</sup>

This task is handled from the moral aspect; his modernizing mission gives him a “prophet-like character” and thus experiences the same grief of Old Testament prophets: “God should not have undertaken the burden of organizing the biblical flood invite people for a choice. He should have left Noah’s community to this place surrounded with naked hills.”<sup>688</sup> Similar to the old sinful communities deserving the wrath of God, this place goes through the same ill-fate since it is far away from the fruits of modern civilization. This harsh nature, however, vanishes suddenly when Ahmed Celal talks about the national cause or the scenes of fighting people interferes with this continuous depiction of the worldly hell. Therefore, it is clear that Yakup Kadri makes another equation here: The level of modern civilization can only be achieved through supporting the national cause. It is what this semi-intellectual soldier is trying to achieve. He sometimes realizes the nature of its people and forces himself to empathize with them: When he looks at Süleyman, he sees the soul of folk heroes of Turkish literature in him: “A. Celal resembles Süleyman to Nasreddin Hodja, Keloğlan, Aşık Garip [...]”<sup>689</sup> But this Barrésian quest contradicts with itself soon:

Every passing day I can understand more clearly: Turkish “intellectual”, Turkish intelligentsia is a poor and alone person in this wide and solitude world called the Turkish country. [...] [J]ust think about a man whose race or kind is not certain. When he moves toward the bottom

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<sup>686</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>687</sup> Among the reasons for his alienation from these people can be his life in İstanbul and Egypt and his westernizing mission that contradicts with Islamic values of the villagers.

<sup>688</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 30.

<sup>689</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

of the country he assumes to be his, he feels that he is getting further from his own roots. Even if he doesn't feel so, the vacancy, cold and rebarbative air appearing around him informs him that he is a wild strange plant uprooted from his own soil.<sup>690</sup>

Like the young Lorienters, Turkish intellectual feels uprooted when he moves toward the heart of his own country. This situation may connote with the orientalist discourse if we accept Sevim Kantarcıoğlu's allegory: She resembles Ahmed Celal to Conrad's Kurtz.<sup>691</sup> However, what Yakup Kadri does here is not one by one adaptation of Barrés' theory. He makes an inversion and rewrites the story: The voyage of the young Lorienters to a more cosmopolite place becomes Ahmed Celal's "quest" to the heart of Anatolia. Ahmed Celal's in-betweenness is not a total misery but a choice of the author to show a country suffering torments of backwardness and corruption, which is either moral or material, from lack of adherence to the nationalist cause. The harsh nature, waiting to be ploughed in the heart of Anatolia is the complementary of the cosmopolite world that tortures his soul in İstanbul.

Similar to what Yakup Kadri discusses in *Alp Dağlarından* (1911-19), the lack of nationalism in İstanbul is actually what drives him here. In his last essay in *Alp Dağlarından*, Yakup Kadri handles the subject of nationalism in İstanbul. Miss Chalfrin observes that "nationalism in İstanbul is a legendary thing like Turkish women; it is a so-called imaginary thing."<sup>692</sup> Young nationalists in İstanbul have turned their faces towards the Western culture and there are very few signs showing that they are Turkish. They are like the women of Pierre Loti: "They are Turkish as much as Pierre Loti is."<sup>693</sup>

When westernization is taken as the main frame of reference, it proves to be inadequate to expound the ineffable harshness and ravage in a village located near such a big river (Porsuk Çayı) and is far from providing a holistic explanation for the moral corruption in neither highly westernized İstanbul (Beyoğlu) nor in a non-westernized place, which is the village in *Yaban*. Lack of attachment to the nationalist cause appears as the common denominator that makes İstanbul a Sodomite place and the village a living hell. It is in fact, the dichotomy of Kemalism: while it

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<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>691</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde*, 249.

<sup>692</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Alp Dağlarından*, 115.

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*

rejects the cosmopolitan and Ottoman-Islamic past represented by İstanbul, it also refrains from accepting the condition of the Anatolian people adequate for the transformation of the country. Turkey's unique past as an independent country and experience as a former empire, though different from its Western models, and its desire to become a part of the civilized/ developed (European) countries constitutes the bedrock of modernist nationalism, which forms a basis for the appearance of backwardness and moral corruption in such material terms in the village. The novel depicts the lamentable condition of the village as a prototypical place, which constitutes the core of the country if we take into account the rural population of Turkey in 1930s. When the material and ideological goals of the modernist nationalist project are not adopted, corruption transpires not only as a moral phenomenon but on the material basis as well.

There is a continuous tension between Ahmed Celal and the villagers which passes beyond the problem of patriotism. According to Moran, this distinction is not simply the result of culture division: "[t]he real tension is between the progressive elites fighting to save the country and reactionary villagers who do not believe in the War of Independence."<sup>694</sup> Like Özkırımlı, Moran does not believe that Yakup Kadri really holds Turkish intellectuals responsible from the situation of the villagers.<sup>695</sup> For Yakup Kadri the real source of all negativity is the reactionary, puritan Anatolian villagers.<sup>696</sup> Kaplan's observations on this issue corroborate to that of Moran's; although Yakup Kadri holds intellectuals responsible from the backwardness of the villagers "this does not change the negativity expressed in the character of Ahmed Celal."<sup>697</sup> Moran claims that the villagers in *Yaban* are not the people Yakup Kadri sympathizes with as he tries to prove, leaning on his memories but the people "who are the source of reactionism and conservatism."<sup>698</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that the connection between Ahmed Celal's hatred towards these people does not stem from their lack of enthusiasm to join the war only.

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<sup>694</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 205. In the first years of the Republic, because of the ideology of the era, rather than the invader Greek army, the real "other" is local collaborators (compradors) and religious fanatics (zealots). Some of the most famous novels handling this issue are Halide Edip's *Vurun Kahpeye* and Reşat Nuri's *Yeşil Gece*. Ömer Türkeş, "Güçük Bir Edebiyat Kanonu," 428. The behaviours of conservative Muslims in these two novels are highly pejorative and include many insulting stereotypes.

<sup>695</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 215.

<sup>696</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

<sup>697</sup> Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi*, 61.

<sup>698</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 216.

From the opening of the novel, the author accuses the villagers of being dirty. Kaplan observes that the village décor, which seems very unfriendly, serves a basis for any kind of negative thought expressed about the villagers themselves.<sup>699</sup> One of the words that Yakup Kadri uses most frequently for the village is “frost”. According to him, “a village in the Middle Anatolia is a frozen mansion.”<sup>700</sup> Ahmed Celal’s description of them as animal-like creatures can be understood as Yakup Kadri’s distaste toward the traditional life in Anatolia. His room is full of books and there is also a small statue of Socrates. Throughout the novel, as many critics have observed before, Ahmed Celal’s considerations of the life in the village include direct references and comparisons to the West and Western sources. For this reason, Hüseyin Altunya sees the author as a stranger toward the culture of the village and considers all those metaphors and references as abstractions.<sup>701</sup> In the opening pages of the novel, Ahmed Celal resembles M. Ali’s donkey to a maid servant whom the Europeans call *bonne a tout faire*.<sup>702</sup> Also in the next page, he compares Mehmet Ali’s boring wedding ceremony to the funeral ceremonies in Europe.<sup>703</sup> From the author’s perspective, the message is clear: Civilizational conversion, which is a part of “the project of identity,”<sup>704</sup> is necessary and it is a corollary of Ahmed Celal’s nationalism. Apart from a nationalist who is expected to cling on to common values present in the society, Yakup Kadri’s protagonist is striving for a cultural transformation as well.

As Akman notes, “form of national identity” in modernist nationalism is “modern secular community with imported, Western culture” and membership depends on “transformative conditional on assimilation into the Western Cultural Model.”<sup>705</sup> The distinction between a modern secular subject and conservative backward member is expressed in the novel with the presence of Sheikh Yusuf. He appears twice in the novel and his impact on villagers infuriates Ahmed Celal. There is an open struggle between the two characters, the potential nominees that can have the power to lead the people in the novel. Being a soldier, when Ahmed Celal hears the arrival of the sheikh to the village, he invites him to his own house. Of course, the sheikh refuses

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<sup>699</sup> Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi*, 58.

<sup>700</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>701</sup> Altunya, “Yabancı Olunan Bir Konunun Romanı,” 306.

<sup>702</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 31.

<sup>703</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>704</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*

and Ahmed Celal is reminded that in terms of respect, they should visit the sheikh.<sup>706</sup> In their first encounter, the depiction of the sheikh is no better than the villagers. He has no teeth and he is associated with male goat several times:<sup>707</sup>

“*Merhaba* (hello) Sheikh Efendi.”

“*Merhaba* is derived from the root of the word *merhamet* (mercy). How dare you think that you can have mercy on me?”

I could hardly stop myself from hitting my fist onto the face of both the village headman and the sheikh.

Half smiling, half gritting my teeth I said:

‘You are destitute not only of mercy but also of manners.’<sup>708</sup>

Similar to the sheikh in Voltaire’s *Candide*, Yakup Kadri’s sheikh appears to be rude and inconceivable. Since the dialogue is very short, the reader can hardly grasp the reason for such disagreement and hatred: No sooner than they greet, the crisis breaks out. In fact, the real tension lies behind the way of greeting: Ahmed Celal prefers to use a secular way of greeting (*Merhaba*) rather than the Islamic *Selamun Aleyküüm* which is the practice (*Sunnah*) of the prophet. Ahmed Celal, as a Kemalist and positivist, asserts his secular character from the beginning and later in the page, he, in a sense, comforts his reader that the distance between himself and the “senile sheikh” would be the same between him and a protestant priest.<sup>709</sup> Therefore, for the prevention of any kind of misunderstanding due to his westernized character, Yakup Kadri has Ahmed Celal assure the reader of positivist character, which prevents any kind of religious deviation.

One of the reasons for such a negative depiction of the priests, sheiks, imams of course stems from Yakup Kadri’s ideology, that is Kemalism, as Moran states. However, there is also a historical background of this distaste toward the representatives of the religion and religious scholars. Erol Güngör in his book, *Current Issues of Islam*, devotes a chapter to intellectuals. He mentions the two types of institutions where intellectuals are educated (in the Islamic World). These institutions are either traditional schools based on a religious curriculum or modern schools established as copies of European models. Since one of them has emerged during the westernization process, the main goal of these institutions is to educate a cadre that can convey the Western knowledge. However, since students enrolled in

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<sup>706</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 47.

<sup>707</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>708</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>709</sup> *Ibid.*



these schools get a secular education that shows civilization as twins, they become alienated towards their own culture.<sup>710</sup> This is in fact the expression of the same problem Moran mentions above. Güngör's account of the education system in Turkey clearly indicates the reasons for such an ignoble and ridiculous depiction of the religious scholars:

As a consequence of the prevalence that these Western-educated people obtained throughout the Islamic world, such differentiation has become more severe. Since the education in Turkey continued in a monopolized way, excluding the institutions that educate Islamic scholars, their reputation has declined, which made them become an object of derision.<sup>711</sup>

Güngör further states that since there was no clergy in Islam, in terms of income, Islamic scholars did not have a strong institution like the church in Christian countries. Endowments were the only source that they could earn their life; however, in many countries throughout the Ottoman territory they were closed down after the collapse of the Empire and nationalization in Turkey. Therefore, as the most respected authorities of their time, these scholars could earn their lives only by serving as village imams, which discredited them to a great extent. Moreover, the negative propaganda against these people has infamized them and created both a ridiculous and a scary image.<sup>712</sup> In a sense, they have been associated with scholastic thought and the Middle Ages and also seen as one of the main drawbacks against this modernizing nationalist project.<sup>713</sup>

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<sup>710</sup> Erol Güngör, *İslam'ın Bugünkü Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Ötüken Yayınları, 2006), 202.

<sup>711</sup> Güngör, *İslam'ın Bugünkü Meseleleri*, 202.

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>713</sup> Muhammad Qasim Zaman states that "[t]he challenges and consequences of modernity have no doubt hit the 'ulama' hard. Mass higher education and the impact of print and other media have made deep inroads into the 'ulama's' privileged access to authoritative religious knowledge, even as the "reflexivity" of modernity, that is, the need to constantly adapt existing forms of knowledge, institutions, and social relations to relentless flows of information, poses severe challenges to the credibility of their discourses." Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1. Moreover, the "modern bureaucratic state seeks to bring all areas of life under its regulation. And the transformative forces of global capitalism grow ever more relentless in undermining culturally rooted identities and social relations". *Ibid.*, 1-2. Also Both Erol Güngör and Murat Belge disagree with the official ideology, which purports that Islam or the classical Islamic thought was a drawback for modernization of Turkey. Güngör states that "although Ottoman *Ulema* (religious scholars) were educated in an anachronist education system to a great extent, they were never against the modernization. On the contrary, by showing the new reforms' conformity with Islam they were in a sense, in a struggle with the modernists for passing them." Güngör, *İslam'ın Bugünkü Meseleleri*, 213. Murat Belge, in his book *Militarist Modernleşme*, starts Turkish modernization not with *Tanzimat* but with *Vaka-i Hayriye*, the abolition of the Janissaries (1826). His reason for this is the fact that Turkish modernization started as a consequence of the military defeats and the necessary reforms were first implemented in the army. However, especially during the reign of Selim the Third, who was an arduous reformer, the Janissaries, who always resisted to the idea of a new modern army, murdered the Sultan and only after Mahmud the Second's abolition of this centuries-old army, was a

Although *Yaban* depicts the years between 1920-22, Yakup Kadri's attitude towards the religious or conservative people reflects the political atmosphere of 1930s. When the collaboration with Mustafa Kemal and the local notables and structure of the first parliament is taken into consideration, the negative image is akin to that of 1930s when Kemalist reforms were being implemented. Therefore, it is written following a set of reforms toward the educational institutions in Turkey, which were implemented in the last years of 1920s. In this context, the sheikh in the novel is not the man of 1920-22; on the contrary, he represents the perception of 1930s, when most of religious scholars were uprooted, shocked and defenseless.

Discussed only in this context, the situation appears to be just the shadow of century old westernization problematic expressed by Moran and many critics. Yakup Kadri's difference stems from his treatment of many different subjects under the context of nationalism. In this treatment, Yakup Kadri makes a set of equations in the ideological base such as "How can somebody be a Turk and not support Kemal Pasha?"<sup>714</sup> Deliberate mentioning of Kemal Pasha's name is sensed here. By referring directly to Atatürk, Turkishness is directly equated with the support to the War of Independence as well as the Kemalist cause. Actually, what Kemal Pasha is associated in the first years of 1920s is the War of Independence and the destiny of the country; however, for the reader of 1930s, the resonance for the Kemalist cause is very strong. Ahmed Celal avoids calling people patriotic but prefer using the name of the race (Turk) instead. Therefore, the issue gains an ontological importance. Similarly, as opposed to the reality, neither the hodja nor the sheikh support the nationalist cause.<sup>715</sup> Therefore, Yakup Kadri makes another equation here; namely, the conservative, reactionary traditional Muslim(s) are neither modern nor patriot nor nationalist.<sup>716</sup> The true love for the country is something achieved only by those who

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reformation process was possible.<sup>713</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that it was not primarily the *Ulama* that hindered the modernization process but the military. Murat Belge, *Militarist Modernleşme*, 541.

<sup>714</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 152.

<sup>715</sup> The history of War of Independence is replete with examples of hodjas, sheikhs that gave support to the Turkish army/ Kemal Pasha. For further information, see Recep Çelik, *Milli Mücadele'de Din Adamları* (2 Vol), (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 1999).

<sup>716</sup> This treatment of the novel denotes Yakup Kadri's adoption of modernist discourse, placing Islam and the representatives of classical Islamic tradition on the opposite side: "It has been often assumed that in the face of massive and unrelenting changes in the modern world, the traditionally educated Muslim religious scholars, the '*ulama*' (singular: '*alim*'), have become utterly redundant, a mere relic of the past, as it were, and therefore of little interest to anyone seriously interested in understanding contemporary Muslim societies. Not very long ago, a somewhat similar attitude was common towards the role of religion in public life as a whole, though movements of religious revival, and not just in the

carry the seeds of a higher culture, westernized national Turkish elite, which is in this context, nobody other than the Kemalist cadre. Religious officers and sheikhs stand as a barrier in front of the “transformative conditional on assimilation into the Western Cultural Model.”<sup>717</sup>

Since *Yaban* covers the story of an Anatolian village during the War of Independence, the war conditions automatically bring sovereignty and other national issues to the forefront and severe life conditions accommodate to the setting of the novel. However, *Yaban*’s problematic also includes a modernist project associated with the national dream in the novel. The presence of such a great project and the necessity of great endeavor to undertake such heavy burden successfully not only increases the tension, as Moran observes, but also creates some notions and expectations about the people who are natural addressees (targets) of this conversional project. Therefore, popular participation plays a significant role in the success of the implementation of the modernist nationalist project. Except for shepherd Hasan, a child of 10-12 who dies at the end of the novel, nobody in the village, including Mehmed Ali, who brings Ahmed Celal to the place, is able to adapt. They refuse to conform to Ahmed Celal’s words and continue resisting the civilization project he represents. Their resistance is felt throughout the novel and Ahmed Celal’s hatred toward the villagers is the result of such disillusionment.

An aspect of revolutionary republicanism, which stipulates “commitment to a common value”, defines the position of the people with regard to their compatibility with the political community. Since conservative characters manifest a resistance to the Western cultural model, they are automatically positioned outside of this community<sup>718</sup> and depicted as not only backward and reactionary but also as people devoid of patriotic feelings who flee from fighting for their own country. In Yakup Kadri’s mind, similar to that of French Revolutionists, “what counts as moral motivation is measured by whether it originates from one’s national identity” (the

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Muslim world, have forced a major rethinking of such attitudes in recent years.” Zaman, *Ulama in Contemporary Islam*, 1.

<sup>717</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>718</sup> “What ties people together into a political community is that they work together through their public roles to realize certain values. These require only public performance for their instantiation, which is constitutive of a certain kind of polity, not merely incidental to it, and hence constitutive of a certain sort of life not possible outside it. The republican argument for independent government turns, then, on the idea that such a life is good, and independent government is implied by it.” Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 82-83.

national relativity of morals).<sup>719</sup> In this sense, those who do not conform to the transformative, modernist nationalism automatically become immoral or amoral at best.

Ahmed Celal's approach toward his environment is bookish and poetic.<sup>720</sup> When he looks at Hasan, he tries to see a shepherd from Old Testament and only much later is he really able to know him. He compares the young boy to a young deity and in the same paragraph he likens his face to those in old Dutch artists' portraits. This is the world of Ahmed Celal: he draws his examples from the ideals of the books that belong to the Western culture and morally associates many things with old Greek culture and the Bible. This association directly creates a moral stance that ends up with disillusionment. Moran clearly shows how Yakup Kadri associates Atatürk with Jesus Christ and the soldiers following him with the apostles.<sup>721</sup> In fact, Ahmed Celal here compares to the prophets of the Old Testament some of whom are not able to convince the ignorant people to the greatness of the impending calamity. Like Ezekiel, or Jonah he strives hard to turn people from the wrong path they follow and prophesize the celestial catastrophe, which appears as the invasion of the enemy here.

Therefore, similar to his stance in *Sodom ve Gomore*, in *Yaban*, accordingly, the nationalist message given by the author is associated with the religious one and a sense of moral corruption awaits those who do not follow the prophet – the intellectual hero. All the ugly scenes surrounding the village is the result of such corruption: since the nationalism Ahmed Celal or Yakup Kadri defends does also include the transformation of the society toward a modern-contemporary civilized society, the lack of villagers' support to the nationalist cause also emerges as a moral and material corruption at the same time. In the novel, except for one martyr, nobody listens nor follows Ahmed Celal. Similar to Lot, he is not even able to warn his household against the oncoming calamity (the invasion of the village) and again like Lot, who has to leave his wife behind, he leaves Emine behind at the end of the novel. Similar to Lot's wife, Emine is convinced of following the prophet soldier but at the end she simply can't make it.

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<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.* 88.

<sup>720</sup> See İleri, "Romanlar Üzerine: *Yaban* Üzerine," 50-56.

<sup>721</sup> Moran, *Türk Romanına*, 206.

As a result, the people in the novel are under suspicion: Their participation in the transformative project of the nationalist agenda is not certain and the author is highly suspicious of their sincerity. Among the villagers, Salih Aga and many others do not oppose Ahmed Celal openly, but he is surrounded by a wall of resistance; “I feel that they have understood my words, but they do not approve them. Sometimes, I feel they laugh at me secretly.”<sup>722</sup> When the possibility of the success of the national army is in jeopardy, Salih Aga makes bold to oppose Ahmed Celal openly: “Salih Aga dares to talk to me in this manner for the first time. Because he feels that the power I have been representing so far has withdrawn from these lands.”<sup>723</sup> The cynical character of the people expresses itself best in Ahmed Celal and Salih Aga’s argument scene. The imam of the village, who prefers silence most of the time, begins murmuring something against Ahmed Celal.<sup>724</sup> For the author, people have a natural disposition to oppose and disobey a project led by the elites and to prevent an open resistance the power of the nationalist elites should be well established and ready all the time. The depiction of the villagers, who symbolize the general Anatolian population, as usual suspects compounds to the repulsiveness of the novel.

Another aspect present in the novel that conforms to modernist nationalism is the top-down structure of the national reforms. Due to lack of motivation, and the covert resistance of the people, “focus of the nationalist project: state driven-top bottom: State imposition of a modernist cultural identity”<sup>725</sup> becomes inevitable part of modernist nationalism. In her thesis, “Türk Romanında Jakobenizm: Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu”, Aysel Kaya states that Ahmet Celal is Yakup Kadri’s only military officer hero (protagonist) and *Yaban* can be regarded as a the Jacobean novel of an official cannon writer, who by denying the real people, places a militarist Turkish intellectual to the forefront.<sup>726</sup> Naturally, in this context, Turkish nationalism and the first years of the Republican era were used for comparison with the French Revolution.<sup>727</sup> Ahmed Celal perfectly symbolizes the top-down structure of

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<sup>722</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 20.

<sup>723</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>724</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>725</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>726</sup> Aysel Kaya, “*Türk Romanında Jakobenizm: Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu*.” (MA diss. Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2012), 58.

<sup>727</sup> However, in Turkish academia the contention is that Turkish nationalism as a mixture of two main models, that is French and German model. A recent book written by Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane’den Vatan’a*, discusses the impacts of these two models within the context of geography and maps.<sup>727</sup> See Sezgi Durgun, *Memalik-i Şahane’den Vatan’a* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011).

modernist nationalism (or Kemalism). The dilemma he goes through stems from his will to mobilize people both for the war and a modern nationalist program according to his own ideology although he is deprived of any formal title to do so.

From the beginning of the novel Ahmed Celal's sorrow stems from his loss of title: "all the doors to happiness and success are closed for him."<sup>728</sup> When they enter the village, Ahmed Celal fears that Mehmed Ali (his aide in the army) will change his attitudes towards him; he is deeply scared of losing his authority over his ex-soldier. "From this moment on, I am a man whose will is dependent on other people." When Mehmet Ali welcomes him to his home, saying "Enter, Sir", contrary to ordinary reaction, Ahmed Celal's attention is not directed towards the new environment but this simple phrase uttered by his aide: "When he said 'Enter, Sir', I bowed down like a patient who is brought before an operation table."<sup>729</sup> Now he feels like a minion: "I sat down on the cushion with the obedience I had when I entered the room."<sup>730</sup> Actually, all the descriptions about the village can be considered in a more tolerable way when we think that it is written from the viewpoint of a soldier. When Ahmed Celal first talks to the villagers, he mentions about the maleficence of war but surprisingly nobody pays him attention except for Bekir Çavuş (a retired sergeant).<sup>731</sup> In Yakup Kadri's depiction, the villagers are unaware of the state authority and the scourge of war;<sup>732</sup> among the grown-up villagers, it is only this man with whom Ahmed Celal can have a limited communication. Ahmed Celal's boredom and uselessness vanishes when the subject is brought to war or military service: He advises people to do their military service once they are called for.<sup>733</sup> When Mehmet Ali is called for the military service for the second time, he protests to the soldiers

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<sup>728</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 17.

<sup>729</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>730</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>731</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>732</sup> This depiction of the villagers as self-seekers who are unaware of the dangers of the war is a repercussion of Yakup Kadri's ideological austerity; as Findley puts forward, in the first years of 1920s, people in Anatolia were deeply influenced by the hazardous effects of the war with respect to losses of the male population in great numbers and economic scourges. Findley, *Turkey, Islam, Modernity*, 248. Also, it is possible to come across with the scourges of war and the great suffering of the Anatolian people in the writings and short stories of Yakup Kadri himself. In those stories people are generally depicted as innocent and self-sacrificing patriots and innocent victims of the war. See Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ergenekon: Milli Mücadele Yazıları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011) and *Milli Savaş Hikâyeleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2015).

<sup>733</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 42.

who claim that they can reach their destination on time. This shocks Ahmed Celal and confesses that “until this time I have never seen his rebellious side.”<sup>734</sup>

Ahmed Celal’s elitist, top-down attitude makes itself evident especially when there is a conflict between him and the villagers. Upon learning that Emine is in love with İsmail, the brother of Mehmed Ali, Ahmed Celal feels a great frustration since all of the chain of command is upside down: “O God! I envy Emine from İsmail. I am the son of Celal Pasha, jealous of my batman Mehmed Ali’s brother İsmail.”<sup>735</sup> The only threat he can find to turn İsmail’s idea from getting married to Emine is sending him to military service.<sup>736</sup> When he intends to talk to Emine’s aunt, Ahmed Celal plans to go and talk to her “in a commanding and determined manner.”<sup>737</sup> When he learns that there are draft dodgers, Ahmed Celal is sad like “a commander who lost a pitched battle.”<sup>738</sup> In the village, Bekir Çavuş is the only person who is able to give an advice to this old soldier:

Now, I have lost almost all my authority over myself and other people. A villager is able to give me an advice and I obey and say “You are right”. Because things I know do not work anymore. All my hopes have come to nothing. I am mistaken with my presumptions. My logic has gone bankrupt against their instincts and common sense.<sup>739</sup>

The ampleness of these scenes proves Ahmed Celal’s militaristic view over the ongoing events and his commander-like attitude towards the villagers. Yakup Kadri successfully creates an ex-soldier who is far away from his past authority. The mission of this soldier is not to organize people in a militaristic order, however. He tries to unite and raise their awareness through using nationalism’s presumptions:<sup>740</sup> He is at pains to convince the villagers that they belong to a common nationality. His support for Atatürk’s army arises from his belief that they represent the national will.

Ahmed Celal’s ineffectiveness in convincing people to support the national army is very similar to a narrative of a republican teacher’s unsuccessful attempts to enlighten the ignorant villagers. The message that is trying to be conveyed here is the reluctance and ignorance of common people when they are left to their own wishes.

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<sup>734</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, 141.

<sup>735</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>736</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>737</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>738</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>739</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>740</sup> See note 133 above.

Therefore, a top-down control is necessary to direct people to the nationalist project that entails a cultural conversion.

Another quality of the modernist nationalism is that “legitimation of the nationalist project” is “future oriented: nation as the container of the project for the attainment of ‘modern civilization.’”<sup>741</sup> In *Bir Sürgün* and *Hüküm Gecesi*, in accordance with the official ideology of 1930s, Yakup Kadri’s references to the Ottoman era are replete with negativities. In *Yaban*, his references to the history are very scarce throughout the novel. When nationalist literature is observed, it is a general tendency to see that nationalism includes the elevation of the past as a way for expressing the uniqueness of the nationalist character. In nationalist narratives, it is normal to see both historical places and victories of even distant past are recreated and molded in a new format for the use of today’s generation.<sup>742</sup> On the contrary, in *Yaban* nationalism is expressed as an ideology to change the future of the people and the membership of this nationalist project necessitates active participation to a national project that legitimates itself through the promise for a better (modern) civilization. The corruption in the novel emerges more obviously when the protagonist feels that the possibility for the realization of such a project is at stake. Through the end of the novel, Ahmed Celal sees a dream (or when considered as a prophet of civilization, it is also possible to take it as a vision): “In this dream, I saw that nothing remained from the tragic problem between the Turkish intellectual and the villager.”<sup>743</sup> The relationship between the intellectual and people is top-down and the audience is not the common people (worker class and farmers) but the intellectuals of the future generations:

If they don’t know what they are doing, whose fault is it? The fault is mine. The fault is yours, dear friend, as you read these lines with excitement. You and I have left them as a handful of wreckages void of any joy of life here in the middle of this wild nature. Hunger, sickness, and destitution have surrounded them. And their souls have been incarcerated like in a dead dungeon surrounded by everywhere under the black darkness of ignorance.<sup>744</sup>

The villagers are depicted as being under the darkness of ignorance and it is the duty of the Turkish nationalist intellectual to transform this backward nation into a

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<sup>741</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>742</sup> See Trencsényi Balázs et al. *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770-1945) Text and Commentaries Volume Two: National Romanticism — The Formation of National Movements*, ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, (Budapest & New York: Central European University Press, 2007).

<sup>743</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Yaban*, 197.

<sup>744</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.



modern enlightened unity. The awaited transformation in the future is the sole justification of the present struggle.

Ahmed Celal's another often-quoted tirade starts like this: "Where is the nation? It is not present yet but we will have to reconstruct it [...]. Who should I support apart from Kemal Pasha?" He believes that Atatürk is the person who can undertake this mission. "But the end of the second war period seems very far away and cloudy like the dreams I have read in legends."<sup>745</sup> Of course, as Moran states, this is an open expression of Yakup Kadri's ideology, his support for the Kemalist revolutions. When this passage is considered from the viewpoint of modernist nationalism, it is seen that the future is utilized as the sole reference for legitimization of nationalism. The modernization project is expressed as a "second war period", which proves that it is seen as a part of the nationalist struggle.

The last article of modernist nationalism, "mode of defining the nation" is "substantive and territorial."<sup>746</sup> On occasion that the main distinction between the villagers and the intellectual is based on their support and adaptation to the transformative modernist national project, definition of the nation is by no means ethnic. As quoted before, though the villagers are not aware of their ethnic consciousness,<sup>747</sup> the emphasis on this issue is very rare throughout the novel. A substantive link between Ahmed Celal and the villagers is sought and what constitutes the real problem can be said to be the unifying spirit for these people living on the same land. Belonging to the same ethnic identity is not a matter of dispute; apart from a few nominal references, the racial identity is overlooked. Especially when we consider Kemalist emphasis for millennium-old Turkish civilization in 1930s, Yakup Kadri seems to distance himself from such an understanding. Nor is he in search for a common culture that unites these people together; rather, it is the political disposition of the people what defines the nation.

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<sup>745</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>746</sup> Akman, "Modernist Nationalism," 24.

<sup>747</sup> The stress on "Turkishness" in the novel does not necessarily stem from ethnic concerns. Rather, it is the author's endeavor to prioritize national identity against Islamic definition of nation. The development of Turkish nationalism only after the beginning of the twentieth century can be seen as the reason for their lack of consciousness.

The problematic of the novel rather revolves around the question of not “Who are the Turks?” but rather “Who and how are the Turks going to be?”<sup>748</sup>

Consequently, we can say that *Yaban* is a novel written with a strong nationalist view. The basic suppositions of the nationalist ideology are present in the novel. Moreover, the nationalism defended by the author can be defined as modernist nationalism. Ahmed Celal’s zeal for progress includes both the expansion of nationalism throughout the country and a modernist development which stipulates even a total conversion of the country in the context of Western modernization. The spiritual corruption and material backwardness seen in the novel emerges as a result of the void of support for the nationalist project. Those who support the movement are described in a heroic manner, whereas the villagers who abstain from such an action are depicted as corrupt people who need to be salvaged. Therefore, the nationalism here appears to be a future oriented, modernizing project entailing the conversion of the members as modern subjects. And corruption emerges when this project does not receive the necessary support it should.

### **3.4.2 *Ankara***

*Ankara* was written in 1934. The novel is made up of three sections and covers the years between 1920 and 1943. It begins in the years of the War of Independence and ends in the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. Selma, the protagonist of the novel, made three marriages, symbolizing the three different phases - the War of Independence, first years of the Republic and the era of progress, which sees the peak in 1943, in the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic, where Atatürk gives a wonderful speech to the world.

In the opening of the novel, Selma appears as the wife of Nazif, an officer in a bank, who has been transferred to Ankara. With her husband, she moves to Ankara, which is very rustic and underdeveloped when compared to İstanbul. They rent a house whose owners are natives of Ankara, the Ömer Efendi family. In the personalities of these householders who are uneducated and full of superstitions, the reader comes across the people of Anatolia, who are no different from the villagers of *Yaban*. They

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<sup>748</sup> Kadioğlu, “The Paradox,” 179.

make friends according to their own status and worldview in a short time since there is great dichotomy between the educated Turks coming from İstanbul and the people of Ankara. During this time, the national war still continues and Selma, who meets Hakkı Bey and Neşet Sabit, understands the importance of the struggle and leaves her husband, who denies staying in Ankara when the danger is at hand. (It denotes to the time when the Greek army was moving towards Ankara.) Following the war, she gets married to the young nationalist Turkish soldier Hakkı Bey. Once brave and modern soldier of the heroic army, every passing day he becomes a saloon man, getting away from his old sincerity and the national ideal. Meanwhile, Selma's national consciousness improves as she becomes a closer friend of Neşet Sabit, who receives all her attention by his intellectual power and sincere attachment to the country. She again decides to divorce and leaves her second husband, whose flirtation with a foreign mistress becomes an obnoxious situation in the high society. In the third section of the novel, we find Selma married to Neşet Sabit, who becomes a writer and playwright. His play, which is a satire of the corrupt people of the Republic, is also watched by Ghazi (Mustafa Kemal). However, Ankara, after 1935, suddenly becomes a utopic place where we find the epitome of the author's modern nation-state. The two ideal republicans' relationship goes well and the novel ends in the twentieth anniversary of the Republic in 1943, when Ankara turns into an idyllic place, a perfect embodiment of the ideal (nation) in Yakup Kadri's mind.

Sevim Kantarcıoğlu states that *Ankara* is a work that mentions the spiritual development of Selma, the protagonist of the novel, in twenty two years of time, between the Battle of Sakarya in 1921 and the Republic's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1943.<sup>749</sup> According to Ömer Türkeş, Yakup Kadri, like the other writers of the opposition, shows the emergence of reactionary and profiteer groups and criticizes them. "The second part is a solution, a suggestion, a utopia."<sup>750</sup> In fact, in this city-utopia, there is nothing out of the public: public is the state, economic life and the person at the same time."<sup>751</sup>

"When the structure of the novel is considered, we see that the work is narrated by an omnipotent observer and a reliable narrator. However, Yakup Kadri easily shifts

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<sup>749</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman*, 290.

<sup>750</sup> Türkeş, *Kadro Hareketi*, 433.

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*, 434.

from this objective narration to a subjective one by having Selma or Neşet Sabit narrate the story.”<sup>752</sup> Özkırmılı, who also sees this novel as a utopic work, thinks that Yakup Kadri’s realism is defined according to the thought of the utopia which makes an artificial realism.<sup>753</sup>

Like *Yaban*, many critics point out to the connections between *Ankara* and the *Kadro* Movement. According to Enver Karata and Pike Yilin,<sup>754</sup> there are many similarities between Yakup Kadri’s articles in *Kadro* and *Ankara* in many respects. Some of these include the woman issue, people’s insouciance towards the revolutions, westernization process that ignores our own values, the intellectual problem, that is the distance between the people and the intellectuals, Yakup Kadri’s complaint that the reforms have not been adopted by the people enough, a change only in the appearance (artificial) the architecture (which he considers as a bad imitation).<sup>755</sup> Sadık Albayrak also sees *Ankara* as the novel form of *Kadro* Movement.<sup>756</sup> For him, in order to avoid criticizing the “bourgeois power” and their usurpation of wealth over proletariats, he turns the novel into a utopia.<sup>757</sup>

When compared to his other novels, Yakup Kadri’s *Ankara* also includes a close relationship with nationalism. In fact, like *Panorama* but in a different way, the novel is the depiction of the national history of Turkey’s first twenty years. The novel starts in the atmosphere of the War of Independence, and the national autonomy of the country and the sacredness of the national struggle are emphasized through Selma and Hakkı Bey. Either via Selma’s observations during her services in Eskişehir and Ankara hospitals or directly by the author, the necessity and the sacredness of the national autonomy is stressed. In these scenes the reader comes across with soldiers from every part of the country who are dying to go back to the

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<sup>752</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman*, 290.

<sup>753</sup> Özkırmılı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 52.

<sup>754</sup> Fatih Demirci, “Kadro Hareketi ve Kadrocular,” *Dumlupınar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 15 (August 2006) 35-54.

<sup>755</sup> Evren Karataş and İpek Yıldız, “Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu’nun Kadro Dergisi’ndeki Yazıları ve Kadro Düşüncelerinin Ankara Romanına Yansımaları,” *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* Vol:3 Issue: 14 (2010):283-287.

<sup>756</sup> Albayrak, “Ulus Devlet İnşası,” 45.

<sup>757</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

battlefield.<sup>758</sup> Even Ömer Efendi, the suspicious reactionary traditional Turkish man smiles for the first time after the national victory.<sup>759</sup>

Similar to Yakup Kadri's other novels covered, the "true" national identity is stressed through manifesting negative characters that are either overly Europeanized or lacking national consciousness. Albayrak states that the distinction in *Ankara* is parallel with that of *Yaban*. There is an apparent distinction between the people "who lack the consciousness that they are a nation" and people fighting in the national war.<sup>760</sup>

Yakup Kadri, through intertextual references, creates a nationalist novel and reflects his understanding of nationalism. Although the focus is on the transformation of Selma in the novel, in fact, from the beginning of the book it is Neşet Sabit, the ideal nationalist hero in the novel, who converts her to the nationalist cause. Yakup Kadri makes a direct allusion to the relationship between Paphnutius and Thais: Neşet Sabit tries to save her like Paphnutius does to Thais in Anatole France's famous novel *Thais*.<sup>761</sup> As Anatole France's novel includes severe criticism in the moral basis, Yakup Kadri's utopia, like his other novels covered here, discusses Turkish national dream on the moral basis.

Paphnutius severely criticizes people around him, even his friend who helps him because he is not Christian (at least like him). Although the reader feels that these criticisms emanate from his jealousy for Thais, his harshness never wanes. Like him, Neşet Sabit attends the balls and nights that he abhors. As Paphnutius does, he criticizes Selma severely: "You are acting a play and I am watching it. Like watching Moliere's *Precieuses Ridicules*." Hearing these harsh criticisms Selma feels offended

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<sup>758</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 85.

<sup>759</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>760</sup> Albayrak "Ulus Devlet İnşası." 44.

<sup>761</sup> In *Thais*, Paphnutius, a monk living in the desert, goes to Alexandria to save a dancer, Thais, whom he sees in his dreams continuously. Although Paphnutius does this for his own carnal desires, which becomes apparent at the end of the novel, he is able to save Thais, who, like Selma's affinity with Ankara (Kemalist cause) at the beginning of the novel, has a deep sympathy to Christianity. The analogy is perfect here (Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 121) and throughout the novel, like Thais' following Paphnutius, Selma follows his nationalist priest. However, this time, unlike Paphnutius who cannot own Thais' body, Neşet Sabit succeeds in getting married to her. Therefore, again, Yakup Kadri makes a religious reference for nationalism, which clearly manifests Yakup Kadri's attitude towards it. Paphnutius, after receiving money and new clothes from his friend, attains a pervert meeting in Alexandria where Thais is also invited, and swears not to speak. Anatole France, *Thais*, 38-39. Like Paphnutius, Neşet Sabit does not want to be introduced to people. Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 133.

but still she cannot stop talking to him.<sup>762</sup> Selma, who, like Thais, feels sorrow and pain in her soul and “reminds of the mystic sisters of the Middle Ages”<sup>763</sup>, starts questioning herself and her role in the “national formation.” When she feels this uneasiness, she wants to take advice from Neşet Sabit. “Apart from all the other men paying court to her, Neşet Sabit has ‘a warm sincerity’ and “whatever he says becomes an irrefutable fact.”<sup>764</sup>

Neşet Sabit, is also a Barrésian hero, who tries to comprehend and understand the relationship between his environment and the national ideal. Yakup Kadri again makes direct references to Maurice Barrés’ thoughts on nationalism, and in the evolution of his protagonist Selma, Barrésian nationalism serves as a mentor role. Education, which has a significant role in Barrés’ novels, is performed by Neşet Sabit’s monologues on true nationalism. The special relation between the landscape and the nature of the people (which creates a national identity and soul) is stressed by the author and Selma cannot solve this mysterious connection at first. “I came here to find my soul’s national balance here. What a pity! [...] Here I am in suspension in a sense. I cannot keep in touch with the soil. There is such a great distance between myself and these trees that I cannot reach them.”<sup>765</sup> She sometimes contacts with that soul but it is not enough:

While Selma was thinking about these things, her eyes met with Ankara’s sharp and steep profile and her heart wrenched like somebody who suddenly encounters a bitter reality. In this city’s view which was no different from a rock in the middle of a desert there was a weird influence, and a solid attraction that draws all attention of a person to itself.<sup>766</sup>

She turns her chair to the other side in order to save herself from its impact. Selma is an İstanbulite woman and she can only realize the presence of such a special relationship only in her own birthplace. In order to realize the national unity and carry out the necessary reforms, it is essential that she learn this special affiliation. A discussion between Neşet Sabit and Selma clearly shows this need:

Neşet Sabit: “I understand. A relationship between you and the outside world cannot be established.”

Selma: “[...]These Anatolian views do not have a tongue. In İstanbul, everywhere speaks. Every place says something to you. It is as though the stone and the land is alive.”

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<sup>762</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 125.

<sup>763</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>765</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

Neşet Sabit: “They, too, have a tongue but we cannot understand them. Have you ever listened to real Anatolian Turks in a cordial manner?”<sup>767</sup>

Neşet Sabit, the true nationalist hero of *Ankara*, claims that all these barren lands have a connection with the soul of these people around him and explains this affiliation by giving examples to his student:

The young lumberjack I saw in the mountaintop is the real owner of this country. Only he knows how to speak with the stones and the soil; their secret reveals itself only to him. I am afraid that like the tongue of this view, the soul of the villagers will not be open to me. In my concern, I resemble an explorer who goes to discover the secret places in the world.<sup>768</sup>

Another secret word that reflects the Barrésian nationalism is “*energi*”. In his novels published as trilogy, *The National Energy*,<sup>769</sup> Maurice Barrés stresses the importance of national energy. Neşet Sabit tells how he is pleased to be in Ankara as every morning a nation is waking up with him and “Ankara has become a unique school of *energi*” to them.<sup>770</sup> When the bank her first husband, Nazif, works is moved to Kayseri, Selma uses all her *energi* to submit him to her own will.<sup>771</sup> However, as she has not become a fully conscious nationalist, she cannot succeed yet. Towards the end of the novel, Ankara stands like “an *energi* lesson” in front of her.<sup>772</sup>

While Yakup Kadri utilizes some Barrésian norms in developing his characters, which symbolize the true nationalism as Niyazi Akı says, “The types in Yakup Kadri’s novels are mostly personification of a general or social state of mind, an idea, a force, and a metamorphosis”,<sup>773</sup> the nationalism he envisages is not the replica of Barrés. As in *Yaban*, what Yakup Kadri dreams and defends is a modernist nationalism.

Rather than the special relationship between the soil and the people, it is attachment to a modernist nationalism that defines the problematic of the novel which enables the reader to comprehend the color of the corruption. From a high vantage point, the author stands and gazes at the people who appear not as persons but large groups, each representing a line of thought and through this elevated gaze, he reflects the

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<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>769</sup> *Roman de l'énergie nationale: Les Déracinés* (1897), *L'Appel au Soldat* (1900) et *Leurs Figures* (1902).

<sup>770</sup> *Ibid.*, 80. The word “energy” is written in the French form.

<sup>771</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>772</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

<sup>773</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu*, 109.

manners and idiosyncrasies of these groups as much as his ideological stance permits. As Murat Belge observes for *Sodom ve Gomore*, it is a fact that it is not the enemy that really annoys the author but the discrepancies between the Turkish people. Similarly, in *Ankara*, though it lasts a few years, the narration of the national war appears as a prerequisite for the justification for the nationalist project to be applied rather than an epic victory of the great Turkish army. Criticizing the improper characters and dangerous inclinations of the people occupies a more important place in the novel than the possible danger created by the enemy. Similar to the occupation scenes in some of his other novels, the national war (The War of Independence) serves as a carbon test manifesting the true national attachment of the characters.

Also in *Ankara*, as a prerequisite of modernist nationalism, source of national identity is neither ethnic ancestry nor shared political ideas but “project of modernity that demands a civilizational conversion.” Those who cannot adapt to this conversion process are subjected to exclusion. Through Selma, Yakup Kadri manifests the necessity for the transformation of the common people: “Oh no! They should try to be like me, not I. We are bringing civilization here. And what is this, we-they talk? Aren’t we all Turkish?”<sup>774</sup> When considered thoroughly, it is obvious that Turkishness does not constitute the common ground for the national identity. Rather, it is at the background and the real discussion emanates from the necessity or difficulty of “a civilizational conversion.” At the beginning of the novel, as not-yet-corrupt soldier Hakkı confesses, their war is not only against the Europeans or Greeks but also against the hodjas and sheiks, who represent the Islamic and traditionalist worldview.<sup>775</sup> Also as Sadık Albayrak observes, there is hardly any difference between the villagers in *Yaban* and *Ankara*.<sup>776</sup> He claims that although it is possible to isolate intellectual-villager contradiction in *Yaban*, in *Ankara*, the discussion is on a concrete plane, “to read this novel properly means to question the definitive characteristics of the Turkish revolution.”<sup>777</sup>

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<sup>774</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 31.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>776</sup> Albayrak, “Ulus Devlet İnşası.” 41.

<sup>777</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.



“The form of national identity”, is neither an ethnic community nor a common civic culture but a modern secular community with imported Western culture. Selma realizes that there is a gross contradiction between Ömer Efendi’s simple way of life and Murat Bey’s. She is scared of Ömer Bey’s lifestyle.<sup>778</sup> Ömer Efendi is the traditional Turkish Anatolian man with an Islamic worldview and is against the imported Western culture. Though he is not an anti-national character, Yakup Kadri despises him as much as he does the enemies. The author shows the great difference between the common people and the elites in a ball scene.<sup>779</sup> As Özkırımlı states, in Yakup Kadri’s work, people cannot govern themselves. “Even while he claims that the reformers (or the political structure) are getting away from the people, he is against them.” And he observes that although the scene in front of the great hall where the ball is taking place aims at showing the poor condition of people in the country, it is obvious that the author looks down on these common people as “a flock to be governed.”<sup>780</sup> Neither superfluously-Europeanized groups nor traditional Anatolian people can form the basis for the national unity, nor their worldview can be a form of national identity. Neşet Sabit goes to a *mevlüt* ceremony<sup>781</sup> after he leaves the party full of dandies. He attends the *mevlüt* to escape from the superficial world he sees at the parties but soon realizes that he also hates from this view, which reminds him of Medieval times. According to his national ideal, the new Turkey should not be like any of these.<sup>782</sup> Therefore modernist nationalism forces a certain kind of worldview and way of life which can be defined as transformation of the society towards a westernized community without leaving national consciousness.

It would not be an overgeneralization to postulate that in Yakup Kadri’s novels, there is a conspicuous tendency to display examples from inappropriate and deviant characters rather than delineating the right or just way of an ideal character directly. Instead of following the footsteps of an ideal character, the reader grasps what should not be done by being exposed to the attitudes of marginalized people who are either overly westernized or abhorrently traditional. Though very scarce, the scenes that include positive development can only take place in a utopian atmosphere. The best

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<sup>778</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 41.

<sup>779</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>780</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 52.

<sup>781</sup> A religious ritual or celebration done in special religious days or during commemoration of the dead people.

<sup>782</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 139.

example of this kind of portrayal can be found in *Ankara*: Neşet Sabit and Selma go to a bar in the utopic Ankara where they listen to a musician who has adopted traditional Turkish songs with Western methods.<sup>783</sup> They experience a Bacchic joy there. Turkey can become an ideal nation only when she can unite national values with the westernized national ideal.

Therefore, we can conclude that the membership of such society is “transformative” and entails a total transformation toward a modernized or westernized ideal. Unlike some of the colonized countries, the discussion is neither about constructing a national identity nor deciding the common language or so... It is rather about the degree of the transformation toward Western models by combining European values with the Turkish as much as it can be done. Neşet Sabit, the ideal(ist) national character defines the true westernization:

For the nationalist Turkish Modernist the most characteristic side of westernization is to give a Turkish tinge to the European way of life. We should have been the owners of the hat, not vice versa. Westernization is a specific principality of life. This principle could play a creative and formative role only if it serves to the national will, culture and morals.<sup>784</sup>

He further criticizes that we shouldn’t have transferred the vices of a civilization and applied the lifestyle of a corrupt class that is in power in the West.<sup>785</sup> Through Neşet Sabit, Yakup Kadri underlines the fact that “the real modernism is not a way of entertainment.” “Above all, it is a way of making, establishing and development ... force.”<sup>786</sup>

The suspicion felt towards common people in *Yaban* is also present in *Ankara*. Again common people are depicted as folks waiting to be governed. While their participation in the national movement is treated as a heroic act during war time, when the war is not mentioned, a general feeling of suspicion surrounds the novel. Yakup Kadri in none of his novels creates a character that fully represents the conservative Anatolian people. They are either insignificant types or ignorant people who are far from understanding the real meaning of the national struggle. About the sheiks and hodjas, the attitude of Yakup Kadri is very clear: They are “black terror.”

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<sup>783</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>784</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>785</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>786</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

Hakkı Bey says they should also fight for them in some day.<sup>787</sup> Their Islamic views cause irritation in the minds of the westernized Turkish elite. Although Sheikh Emin changes his costumes and looks like a European man now<sup>788</sup> the author does not like it. There is also a strong criticism towards Kemalism and the implementation of Kemalist practices in the novel. Neşet Sabit criticizes that Ankara has not (really) changed. The conditions of the war still continues in his neighborhood.<sup>789</sup> The transformation of the people is not persuasive and the suspicion of the modernist nationalism toward popular participation is obvious and based on a true fact. Yakup Kadri demands a better control for the conversion of the people according to the modernist national ideal. Neşet Sabit informs Selma about this issue: “I am not the kind of reformer you know. Reform does not mean ‘changing the appearance of life’...” He looks for an inner transformation of the people but this has not happened yet.<sup>790</sup>

This entails a state-driven, top-bottom state imposition of cultural identity which is also defended by the *Kadro* Movement. “The heroic spirit emphasized in *Ankara*” is the spirit of a small cadre who prioritizes realizing the reforms above everything.<sup>791</sup> Kantarcıoğlu defends Yakup Kadri’s stance here, claiming that “Atatürk’s revolutions did not have any other chance but to be a movement of a small cadre made up of soldiers and small bourgeoisie.”<sup>792</sup>

One of the most important aspects of Yakup Kadri’s nationalism is that it is future-oriented and draws its legitimation neither from the common ancestry nor from ethnic origins or a great narrative of the past. The only condition for becoming a proper citizen passes through adaptation to the modernist nationalist project, which appears as Kemalism here. Once a member of the Empire, to which there is almost no reference in the novel, Yakup Kadri does not lean on its legacy to justify the nation/nationalism. He also otherizes Islam and the traditionalist views based on Islamic thought, justifies his nationalism as a fight against these groups representing the past. His characters’ references are almost all from European thinkers and when

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<sup>787</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 42.

<sup>788</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>789</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>790</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>791</sup> Kantarcıoğlu, *Yakınçağ Tarihimizde Roman*, 302.

<sup>792</sup> *Ibid.*, 304.

it comes to morality, his references are chosen from Old Testament rather than Quran. Although third section of the novel can be regarded as the creation of this future-oriented national dream, it appears more of a stark criticism of the present. The utopia is in fact, far from being credible as everything happens only in four or five years of time and apart from its elicitation of Yakup Kadri's national ideal, the novel levels strong criticism towards the Kemalist understanding of Westernization and criticizes them for abandoning the spirit of the War of Independence. The rapid transformation of the country is told only in one page and in the novel, Yakup Kadri confesses that it was at first difficult to guess that the reforms that gained speed with the Alphabet Revolution in 1928 would be so successful. Nevertheless, the country experiences an expeditious transformation after 1935 and everything gains a national character. Personal entrepreneurs cannot be corrupt anymore. The media starts serving to the national ends and the old traditions, reactionary movements cannot find any place to survive. Cinema sector shoots only satirical and epic movies.<sup>793</sup> The media is so careful about these groups that, in a mythological manner, whenever they are detected, they are burnt like grasses in a farmland from the thunders coming out of their eyes.<sup>794</sup>

According to Yakup Kadri, as opposed to the expectations, everything does not gain a national character in 1930s Turkey and corruption is dominant among the society. As Birsen Talay puts forward, "It is not easy to claim that the writers attending Atatürk's famous dinner-table conversations were completely satisfied with the Kemalist revolutions. To give an example, Yakup Kadri resisted many years to the revolutions that took place in the Turkish language."<sup>795</sup> Ömer Türkeş also claims that, when the depictions of daily life in the works of some writers who make up the formal canon of the Republic are considered, it is possible to observe an evident dissatisfaction with the revolutions. The revolutions have not changed much in the structure of the society and were regarded as the orders given by the state.<sup>796</sup>

Since the novel, which also includes a national idyllic world, is the written from a nationalist opinion, corruption appears as the absence of such an ideal. Revolutionary

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<sup>793</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara*, 181.

<sup>794</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>795</sup> Birsen Talay, "Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Kemalizm*. eds., Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2011), 433.

<sup>796</sup> Türkeş, "Güdükl Bir Edebiyat Kanonu," 448.

spirit, construed within the revolutionary republican ideals, continues to form the moral aspect of the national duty. When the characters in the novel are taken into consideration it is possible to see that as long as they follow the national ideal they preserve their moral and physical chastities, but once they abandon it, their personalities are pervaded by spiritual and material corruption. The attachment to the national values are of the primary concern and being moral is directly coupled to the adoption and implementation of these revolutionary values. The corruption encountered in *Yaban*, *Ankara* and *Panorama* is both material and spiritual.

To start with, Murat Bey, the over-Europeanized parliamentarian, who seems on the side of the Kemalist elite, later falls into corruption by becoming a land speculator. From the beginning of the novel we feel that Murat Bey, who promises a villager that brings water to his house a position as staff in the parliament,<sup>797</sup> is inclined to usurp the power; nevertheless, it does not appear to be so much ostensible due to his support for the national ideal. Selma hates her first husband's manners and his exaggerated care for his own appearance, especially after she sees Atatuürk.<sup>798</sup> Her husband appears as a selfish man when his lack of support for the national ideal becomes evident during the war. And later, Nazif almost totally loses his humane characteristics and mutates into an animal. Yakup Kadri depicts him like a dog using his hands to climb up the Çıkırıçılar Ramp in Ankara.<sup>799</sup>

The starkest corruption embodies itself in the person of Major Hakkı. Leaving the national ideal, to which once he was attached by his heart, he becomes a saloon man and loses his sincerity and chastity as well. Being a European and living a European way of life becomes the “national cause” and like many others, he makes a good amount of money through land speculation.<sup>800</sup> For this reason, Selma loses her respect and begins hating her husband.<sup>801</sup> Selma, who feels uneasy about her husbands' flirtation with other women, decides to leave him at once when he starts flirting with a non-Turkish woman, since his betrayal of the national cause materializes in this act.<sup>802</sup> The author utilizes Major Hakkı's transformation to show

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<sup>797</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>799</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>800</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>801</sup> Türkeş, “Güdük Bir Edebiyat Kanonu,” 141.

<sup>802</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-155.

the inconveniences in his overly-Europeanized manners, which is at variance with his nationalist character. Once he has left the national cause, he is lost and becomes one of the cosmopolite characters the author severely criticizes in his other novels.

Nowhere in the novel Yakup Kadri sympathizes with the traditional common folk and they are always far from understanding the national cause at the moment. The villagers in *Ankara* are depicted as ignorant self-seekers. They are so ignorant that although Selma stays at their house for a long time, Ömer Bey's family cannot learn to say her name properly. The Sungurzades, Ömer Bey and his brothers, who represent the traditional Anatolian people are very rich due to the opportunities of the wartime, which Yakup Kadri considers as a self-seeking opportunist attitude and a bare manifestation of corruption.<sup>803</sup> Of course, this material corruption matches with the spiritual one; in the novel, these people are mean and full of superstitions<sup>804</sup> which shows that they deserve to be suppressed and their simplicity should not be taken as purity since they have no national (modernist) consciousness. They are prone to spiritual and moral corruption/deterioration like the dandies. They are even incapable of defending their own views. Ömer Efendi thinks about Nazif's prestige and cannot protest his European way of life openly.<sup>805</sup>

In *Ankara*, the void of a traditional person attached to the national ideal can be understood as a result of modernist nationalism which demands a civilizational conversion. Therefore, they cannot find any place in the author's national ideal but Yakup Kadri does not forget to include them in the list of corrupt people as they are far from the nationalism in his mind. Intertextuality is used to buttress the views of the author and religious and national themes are stressed to underline the moral premise than nationalism demands from the individuals of the nation. While Selma becomes a saint-like figure similar to that of *Thais*, her transformation not only demonstrates a fully developed national consciousness but also creates a moral quintessence that dissociates other characters that are far from such moral maturation. In such a morally defined atmosphere, supporting or locating the national cause over any kind of responsibility becomes a moral choice rather than a political one.

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<sup>803</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>804</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>805</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

### 3.4.3 *Panorama*

*Panoramas* are Yakup Kadri's eighth and ninth novels published in 1953. However, they have been combined and now published as a single volume. When considered within the aspect of its main theme and subtopics, the novel may be considered as the sum of almost all of his former novels covered here. While it bears closeness to *Yaban* and *Ankara* with its emphasis on the implementation of modernist nationalism, it is also possible to find similarities with *Bir Sürgün*, *Sodom ve Gomore*, *Kiralık Konak* and *Hüküm Gecesi*. Özkırımlı also agrees that, "*Panorama* includes all of the typical characteristics of Yakup Kadri's (other) novels and his understanding of novel. It is as though their summary and epilogue."<sup>806</sup> However, as opposed to his former novels, *Panorama* includes a myriad of characters from different parts of the Turkish society. Having been written at a time when Yakup Kadri was continuing his career as a diplomat, the novel also reflects his experiences in Europe during the Second World War.

In his last political novel, Yakup Kadri prefers a wide range of characters from different parts of the society to elaborate the general situation in the Turkish society. He emphasizes the importance of commitment to the nationalist ideology; however, his bitter criticisms to the unsuccessful nationalist project are rampant throughout the novel. In this last major novel of Yakup Kadri, the relationship between nationalism and corruption is obvious. There is again an equation of basic nationalist sentiments with modernist nationalism and through some main characters we can trace the opinions of the writer, who correlates the lack of commitment to nationalism with the pervading corruption in the society. In fact, "[T]he real great theme of the novel is the introduction of Turkey to the Republic Era, about which other themes try to give a general perception."<sup>807</sup>

Niyazi Akı observes that following some famous novelists such as Romain Rolland, Roger Martin du Gard and Gide, whose "novels try to include most of the texture of life if not all," and make the novel not only "one person's story, but all humanity," Yakup Kadri is the first author who uses this technique in Turkish novel.<sup>808</sup> Sadık Albayrak thinks that the attitude of the Yakup Kadri's characters in the novel is

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<sup>806</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 56.

<sup>807</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 153.

<sup>808</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

Jacobean inertia and hopelessness similar to Balzac's *The Peasants*.<sup>809</sup> They "see the capitalist deterioration and the alliance of reactionary land oppressors and bourgeoisie, however, they cannot find any way to resist this process."<sup>810</sup> He supposes that "even though he changes the course of history, Yakup Kadri's revolutionist character is always alone." And there is a great similarity between Yakup Kadri's work and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian novelist Chernyshevsky's novel, *What Is to Be Done?*<sup>811</sup>

In *Panorama* the correspondance of Cahit Halit and Ahmet Nazmi as well as the discussions of Ahmet Nazmi and Fuat give the impression that they are the pages in which the writer speaks through his characters. With this respect, Yakup Kadri seems to have a deliberate and dirigible writing.<sup>812</sup>

Niyazi Akı divides the novel into 19 themes, some of which include arriviste politicians, speculator high officials, Snobbism and laziness, bigotry and black power, honest and patriot politicians.<sup>813</sup> Naturally, these themes created by the author enables him to portray society in a black and white atmosphere, through which he can narrate spiritual and material corruption in a very clear way. The novel includes more than 40 characters. By focusing on some of the main characters and events, Özkırımlı suggests that Yakup Kadri settles scores with the Kemalist cadre in *Panorama*.<sup>814</sup>

The handling of nationalism and its relation with corruption is a continuation of Yakup Kadri's former novels, especially *Yaban* and *Ankara*. Since these novels include the portrayal of the Kemalist Revolutions, they are, in a sense, written to depict the implementation of an ideal nationalism which at the end came out to be a failure. What is important in this work is the possibility to observe the transformation of Yakup Kadri's views from early 1910s to 50s. According to Ömer Türkeş, *Panorama* is different from *Yaban* and *Ankara* and includes a strong criticism of

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<sup>809</sup> Albayrak, "Ulus Devlet İnşası." 54.

<sup>810</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>812</sup> Akı, *Yakup Kadri*, 139.

<sup>813</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>814</sup> Özkırımlı, *Romanların Dünyasında*, 54.



Kemalist cadres that could not implement a successful revolution. The reforms were conducted without a proper “plan, organization and technique.”<sup>815</sup>

Türkeş also claims that the novels depicting the first years of the Republic put forward that the reforms implemented by the Kemalist cadre did not necessarily realize the break from the Ottoman era but instead, appeared as a disappointment and did not change many things in their life.<sup>816</sup>

While he associates his ideal(ist) characters with the basic principles of nationalism, in accordance with the revolutionary-republican understanding of nationalism, those who are tangled up in corruption are far from a nationalist perspective and consciousness. Apart from individual characters, three family types are depicted in the novel. One of them is the Tahincızaades, a rich family having a traditionalist worldview. The men of this family are “reactionary” and effective in both business and political arena. Another one, the Servet Bey Family, is made up of newly rich, snobbish persons who are ignorant of the matters of the country, and take a trip to Europe throughout the novel. And the third one is a middle class, well-respected officer Osman Nuri Bey’s family.”<sup>817</sup>

To begin with, Servet Bey, a high officer who becomes very rich through land speculations is not a good citizen and nationalist. Although he seems to have no conflict with the Kemalist ideology, (except for a misunderstood westernization) his lack of national ideal, which later will become the denominator of his corruption, is emphasized. At the beginning of the novel, it is asserted that Servet Bey did not believe Ankara could be the center of the government.<sup>818</sup> And later in the novel we see him among those who believe that the Turkish army has no power to resist to Germans if a war breaks out. On the other hand, Osman Nuri Bey, the father of Fuat, whose development to a good nationalist is given throughout the novel, is described as “a man who considered the love for country above everything.”<sup>819</sup> Many people,

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<sup>815</sup> Türkeş, “Kemalizm”, 435.

<sup>816</sup> *Ibid.*, 448. Kemalists and CHP are severely criticized in the novel because of their lack of attachment to nationalism: “CHP betrayed the principles it put before any other people. They handed down these principles to reactionaries like Tahincızaade and corrupt people like Yanyalı. They gave the state mechanism to bureaucrats from Bab-ı Ali.” Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012), 519.

<sup>817</sup> Nüket Esen, *Modern Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Okumalar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 150.

<sup>818</sup> Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2012), 21.

<sup>819</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

even those from Damat Ferit<sup>820</sup> government who sent him away because of his nationalist feelings have gained highest posts in the Republican government era.<sup>821</sup> Another character that represents the last big family narrated in the novel is Tahincızade. Yakup Kadri's distaste with this old man, who reflects the Islamic view and criticisms, will be detailed later. Here, the significant point is that Yakup Kadri marginalizes Tahincızade by showing him not only as a wild, rude person but also as a collaborator who "knows how to get on well with the enemy" during the time of occupation.<sup>822</sup> Therefore, the liability and rightfulness of their causes are predefined by the author and any sympathy towards them has been prevented. The two families breach one of the most important principles of nationalism, that is "*loyalty to nation overrides all other loyalties*" and they do not believe and respect the autonomy of the country.

Like his other novels covered here so far, Yakup Kadri's ideal characters are attached to national principles with all their heart till the end of the novel. These characters are Halit Cahid, Ahmet Nazmi, Halil Ramiz and Fuat. Halil Ramiz, a deputy of CHP, who later falls from favor like Yakup Kadri, was a "fervent nationalist" and able to find favor in Atatürk's eyes.<sup>823</sup> Therefore, for the author, the best side of his character making him an ideal person is his attachment to nationalism, which manifests itself with his measureless and absolute support and trust for the Turkish army.<sup>824</sup> Halil Ramiz sees the single party period as an era which made the country a nation and believes that the party took the country from the Medieval times and half-colony situation to an "autonomous country."<sup>825</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> Damat Ferit has always been accused by Kemalists as a collaborator with the enemy. See Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk, 1919-1927* (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2005).

<sup>821</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 100.

<sup>822</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>823</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>824</sup> Even a conflict between the two Anatolian villages (Atikler and Kozak) is located into the nationalist context. In the novel, the reader are informed that when the country was occupied, the pasture of Atikler Village was given to Kozak village, which was formerly a Greek settlement. *Ibid.*, 73. As the people of Atikler want their pasture back, they cannot find the true justice. Later, Fazlı Bey's *muhacirs* (Balkan Muslims who migrated during the successive wars in the last years of the Ottoman Empire) are settled in the village and the struggle continues. Otherizing the *muhacirs* from Balkans, the author apparently sympathizes with the Anatolian villagers and for him violation of rights of the Turkish people still continues. Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 275.

<sup>825</sup> *Ibid.*, 524.

Cahit Halit and Ahmet Nazmi represent the *Kadro* Movement.<sup>826</sup> Mehmet Berke Göl mentions the disconnection between the intellectual and the people by focusing on Ahmet Nazmi and Cahit Halit's letters.<sup>827</sup> For Göl, "the dialogue between the two friends are writer's own dialogues with himself discussing to what extent revolution is (has been) successful."<sup>828</sup> For the failures "not Atatürk himself, but people around him are held responsible."<sup>829</sup> The criticisms of these friends should be considered within the context of the *Kadro* Movement.<sup>830</sup> He mentions the writer's criticisms that Kemalists did not give importance to the ideas of the movement. In their correspondences, these two friends discuss about the best type of nationalism (sometimes even referring to Fichte) and Cahit Halit's loyalty to the national ideal, which appears here as Kemalism, continues till the end of the novel.<sup>831</sup>

Fuat's development and his transformation to a nationalist from a sympathizer of Marxism is another success story told in *Panorama*. For Yakup Kadri, it is the attachment of his characters to nationalism that really matters. What capitalism presents to the poor characters is provided by the ideology of nationalism in his novels. Of course, this transformation is by no means material; it is rather an intellectual and patriotic evolution - "a finding the right path" story. Fuat starts to understand the true nationalism in Atatürk's funeral and realizes that he is the nation.<sup>832</sup> Although he is followed by the secret police,<sup>833</sup> "Fuat shows what a conscious and faithful nationalist he is" through an article that he writes.<sup>834</sup> Now, Fuat starts looking everything from a nationalist perspective.<sup>835</sup> He even uses Atatürk's phrase "Ya istiklal ya ölüm (either freedom or death)!"<sup>836</sup> It is important to note that again, in this novel, Yakup Kadri adopts the famous French nationalist writer Maurice Barrés' views to have the characters in the novel gain national

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<sup>826</sup> Göl, "Yakup Kadri'nin Romanlarında," 40.

<sup>827</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>828</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>829</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>830</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>831</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 578.

<sup>832</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

<sup>833</sup> *Ibid.*, 354, 368.

<sup>834</sup> *Ibid.*, 403.

<sup>835</sup> *Ibid.*, 406.

<sup>836</sup> *Ibid.*, 408.

consciousness.<sup>837</sup> Like Barrés, he creates a national myth over the funeral of a famous person, which appears here, of course, as that of Atatürk.<sup>838</sup>

Atatürk's funeral is treated in detail in the novel during which an absolute and univocal national unity emerges. The funeral symbolizes some of the main nationalist sentiments and has a significative importance in the book. Not only does it trigger Fuat's conversion to a sincere nationalist but also it constitutes an antilogy to lack of national unity, which becomes evident in Democrat Party's meeting. Atatürk, who symbolizes the national autonomy, the War of Independence and national dignity with his efforts to create a glorious past, also procures the national unity. Like Prometheus, Atatürk is not an individual; rather, he is the nation. He is the "will of the people"<sup>839</sup> and Atatürk's soul has mixed with the nation's soul.<sup>840</sup> He is a national hero, who saves Turkey from the "hands of the executioners."<sup>841</sup> The hearts and souls become one in Atatürk's funeral.<sup>842</sup> Even the foreigners appreciate his greatness and one of them confesses to Ragıp Bey that he did not know anything about the Turks until Atatürk's name was spread all over the world and before, he had thought that Turks were similar to Arabs and Jews.<sup>843</sup>

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<sup>837</sup> In Barrés' famous novel *Les Deracines* the seven Lorienters come together in the funeral ceremony of Victor Hugo and some of them come to understand the importance of national unity and dignity. See Stewart C. Doty, *From Cultural Rebellion to Counterrevolution: The Politics of Maurice Barrés* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1976), 156-157. Another obvious impact of Maurice Barrés is visible through the end of the novel: Ahmet Nazmi, another character close to Yakup Kadri's views levels heavy criticisms to the governor and the inefficacy to the revolutions in Diyarbakır. He looks for the answers of this failure in Barrés book *La Colline Inspirée*. He quotes a sentence from the beginning of the book: "There are places in which a soul blows." He cannot find an idea and spiritual soul in Diyarbakır. Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 111. The reason for this is the lack of an intellectual atmosphere. According to Cahit Halit, only gendarmeries or the police force are not enough to transform the country with the principles of Kemalism, which means rebuilding the wide country and activating the nation with an "18 million population as a solid block." *Ibid.*, 112. This formula equates Kemalism with nationalism and the nation building process. It is Turkish society's "last emancipation and development move." *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>838</sup> In *Les Deracines*, two funeral scenes help young Lorienters gain national consciousness; these are Victor Hugo's funeral and their visit to Napoleon's tomb respectively. See Stewart C. Doty, *From Cultural Rebellion*, 156-157.

<sup>839</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 340.

<sup>840</sup> *Ibid.*, 370.

<sup>841</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>842</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>843</sup> *Ibid.*, 373-374.

In *Panorama*, Yakup Kadri's attachment to modernist nationalism is visible in many aspects. The ideal characters that are faithful to basic nationalist sentiments are also attached to modernist nationalism. The author levels strong criticisms toward Kemalism and Kemalist cadres; however, he cannot find another alternative to implement a modernist nationalism no matter how incapable they are. The common characteristics of modernist nationalism is apparent in the novel and before beginning to elaborate them, it seems more appropriate to explain the way how Yakup Kadri locates the necessity of a modernist nationalism with specific references to modernism from the beginning of the book.

Masurzade<sup>844</sup> is conscious enough to understand the importance of civilization. And what he means from the civilization is "European civilization."<sup>845</sup> In fact, this manifests clearly what Yakup Kadri thinks when he criticizes the Turkish villagers both in *Yaban* and *Ankara*. For him, civilization is like an automobile going fast in the street. At first you seem to have two choices: to let it go or to be smashed by it. But there is also a third choice, which is getting into it. Yet, this is not enough: if you are not the driver, this does not work either. You should be the driver who controls it; not vice versa.<sup>846</sup> This logic of Mansurzade is explicit enough to summarize Yakup Kadri's understanding of westernization<sup>847</sup> in all his novels. When not controlled by the sense and ideology of nationalism (or national consciousness), westernization or modernization is far from providing any benefit for the country.

Halil Ramiz, one of the characters through which Yakup Kadri talks himself in the novel, expresses the necessity of an "economic development aim" associating it with "patriotism." He, in accordance with the opinions of the *Kadro* Movement, considers politics from an economy based view and locates Turkey among the other (half) colonized countries<sup>848</sup>:

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<sup>844</sup> Nükhet Esen concludes that the most important characters in the novel are "Sırrı Bey, Mansurzade and Tahincızade." They have money but as status and socio-cultural level they are lower. This abruption in the novel is supported by a quotation from Yakup Kadri, who expresses his fear to Halide Edip in one of his letters<sup>844</sup> that rural people will control the country "after the people of the revolution and sentiment eat up each other." (Esen, *Modern Türk Edebiyatı*, 157).

<sup>845</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>846</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>847</sup> In the following page, Yakup Kadri approves Mansurzade's comments on the Western civilization openly: "this original description of civilization, this sincere comparison between backwardness and development" is not understood by Neşet Sabit who thinks that revolutions have been completed. *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>848</sup> This view belongs to the *Kadro* movement and is not accepted by CHP and Kemalists.

We have newly got rid of capitulation regime that lasted for centuries. All our trade was in the hands of foreigners until a few years ago; the foreigners were exploiting all our resources of production. The gears of the European industry were being oiled by the efforts of the Turkish and other villagers in the same underdeveloped condition and it is still being so.<sup>849</sup>

Halil Ramiz further states that the Turkish nation's endeavor in the National War of Independence does not only mean their wish to gain political independence but the economic one as well. For him, this is the second phase of the national war and Turkish people should not heed for their own personal interests.<sup>850</sup> This view serves to equate modernist nationalism as a part of economic and national struggle and those who cannot understand the significance of such a movement, like almost all cadres of CHP, are depicted as morally corrupt individuals who are also in some way involved in corruption.

Therefore, nationalism for Yakup Kadri does not only include national sovereignty and resistance to the Western domination but also it necessitates an economic development project in the lines of Western (Western European) standards. But before showing the relationship between corruption and nationalism, it seems more appropriate to continue with the elaboration of modernist nationalism in the novel.

According to Ayhan Akman, the source of national identity in modernist nationalism is a project of modernity that demands a civilizational conversion.<sup>851</sup> Ahmet Nazmi, the philosophy teacher in Diyarbakır,<sup>852</sup> thinks that this country has made everything from the beginning, and like the lands, the minds should also be cultivated. "An intellectual should go to people" and this is so urgent that it is an action similar to saving "a country occupied by the enemies."<sup>853</sup> Also, Cahit Halit, another idealist character, defends that a revolutionist can only be one-sided like the apostles of Jesus.<sup>854</sup> When we consider this with Atatürk's loneliness like Moses,<sup>855</sup> the religious references are obviously coherent to show the moral basis of Yakup Kadri's approach that evokes a religious-like civilizational conversion necessary for the people. Similar to his other novels, the unpopularity and the negativity of some other characters that represent conservative and traditionalist Anatolian people stems from

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<sup>849</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 53.

<sup>850</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>851</sup> Akman, "Modernist Nationalism," 24.

<sup>852</sup> Since he was from Diyarbakır, this appears as an open allusion to Ziya Gökalp, who is accepted to be one of the leading founders of Turkish nationalism.

<sup>853</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 221.

<sup>854</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>855</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 121.

their reluctance to conform themselves to a modernist nationalism. Cahit Halit, another idealist reformer, proclaims that nationalism means “not the feeling of superiority to other nations [...] but an auto critique made to achieve a new consciousness, a new world view.” It is a “conscious nationalism” that questions “how we became a half-colony of Europe.”<sup>856</sup>

The author sadly asserts that the people of Ankara are still the same. They use the old time scales and go home after the evening prayer.<sup>857</sup> It is a sharp criticism to Kemalists who espouse that they have achieved a modernist nationalism and transformed the society. Within this context, though different than that of Ahmed Ali, Yakup Kadri’s twilight shows itself: Ankara, the capital of the new Republic, is only beautiful in the sunset when the silhouette of the city is gloomy, which is a strong reference, suggesting that modernist nationalism has not been achieved properly.<sup>858</sup> This also contradicts with the form of national identity in modernist nationalism which espouses a “modern secular community with imported western culture.”<sup>859</sup> For Yakup Kadri, as long as people resist this culture, like Tahincızade, who symbolizes the middle class “reactionaries and the notables (eşraf),”<sup>860</sup> the realization of national unity is at risk. Membership of modernist nationalism which is “transformative,” entails the transformation of people like Tahincızade, who is renowned for his rejection of wearing Western style hat. Hence, Yakup Kadri feels the need for asserting that there was no atmosphere of national unity in the meeting of Democrat Party. Mühendis Ragıp Bey: “[...] In this view before their eyes, there was no sign for a united joy a national ceremony [...] They seem to join together to break or knock down something...” He also feels a threatening air in their attitude.<sup>861</sup>

Another article of modernist nationalism espouses that “role of popular participation to” this modernist nationalism is “suspect [and] risky for the project of modernity.”<sup>862</sup> Yakup Kadri marginalizes all the characters in the novel having a traditional worldview. “[Neşet Sabit] feels that from [Mansurzade’s] body an

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<sup>856</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>857</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>858</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>859</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>860</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

<sup>861</sup> *Ibid.*, 527.

<sup>862</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

insidious smell was pervading to the room.”<sup>863</sup> Tahincızade is among the first of these characters whose resistance to Kemalist revolutions symbolizes the continuation of the reactionary threat. His son, Tahir Bey, who enters the party using his father’s economic prestige,<sup>864</sup> is able to clear all the idealist youth from the party in his own district.<sup>865</sup> The governor İhsan Turan Bey expresses this fear saying that what would they do if people one day called them (CHP) to account.<sup>866</sup> As a matter of fact, the tragic murder of Fuat and Ahmet Nazmi by a group of Islamic Sufis at the end of the novel is an open sign for Yakup Kadri’s fear of such a consequence and though protested by Ahmet Nazmi, Fuat’s overexaggerated views that women will not be able to wear swimsuits at the seaside in the future since Islamic reactionary movements appear as a concrete truth in the end of the book.

As Akman states, in modernist nationalism, focus of the nationalist project is “top down” and “state controlled”<sup>867</sup> which is expressed many times during the novel: for instance, Halil Ramiz protests that the opinions of the common people are not important. According to Halil Ramiz:

The people of this city did neither choose your highness nor me fondly and willingly. Even they did not know what kind of people we were when they first elected us. [...] If you leave these people to their own wishes and inclinations, do you know whom they would send to the parliament? You know, Tahir Bey, our party leader of the province, has a father who secluded himself in order not to wear a hat; they would send people like him. Let’s not deceive ourselves in vain [:] we are the rootless pioneers of a top-down revolution and our number is so small that, we can expose to the danger of disappearing among the millions.<sup>868</sup>

Also Cahit Halit expresses the same sentiments and claims that a revolutionist does not have any right to consider other people’s thoughts or care about the opposition of the “fossils.”<sup>869</sup> But the revolution he means is much more different than fascism or communism. What is meant by an *inkılâpçı* (reformist) is “Turkish nation’s catching

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<sup>863</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>864</sup> Nühket Esen approaches the class differences in the society through utilizing Şerif Mardin’s observations of the Turkish society. “According to Mardin, the class distinction in the Turkish society has never been according to the economic condition of the people. Social classification took place as governors and the governed in the Ottoman society. The governors were soldiers and ulema and the governed consists of some layers such as merchants, artisans, villagers. But the real distinction is between these two main groups.” Esen, *Modern Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine*, 150. Therefore, in accordance with what Mardin suggests, Esen concludes that “in the Ottoman society gaining wealth was not through controlling the means of production but controlling the strategic points in the state” and in the novels continuation of this situation is apparent. *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>865</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 180.

<sup>866</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>867</sup> Akman, “Modernist Nationalism,” 24.

<sup>868</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 57.

<sup>869</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.



up with other countries that controls the characteristics of greatness and development”, it’s becoming an equal of them.<sup>870</sup> Cahit Halid, who is attached to Kemalizm till the end of the novel, thinks that Kemalizm has equated Turks with the developed countries. He defends CHP and suggests that those who criticize CHP prefers their individual freedom to the freedom of the nation.<sup>871</sup> “If the man, who left his seal on the half-century sublime Turkish history that you call despotism (*istibdat*), hadn’t propelled you to save the lands of this country at the expense of individual freedom, where would you be now? On which land would you step and in what condition would you be now?”<sup>872</sup>

The project cannot be delivered to the hands and the will of people and should be state controlled: Cahit Halit thinks that this revolution process is not something automatic. In addition, its high principles are far from occupying their place in all minds. He wants to “surround people with the iron logic” of the revolution and not “leave any space for them to escape from it.”<sup>873</sup> Some words Neşet Sabit uses, such as “*freedom and democracy do not mean anything*” for Halil Ramiz. He believes that revolutions are not ready for democracy. He thinks that these democratic attempts will divide the country into two if not three. There is “little difference between democracy and demagoguery.”<sup>874</sup> Halil Ramiz also understands that it is not their efficiency in the election areas but their popularity in the eyes of their leaders is the sole reason for their presence in the parliament.<sup>875</sup>

The last article of modernist nationalism puts forward the view that legitimization of the nationalist project is “future oriented” and the past of Turkey, though mentioned a few times in the novel, is not used as a legitimization for the nationalism in the book. Future is accepted as the sole criteria for a true nationalism and it is this belief to a modernized future that (should) keep the entire nation together. In the novel, Yakup Kadri expresses his renounce of the past as a legitimization with the metaphor of a plane tree, which symbolizes the Ottomans, who had the tradition of planting a plane tree near almost all of their great architectures.

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<sup>870</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>871</sup> *Ibid.*, 578.

<sup>872</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>873</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>874</sup> *Ibid.*, 520.

<sup>875</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

All these concrete buildings, parterres, fountain pools, this brazen Atatürk bust seem so made up, so rambling so fake and transitory! They look as though they were a theatre setting from cloth and cardboard. It is as though a hand will collect and pile them aside after the play [ends]. [This] hundred-years giant plane looks like waiting for it.<sup>876</sup>

One of the main aspects of Kemalism, known as denial of the Ottoman Empire's heritage, *redd-i miras*, includes the rejection of the traditional and old (Islamic) values to build up a new future with a modernist, westernized and nationalist attitude. Here, the author's dissatisfaction with the Kemalist reforms and the resilience of the inheritance of the past combines with his fear of the potential opposition of the majority to the top-down reforms done in the single party period. The three people sitting in front of Halil Ramiz seems to find things odd like the tree and although "they were shaved it was impossible to discriminate them from the branches of the neglected tree."<sup>877</sup> Although people like Tahincızade, who are attached to the past and traditional values, are always being ridiculed in the novel,<sup>878</sup> as the tree metaphor expresses, they are considered as possible dangers that can turn everything upside down and take the revenge of Kemalist policies and the oppression, which will automatically diverge the country from its semi-achieved modernist nationalist program. As a concomitant of this attitude, Democrat Party, the supporters of which are made up from these people, is not accepted as a legitimate political agent that represents the national will.

The continuation of the reforms first planned and implemented by Atatürk remains the most important issue for the author. Any visible weakness in following these programs may cause an irremediable damage and thus attachment to revolutionary republican ideals is not a political choice but a national obligation. Collective will,<sup>879</sup> represented by CHP, is (should be) among all the personal interests. Those who

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<sup>876</sup> Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama*, 60.

<sup>877</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>878</sup> Tahincızade's Islamic criticism of CHP such as Turkish *azaan* and the oppression of the religious people, are being belittled by his other comments that are not nationalistic and ridiculous indeed. His defense that German Kaiser Wilhelm was Muslim, and Turks lost Ka'ba because Enver Pasha and his men did not have ablution when they were praying in Ka'ba as well as his advocating of the Arabic people (pan-Arabism) are among them. When all of the Tahincızade's arguments in the novel are considered, although it is possible to say that there is some truth in his criticisms, Yakup Kadri marginalizes Tahincızade, lest he may evoke some sympathies because of his criticisms of the system and politics of CHP. *Ibid.*, 391. His Islamic knowledge is imperfect and he mentions about superstitious war stories. *Ibid.*, 393.

<sup>879</sup> Collective will is an important term in this understanding. "The goals of the nation are, on republican principles, to be determined collectively by the citizen body, and they are to be determined not by consulting one's sectional interests but by discovering the common good which embodies republican values."<sup>879</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 87.

prioritize their own interests are marked as self-seekers. The principle of revolutionary republicanism, which equates moral motivation with one's national identity<sup>880</sup> is a strong denominator for Yakup Kadri in both defining the problematic of the novel and in creation of the characters' moral dispositions. Although *Panorama* appears to be more sensitive on the issue of "human condition (nature)" the definitive aspect of the moral disposition of the characters are still the ideological perspective of the author.

In the novel the characters attached to the nationalist ideal, which is described as modernist nationalism, are depicted as honest people who are far from moral corruption. Yakup Kadri gives hints about corrupt people from the beginning of the novel, and the development of characters which are positioned toward their closeness to nationalism does not go through sharp changes. Neşet Sabit is among those who diverted from the national ideal towards corruption and this situation is overtly expressed by the author through Halil Ramiz. He asks: "Where did all these raiders (*akıncı*<sup>881</sup>) go now?" And confesses himself that, these people have been suppressed under countless numbers. According to him, they were the victims of may be one of the worst misfortunes that lays ambush in all corners of the revolutions. And Halil Ramiz could only explain this to himself with the words "Corruption and Luxure" in French.<sup>882</sup>

Parallel to his moral corruption, Neşet Sabit is depicted as an opportunist<sup>883</sup> and by climbing over the social barricade, he can talk like the others (like the hodjas...).<sup>884</sup> He is called Judas by Halil Ramiz.<sup>885</sup> Here, again it is possible to find the association of nationalism with religion, which buttresses the moral connotation. In fact, Neşet Sabit's identity is divided into two: One side is intellectual, "idealist, looking at life from the view of high principles" and the other side is full of ambitions that can go into many intrigues...<sup>886</sup> When Halil Ramiz is marginalized and excluded from the

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<sup>880</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. "What counts as moral motivation is measured by whether it originates from one's national identity." (The national relativity of morals).

<sup>881</sup> *Akıncı* or raider is a positive term used for the frontier soldiers fighting especially in the first years of Ottoman Empire. They symbolize, valor, courage, self-abnegation.

<sup>882</sup> *Ibid.*, 585.

<sup>883</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 517.

<sup>884</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>885</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>886</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.

party, he knows the truth but he doesn't defend his friend<sup>887</sup> and in the end, he approaches the Democrat Party.<sup>888</sup> The reason for his divergence into corruption is that he forgets his commitment to (modernist) national ideals and heeds for his own interests. Since democracy and Democrat Party is condemned by the author as a symbol of preferring self over the benefits of nation, Neşet Sabit is shown not as a party member looking for alternative ways to serve for his nation but rather, as a self-seeker, who leaps at the new opportunity.<sup>889</sup>

The Head of Board Servet Bey is another character, void of nationalist sentiments, and believes that Turkey will disappear if a war breaks out.<sup>890</sup> Therefore, for the author, instead of being an expression of *reelpolitik*, Servet Bey is shown as a selfish corrupt businessman whose belief and trust in nation is weak. He does not do anything for the things that has no benefit for himself.<sup>891</sup> He is from the Bab-ı Ali cadre, which is for Yakup Kadri a very negative sign indicating his Ottoman and bureaucratic mindset, positioned as the opposite of revolutionary modernist ideals.<sup>892</sup> Though he was an officer at first, later he appears as a man only busy with land speculations<sup>893</sup> and eventually smuggles foreign exchange and cheats people in the cooperative enterprise.<sup>894</sup> As a corollary of his moral corruption, Servet Bey also involves in material corruption and cheats both the state and the people around himself.

Similar to Servet Bey, Tahincızade is also depicted as a self-seeker and corrupt who even collaborates with the enemy for his personal gain. He does everything to

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<sup>887</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>888</sup> *Ibid.*, 517.

<sup>889</sup> One interesting point that needs to be emphasized is that Yakup Kadri's memoirs and especially *Politikada 45 Yıl* is replete with criticisms towards CHP cadres that are not strong and sincere supporters of the revolutions. In fact, this book is replete with criticisms towards İsmet İnönü, Atatürk's close friend, prime minister and the second president of the Republic of Turkey. In one of these criticisms, Yakup Kadri expresses his disillusionment about İsmet İnönü's attitude towards the members of the CHP that run after their own interests using their connections in the state. In the first years of the republic, Yakup Kadri upon not being able to pay back a loan he got from *İş Bankası*, visits the prime minister and expresses his difficult situation. Hearing his (small) problem, İsmet İnönü calls him "a child". While telling this memory Yakup Kadri tries to criticize İsmet İnönü's attitude towards self-seekers implying that the prime minister considers these behaviours as normal. However, at the same time he confesses how he was involved in corruption himself by having his debt written off. Karaosmanoğlu, *Politikada*, 80.

<sup>890</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

<sup>891</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>892</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>893</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>894</sup> *Ibid.*, 383.

become a wealthy person. He “kneels down before the strong, he trips the poor up[.]”<sup>895</sup> Tahincizade is depicted like a wild beast, reminiscent of the “heroes of the Middle Ages who sees everything red.”<sup>896</sup> Therefore, the members and the leaders of the two big families who do not embrace modernist, secular and nationalist values are marginalized and condemned and are inflicted with both moral and material corruption.

In the examples given above, apart from modernist nationalism the basic premises of revolutionary republicanism, which forms the moral aspect of modernist nationalism is apparent. The revolutionary republican article which supposes that “constitution of identity by nation, for one’s identity is a moral rather than a merely appetitive and selfish one, and cannot be brought about except through socialization in the pursuit of national rather than individual goals”<sup>897</sup> is violated by the characters; or to put it rightly, for Yakup Kadri, the pursuit of such ideal is restricted to a very limited number of people and when these values are not embraced, both spiritual and material corruption takes place. When people become one upon learning about the tragic end waiting for Atatürk, the unity has exceptions:

[A]mong us there were many dark-minded and hard-hearted people like Tahincizade [...] and [...] Servet Bey and they could neither see the all-embracing darkness [...] and were corrupt and gone-wild like the flock of sheep or goats far away from the [main] flock for a long time [...] nor could feel the wrathful breath of the bora chilling the whole nature.<sup>898</sup>

According to Yakup Kadri, people who are void of national consciousness or those who do not support Kemalist revolutions are one; since they do not give their support to the national will, they are not acting as moral beings<sup>899</sup> and weltered in total corruption.

Ahmet Nazmi, expresses this situation as follows: “Whom can you invite to this new mobilization, which is in your terms, economic development mobilization? Alas! Yesterday’s leaders of revolution” are in *robes de chambers* in their palaces.<sup>900</sup> Ahmet Nazmi also states that the country of the national hero (Atatürk) is not

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<sup>895</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 43.

<sup>896</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>897</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>898</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>899</sup> *Ibid.*, 89

<sup>900</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 121.

attached to the national ideals he shows: “The youth that Atatürk commended the Republic to” is full of “egoists, lackadaisicals and opportunists.”<sup>901</sup>



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<sup>901</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

## CHAPTER IV

### NATIONALISM AND MUSLIMS IN INDIA BEFORE 1947

#### 4.1 Muslims in India Before 1857

The history of the Indian Muslims began in the second millennium. By A.D 1100, a number of Indo-Muslim states had been established and by the sixteenth century, the Mughal Empire was dominating Northern India. “In A.D. 660 the second Caliph Umar, sent the first Arab expedition to Sindh, and in 711 the province was conquered by Muhammad ibn Qasim,” and this marked the introduction of Islam, which spread with the endeavors of traders.<sup>902</sup> In the early eleventh century Muslims and in the thirteenth century Mongols came. They invaded and looted India and converted many Indians. When it came to 1290, almost all of India was dominated by Muslim rule loosely. It was in the early sixteenth century that Mughals were ruling an empire that “stretched from the Northwest Frontier to Bengal and down to the Deccan (present day Andhra Pradesh).”<sup>903</sup>

The British formally disbanded the Empire in 1858<sup>904</sup>, when about one-quarter of India’s population were Muslims. They were concentrated in East Bengal, the Northwest Frontier, Punjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan, with large Muslim minorities in present-day Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.”<sup>905</sup>

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<sup>902</sup> Philip S. Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15. Though there are many speculations as to how Islam developed in India “[i]n sum, Islam thrived in India for a variety of reasons: inter-marriage, conversion, the attractiveness of Islamic egalitarianism, and social and political advantages in a context of Muslim rulers.” *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>903</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 16.

<sup>904</sup> *Ibid.*, 16. The event that caused the formal demise of the Empire was the Great Mutiny, 1857. “The British call it ‘Mutiny’, Pakistanis and Indians call it ‘war of independence’. [...] The rebels captured Delhi, but they soon lost it. Bahadur Shah was exiled to Burma and the British government replaced the East India Company as ruler of South Asia.” Richard V. Weekes, *Pakistan, Birth and Growth of a Muslim Nation* (New Jersey: Princeton, 1964), 66.

<sup>905</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 5.

Though symbolic it had been since the Battle of Plessey in 1757, following the Great Mutiny in 1857,<sup>906</sup> Muslims lost their sovereignty on the Indian lands forever.<sup>907</sup> Being an empire which was a symbol for the Muslim sovereignty and Indian in character, the formal annulment of the Mughal Empire has been very important for both the Muslim and Indian communities.

#### **4.1.1 The Great Mutiny or the War of Independence and its impacts on Muslim community**

Similar to the national history of many countries, the history of South Asian Muslims is handled in a certain way. As Akbar S. Ahmed clearly expresses:

[...] for most Pakistani scholars history is read as a linear progression which begins in the aftermath of the uprisings of 1857 and goes on to the creation of the Muslim educational centre at Aligarh, the nationalist writings of the Urdu poet Allama Iqbal and the political movement led by Jinnah in 1930s. It terminates with the triumphant creation of Pakistan in 1947 by the invincible Jinnah.<sup>908</sup>

Since Ahmed Ali follows the same path in his two novels, *Twilight in Delhi* and *Ocean of Night*, the importance of the Great Mutiny 1857 will be articulated briefly.

According to Spear, the reason behind the Mutiny was the uneasiness of the Brahmins in the army who were sent to places far from India. He explains the process as follows:

Then came the greased cartridges for the new Enfield rifles, smeared with cos' and pigs' fat, unclean to both Hindus and Muslims.<sup>909</sup> The divisions in the Indian society helped the British to cope with the uprising. The main important scenes of the Mutiny were "the siege of Delhi and its recovery in late September, the operations round Kanpur and Lucknow including the famous sieges and the central Indian campaign in 1858 of Tantia Topi and the Rani of Jhansi."<sup>910</sup>

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<sup>906</sup> "The century from 1757 to 1857 saw the English East India Company serially annex, or else extend its indirect rule over each of the Indian states. In 1757, this multitude of Indian states covered the entire subcontinent, barring a few tiny coastal enclaves held by squabbling European trading companies. By 1857, however, the English East India Company had extended its rule (directly or indirectly) all of India. The English company's political and commercial influence, as well as its military power, enabled it to annex into its direct rule some 2.5 million square kilometers or one million square miles — over sixty percent of the territory of the sub-continent containing over three-quarters of its people." Michael H. Fisher, *The Politics of the British Annexation of India, 1757-1857* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>907</sup> Percival Spear states that "[t]he first half of the eighteenth century in India is occupied by the collapse of the Mughal empire and a struggle for power by its would be successors." Percival Spear, *A History of India: From the Sixteenth Century to the Twentieth Century* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1990), 70.

<sup>908</sup> Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: The Search for Saladin* (London & NY: Routledge, 2000), 30.

<sup>909</sup> Spear, *A History of India*, 141.

<sup>910</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.



The Indian lands had been under the control of the British for a long time when the Great Mutiny took place. As Aziz Ahmad accounts from Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who witnessed and narrated this sorrowful period, the attitude of the British toward the native people in the subcontinent was by no means favorable, which caused the culmination of a deep resentment and protest among the “people of the soil”:

[I]n its hundred years of rule the Company’s record was empty of any genuine affection for the Indian people. Indians were subjected by its British officials to insufferable humiliation, a situation which was resented more bitterly by Muslims, the former rulers of the country, than by Hindus. In the last analysis the ‘Revolt’ of 1857 was a result of the extraordinary political situation that a country as vast as India was ruled by a commercial concern which exploited its people without any qualms of Christian conscience.<sup>911</sup>

However, although supported by both the Hindu and Muslim population, the Mutiny had a very negative impact on the Muslim community. In fact, Weekes claims that following the pattern begun in Bengal after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British gave preference to Hindus in government, education and business.<sup>912</sup> “Sir William Hunter, who wrote of Indian Muslims after the uprising, reported that there was only one Muslim among the 240 Indian lawyers admitted to the Calcutta Bar between 1852 and 1868 and there was not a single Muslim in the High Court Judge.”<sup>913</sup>

The Mutiny also devastated Muslims psychologically; though it was a puppet-like and symbolic rule, Mughal court was disbanded and the last hope of the Muslims vaped away. As Cohen puts it:

The dismantlement of the enfeebled Mughal court had a major impact on India’s Muslims. After the Mutiny or the revolution of 1857, in the words of the Pakistani scholar Akbar S. Ahmed, the Muslims of India “lost their kingdom, their Mughal Empire, their emperor, their language, their culture, their capital city of Delhi, and their sense of self.” Even the poorest Muslim could identify with the Mughal Empire [...] All this was swept away in an instant and the fundamental political, social, and economic structure of India was recorded in a fashion that gave the Muslims little social space and no political power. In 1835 Persian was replaced as the official language of the East India Company, and after the Mutiny “the Indian establishment switched entirely to speaking English. Muslim ways -dress, style, food- were also put aside. Muslims now felt not only politically vulnerable but concerned for their very identity.”<sup>914</sup>

According to Paul Hardy, in Muslims’ long path from a disintegrated individualistic or dispersed society to a solid representative of a political entity, one of the most

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<sup>911</sup> Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1885-1948* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 29.

<sup>912</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 1964, 68. “Many Pakistani scholars consider that Muslim discontent especially grew after the termination of the Mughal power, and the favour of the British was towards Indians who were not as much as preferred as the Muslims by the British until then. The democratic institutions were the last step that made Muslims anxious about their future in the Subcontinent.” Cohen, *The Idea*, 24.

<sup>913</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 68.

<sup>914</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 23.

important turning points was the 1857 Mutiny. Though Muslims were regarded as rebels in 1857, they began to be seen as a community afterwards.<sup>915</sup> This led to a change in British policy which appeared as a swift to balance and rule, rather than divide and rule<sup>916</sup> and Muslims were recognized as another camp thereafter. However, at the same time, certain steps for reconciliation were also taken and especially with the contribution of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Muslim education began to be supported. Among one of the important steps was the foundation of National Mohammedan Association by Sayyid Amir Ali in 1877.<sup>917</sup>

Although it is true that the British were suspicious about the Muslim resistance and enmity toward the British rule, which had been fed by Islamic doctrines and rules such as whether India was a *Darulharb* or *Darul Islam*, B.R. Nanda does not agree with Hunter's claims in his book *The Indian Mussalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen?* (1871) that Muslims were seen responsible for the Mutiny and they were in a backward position in both education and employment. He claims that this was not true for all the Muslims in India.<sup>918</sup> Rather,

it was one of antagonism in the U.P. [United Provinces of British India] and Bihar, where some of those who held high office and owned large estates under the Mughals, had been dispossessed. In these provinces millions of Muslim artisans had lost their livelihood when their patrons fell on evil days; their resentment was fanned by the orthodox Muslim clergy, who denounced the British as an alien and atheistic race.<sup>919</sup>

The significance of Indian Mutiny showed itself in various fields, including religious scholarship and traditional views of the *ulama*. The failure of the Mutiny is supposed to have brought about a great disillusionment among the Muslim (and Indian) people whose suppressed virulence against foreign domination was fed by their anticipation of a possible freedom after such an attempt. The encounter with the realization and reiteration of the British rule gave way to successive transformations. One of them can be seen in the Islamic reform movements.

According to Francis Robinson, Muslim revivalist movements had an undeniable impact on separatist tendencies of the Muslims in India. Even though these movements are known to have appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, they in fact,

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<sup>915</sup> Paul Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 62.

<sup>916</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>917</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>918</sup> B.R. Nanda, *Gandhi, Pan-Islamism, Imperialism and Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 22.

<sup>919</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

can be traced back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the *ulama* were uncomfortable about the compromises given to the Hindus and started to “emphasize the study of Hadiths and to oppose pantheistic thought.”<sup>920</sup> In the eighteenth century, as a consequence of loss of power, Muslim revivalism gained momentum and the differences between the Muslims and Hindus were emphasized:

The feeling went that now there was no state power to support Islamic revelation in this world, Islamic knowledge must be spread as widely as possible through the Muslim community so that Muslims should know clearly themselves how to behave as Muslims; the Quran was translated into the vernacular- Urdu; many other religious works were translated, all of which published large scale as the process coincided with the introduction of the lithographic press[.]<sup>921</sup>

Due to the emphasis made by the reformers that the Muslim and Hindu worlds are distinctively separated from each other, these movements, sprang in North India, had a great impact on Muslim national identity that should by no means be underestimated.<sup>922</sup>

The lines of Muslim thought that extend today into the idea and sustenance of Pakistan took identifiable form in the reform movements of the eighteenth century. They began with the scholar Shah Wali-ullah, who brought a measure of harmony between Shi’ites and Sunnites. He was followed by a more aggressive reformer named Sayyid Ahmed Shahid, whose movement led to a jihad against the Sikhs. “[... He] declared India *dar-ul-harb* which means Muslims could not live in a country ruled by non-Muslims.”<sup>923</sup>

According to Robinson “two strands of thought and action” sprang from these movements that had a limitative impact of Muslim support for Indian nationalism. The first of these was an Islamic reformist movement sprang in Delhi known as the Deobandi Movement. And the second was known as Muslim modernism represented by Aligarh Movement started by Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan.<sup>924</sup>

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<sup>920</sup> Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (Oxford & NY: Oxford University Press, 2003), 216.

<sup>921</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>922</sup> Ian Talbot classifies four major responses to the bereavement of Muslim political power that resulted in increased Christian domination. “These are modernism, reformism, traditionalism, and Islamism often called fundamentalism.” The representatives of these movements are Aligarh, Deobandi, Barelvi and Camaat-i Islami movements respectively. Their influences continued growing since the colonial era onwards and can be apprehensible in the contemporary Pakistani society. Ian Talbot, *Pakistan, A Modern History* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009), 28.

<sup>923</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 70.

<sup>924</sup> Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 217-8.

According to Aziz Ahmad:

The most forceful challenge to traditionalism came in the wake of the devastating consequences of the Mutiny of 1857-8. It is epitomized in the thought, analysis, and apologetics of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98), his movement, and the variations of emphasis in the modernist trends of his associates, Chiragh Ali and Mahdi Ali Khan Muhsin al-Mulk. The problem of legal and political reform led to varying reinterpretations of Islamic history in the writings of Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914) and Amir Ali (1849-1928) and to an emotional involvement with the contemporary world of Islam reflected in the Caliphate movement.<sup>925</sup>

The contribution of Sir Syed (Sayyid) Ahmed Khan to the creation of Muslim separatism and Pakistan in general manifests the impact of Muslim scholars on Muslim nationalism in India. Jaffrelot identifies Sayyid Ahmed Khan as the most significant person of the UP Muslims in the nineteenth century “who sowed the seeds of Muslim separatism and Pakistan” and explains his contributions to the growing Muslim national identity:

He rolled up his sleeves to improve the education of his people and founded Aligarh the Mohammedan Oriental College, which served a basis for Aligarh Muslim University in 1911. He was very concerned about the Muslim minority in India and was against the Indian Congress, which claimed representing the whole Indian people.<sup>926</sup>

The importance of Aligarh in Muslim intellectual life and separatist movements that led to the creation of Pakistan can by no means be underestimated. There is an undeniable connection between the central position of the Muslims of the U.P. in the Muslim separatist movements and Aligarh. Jaffrelot notes that “[t]he key role of alumni from Aligarh in the creation of the Muslim League, which was founded in the late 1906, and then in the Khilafat movement, in which Muhammad Ali, and Shukat Ali were, for instance, very active, reflects the importance of the UP Muslims in the genesis of Muslim separatism in India.”<sup>927</sup>

#### **4.2 Muslims of India until Independence**

Following the Great Mutiny, Muslim life in India went through successive shocks and it took decades for Muslims to turn back into the active political scene to seek their rights. Muslim separatism and the way that led Muslims to a separate country were mostly shaped in the twentieth century. The most significant political events can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>925</sup> Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 1.

<sup>926</sup> Christopher Jaffrelot, *Pakistan: Nationalism without a Nation?* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2004), 9.

<sup>927</sup> *Ibid.*

The intellectual source of the Muslims, Aligarh Muslim University, was founded in 1875 and Muslim League (the party that led to the foundation of an independent Muslim state), was established in 1906.<sup>928</sup> “In 1909, Viceroy Minto and Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, formulated an India Councils Act, which for the first time permitted elections above the local level.”<sup>929</sup> In 1913, Jinnah joined the Muslim League and tried to bring the League and the Congress into harmony.<sup>930</sup> The peak of Hindu-Muslim cooperation came in 1916 when, in Lucknow, Jinnah talked the Congress leaders into supporting League’s stand on separate electorates. Although the Congress agreed with Muslims about their seats and Gandhi supported the Khilafat movement (1919-24), the inconsistency of the Congress in supporting separate electorates for the Muslims due to their belief that most of the Muslim community is the “sons of the soil” who in fact, did not have a much different identity than the Indian population, a separate country for the Muslims was begun to be voiced and -to be brief- a “separate status for India’s Muslims [...] became an important milestone on the road leading to Pakistan.”<sup>931</sup>

In the following years of the First World War, the (political) atmosphere in the Subcontinent was not as peaceful as it had been for the British. The growing Hindu (including the Muslims and all other minorities) demands forced the government pondering on new answers and concessions. It is interesting that there were only 8 years between the coronation of King George<sup>932</sup> and Amritsar Massacre (1919). It is clear that the British administration was not yet ready for concessions for nationalist demands. Due to the growing unrest between the Raj and the Indians (including all minorities), the government and people encountered many times. In a similar unrest in 1919, more than 300 people were killed in Amritsar massacre and 1200 were wounded; in turn, Rowlatt Acts were passed, which “gave courts the right to hold secret trials or no trials at all.”<sup>933</sup>

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<sup>928</sup> Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, 5.

<sup>929</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 75

<sup>930</sup> *Ibid.*, 77

<sup>931</sup> Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, 25-26.

<sup>932</sup> It is generally believed to be the peak and one of the most distinctive symbols of British sovereignty in India. In *Twilight in Delhi*, Ahmed Ali treats coronation scene in the same way.

<sup>933</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 9.

Although especially after 1857 it was the purpose of the colonial state to separate politics from religion and culture, adversely, the colonial state reinforced the religious images.<sup>934</sup> According to Jalal,

It was the privileging of the religious factor in the definition of identity which had the most decisive bearing on the projection of consciousness by individuals variously situated within the colonial system. It was a projection in which religiously informed cultural differences were deployed for political purposes even when they did not add up neatly and unproblematically to inject substance into the formal categories of communities designated by the colonial masters as distinctive social entities.<sup>935</sup>

1920s and 30s witnessed many tragic events between Muslims and Hindus that further detracted the two communities from each other.<sup>936</sup> A series of massacres deepened the atrocity and the development of *Mahasabha* especially after Gandhi's retreat from politics in 1924. The communities established both by the Hindus and Muslims to convert other people into their religion added to the strife.<sup>937</sup> As Jalal points out:

The injection of religion, albeit as a symbol of the cultural self-defence of communities, did much to polarize social relations in the North Western Provinces and the Punjab. Hindu revivalist activities, especially vociferous calls to ban cow-slaughter and perennial irritation over the playing of music before mosques, exalted the battles for social space as never before.<sup>938</sup>

In 1928, Indian nationalists proposed a new constitution for India which rejected separate electorates.<sup>939</sup> The independence for India was voiced by the Congress since 1929 onwards and meanwhile the Muslim League demanded the protection of the Muslims claiming that India consisted of two nations.<sup>940</sup>

It wasn't until 1930 that a separate Muslim country was discussed. The person who first mentioned it was none other than the famous poet Muhammad Iqbal.<sup>941</sup> The state Iqbal envisioned was different from today's Pakistan, which included four provinces, namely, Punjab, Sindh, The North West Frontier Province (NWFP), and

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<sup>934</sup> Ayesha Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty: Individual and Community in South Asian Islam since 1980* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2002), 38.

<sup>935</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>936</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India: A Brief Survey 1858-1947* (Lahore : Oxford University Press, 1971), 154. Moplah Revolt in 1921, Malabar and Multan in 1922, Cawnpore in March 1931 are among the most well-known bloody events of Hindu-Muslim conflicts. *Ibid.*, 155-162.

<sup>937</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 156-7.

<sup>938</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 81.

<sup>939</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 80.

<sup>940</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 29.

<sup>941</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

Baluchistan.<sup>942</sup> In 1932 Communal Award which suggested separate electorates was declared and it was accepted in 1935 as a part of the Government of India of Act.<sup>943</sup> In 1936 general elections were held. Jawaharlal Nehru won an overwhelming victory. Of the 30 percent of the electorates, the Muslim League was able to gain less than 5 percent.<sup>944</sup>

All India Muslim League (AIML) was the leading party that paved the ways for a sovereign country for the Muslims. Despite its grave defeat in 1937 elections, the party had a glorious return as the sole representative of the South Asian Muslims under the leadership of Jinnah. Jinnah's powerful and ardent leadership changed everything on behalf of Pakistan.<sup>945</sup> In 1945 there was another call for election. The League gained a huge success and won all of the 30 seats. Upon the disagreements between the Congress and the Muslim League, the plan for the interim government was hampered. Another election followed in July 1946 and the Muslim League was again successful. Nehru rejected the idea of grouping of provinces. Upon protests, as Weekes notes: "the Viceroy invited Congress to form an interim government without the League. Muslims were furious. On August 9, the National Congress also called for demonstrations. In Calcutta huge number of killings followed. Hindus tried to take revenge and the number of deaths was more than 8000."<sup>946</sup>

Jinnah declared his support for the idea of Pakistan in his famous Lahore session in 1940.<sup>947</sup> However, not all of the Muslim population was in favor of a separate Muslim country; "many of the rulers of the princely states, scholars like Maulana Azad, and some pious Muslims opposed the idea of Pakistan."<sup>948</sup> *Ulama's* stance towards a separate Muslim country for the Muslims of South Asia was not monolithic. According to Qasim Zaman, it rather manifested diversity, showing to what extent Islam could be flexible.<sup>949</sup>

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<sup>942</sup> Jaffrelot, *Pakistan: Nationalism*, 12.

<sup>943</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 82.

<sup>944</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

<sup>945</sup> Ian Talbot, *Pakistan, A Modern History*, 91.

<sup>946</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 88.

<sup>947</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 5.

<sup>948</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>949</sup> Qasim Zaman, *Ulama in Contemporary Islam*, 32. To give an example, Mawlana Husayn Ahmad Madani (died in 1957), one of the leading figures of Jam'iyyat-I al-Ulama-i Hind, was against the partition: "At the heart of the controversy, which raged during the decade immediately preceding the partition and independence of India, was the question of whether the Muslims of India constituted a separate nation, as argued by the 'modernist' Muslim leaders who were to lead the movement for

On February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1947, the British Prime Minister announced that the British would withdraw from the country in 1948. On June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1947, Lord Mountbatten announced that the independence would be given to India and Pakistan on August 15<sup>th</sup>.<sup>950</sup> The state of Pakistan came into being on August 14<sup>th</sup>, 1947, one day earlier than India. The partition which included Punjab and Bengal caused millions of people to move from their own countries.<sup>951</sup>

#### 4.2.1 The Khilafat movement

Before independence, another development worth mentioning is the Khilafat Movement. Started in 1919 and ended in 1924, the Khilafat Movement was initiated by Muslims in India who tried to put pressure on the British government to guarantee the borders of the Ottoman Empire, preserving the spiritual and (political) authority of the Caliph.<sup>952</sup> This Movement represents Indian Muslims' wish to connect themselves with the Muslim world outside India. While the Muslims in the subcontinent were going through difficult times between the colonial subjugation and the indefinite future under a Hindu dominated geography, the Khilafat Movement was sweeping through India:

The involvement of all cross currents of Indo Muslim religious and political thought, conservative, moderate, and modernist, in the pan-Islamic movement and with the image of the Ottoman caliphate, between 1870 and 1924 was a response to the psychological pull of extra-Indian Islam. Its psychological significance lay partly in relation to a feeling of insecurity in the midst of Hindu majority and in a feeling of humiliation in relation to the successful advance of the western empires at the expense of *dar al Islam*. It revealed itself in a special interest in historical Islam's successful encounter with Europe: Moorish Spain and the Ottoman Empire. There was an undercurrent of historical heritage in this attitude towards the Ottomans.<sup>953</sup>

As Abdul Hamid states, at beginning of the twentieth century, the Islamic world was passing through a great transformation in which many countries and nations were struggling for independence. Being an independent and sovereign Muslim empire, Turkey (Ottoman Empire) was considered to be the leader of this world. Indian Muslims had adopted developed the same approach. They had already given their

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Pakistan, or were part of the same nation as the non-Muslim peoples of South Asia.” *Ibid.*, 32-33. Madani defended that Muslims were a separate religious entity; however, they belonged to the same nation of Hindus (qawm). On the other hand, some of the other leading figures of Ulama and Muslim community such as Iqbal and Mawdudi criticized Madani severely. *Ibid.*, 33-35.

<sup>950</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 90.

<sup>951</sup> Cohen, *The Idea*, 6.

<sup>952</sup> Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 1.

<sup>953</sup> Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 123.



allegiance to the Muslim Khalifa, renewing it every Friday during the prayers. The strong sympathy and spiritual bond between the Indian Muslims and İstanbul “[...] grew rapidly with the Pan-Islamist propaganda, which originally inculcating political and religious reform, was converted, first by Sultan Abdul Hamid<sup>954</sup> and afterwards by the Young Turks [Jeune Turcs], into an appeal to the faithful to rally round the Ottoman Khilafat.”<sup>955</sup>

One of the primary reasons that amplified the Movement was the matchless situation of the Ottoman Caliph. As Minault explains:

When the British finally extinguished Mughal rule after 1857 they eliminated a whole structure of religious-political authority, the Ottoman Sultan was one remaining authority as a Sunni potentate and hence the only possible candidate for Caliph. He was the symbol not only of the survival of the rule of Islamic law but also of past Islamic glory. In the late nineteenth century for a variety of reasons a new and widespread acknowledgement of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph developed in India. Imams began to read the Sultan’s name in the *khutba* on Friday in some Indian mosques. Each time the Ottomans were involved in a war – the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, or the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 Muslims in India channelled fund drives for Turkish relief.<sup>956</sup>

Although the sincere support of the Indian Muslims to the Caliph could not be demonstrated as easily as it used to be after 1877, there was hardly any change in the Indian enthusiasm for the Khilafat even after the diplomatic shift of the Sultan which sought to provide the support of the Germans<sup>957</sup> During the Italian invasion of Tripoli, Indian Muslims were on the side of Turks and the absolute support given by the British to Italy, the English indifference towards the Ottoman miseries during the Balkan wars and especially “[t]he part played by the British Government at this juncture was ill conceived and artlessly executed, shaking Muslim loyalty.”<sup>958</sup> Muslims suspecting the goodwill of Great Britain, manifested their discomfort about the changing policy. Especially the young generation, who were anti-imperialist Muslim nationalists represented by Ali Brothers, expressed their uneasiness about Britain’s policy and supported Turkey openly.<sup>959</sup>

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<sup>954</sup> “Probably Sultan Abd al-Hamid was the first Ottoman sultan in whose name the *khutba* was read in Muslim India. It was ironic that British foreign policy directors in London were beginning to move away from diplomatic and military support for the Ottoman Empire in favour of physical control of the Muslim lands along the route to India just at the time when British administrators in India were trying to give Indian Muslims a stake in British rule.” Paul Hardy, *The Muslims*, 120.

<sup>955</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism in India: a Brief Survey: 1858-1947* (Lahore: Oxford University Press, 1971), 98.

<sup>956</sup> Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, 5.

<sup>957</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>958</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>959</sup> Mim Kemal Öke, *Hilafet Hareketleri*, 40.

According to Abdul Hamid, “The Khilafat movement arose out of circumstances that had nothing to do with India. It will go down into history as a disinterested and altruistic movement animated by solitude towards other people.”<sup>960</sup> However, he also notes that this movement bore a very significant role in awakening a large mass to the politics and thus contributed to India’s freedom movement. The concept of national education, introduction of *ulama* to the politics and their permanent stay,<sup>961</sup> revelation of the anti-Western sentiment felt by the Muslims were some of the results of this movement.<sup>962</sup> In contrast to Abdul Hamid, Ayesha Jalal considers Khilafat Movement, which saw its peak after the First World War, during which an unprecedented unanimity among the Muslims in India was observed, as a realistic policy for the Muslims in India. “Unlike the Arabs who had much to gain from exerting their national identity against the Ottomans, many Indian Muslims saw the preservation of the temporal power of Islam based in Constantinople as a necessary safeguard to their own political future.”<sup>963</sup> Gina Minault goes one step further and holds that after the First World War, since the Caliphate was in danger, this situation gave opportunity to the anti-imperialist westernized Muslim leaders<sup>964</sup> to struggle against colonialism through a religious symbol. “A pan-Islamic symbol opened the way to pan-Indian Islamic political mobilization.”<sup>965</sup> And among the Indian Muslims, who were divided by many differences until that time, there appeared a much stronger common identity based on religion which created “a means for an astute set of political leaders to mobilize Indian Muslims as a political constituency.”<sup>966</sup>

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<sup>960</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 149.

<sup>961</sup> “Among the Muslim schools that gave its support to the Pan-Islamic movement was the school of Deobandi and a group of scholars along with Shibli organized a movement called Nadwa-tul Ulema one of the leaders was Mawlana Abdul Kalam Azad who called Aligarh ‘a slave factory’”. Weekes, *Pakistan*, 74. Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan’s attitude towards the Khilafat Movement was one of the skepticism and pessimism. There was no confliction of loyalty for him while the British supported Ottomans; however, after 1878, he felt the need of choosing his side, which was of course the British: “We owe no allegiance to Sultan Abdul-Hamid. He wields no authority over us. He is a Muslim potentate and we rejoice at his good luck and grieve over his misfortunes. But he is not our Caliph. His spiritual suzerainty is limited to the Muslims living within his dominions.” Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 10.

<sup>962</sup> *Ibid.*, 151-152.

<sup>963</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 198.

<sup>964</sup> Some of the prominent leaders were Muhammad Ali, Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, Maulana Mahmud al-Hasan of Deoband, and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad. Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, 10.

<sup>965</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>966</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

Ahmad Aziz divides the Khilafat Movement into two phases: 1870-1910, 1910-1924. According to him, “Muslim India’s sympathies with Pan-Islamism and the Ottoman caliphate were largely an indigenous development, though later it came to be associated with the legendary name and personality of Jamal-al-din al-Afghani.”<sup>967</sup> However, although he came into contact with some of the religious leaders in Muslim India, his impact on the Pan-Islamic thought in India is obvious only after the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>968</sup> In the second phase, the Movement gained an unscrupulous momentum, which led to the establishment of direct contacts with some of the Turkish leaders such as Enver and Cemal Pashas.<sup>969</sup> According to Aziz, the movement had “two political components” that put pressure on the British government against its sanctions on Turkey (the Treaty of Sèvres) and a “political alignment” with the Indian National Congress.<sup>970</sup> After the abolition of the Caliphate, the attitude of some of the famous pan-Islamic thinkers went through a transformation. Muhammed Iqbal adopted this pan-Islamic idea to nationalist thought which was fed by a multinational Islamic understanding<sup>971</sup> and “it was within the concept of this multinational neo-pan- Islamism that Iqbal evolved the theory of Pakistan.”<sup>972</sup>

In the context of Khilafat Movement, Akbar S. Ahmed claims that unlike Atatürk’s Turkey, “Muslims in India had few clear ideas about modern nationhood. Indeed, they were still harking back to the past. The Muslim ignorance of world trends and their tendency to be out of touch with reality indicated that a deep crisis was looming for the community. The sense of unreality would continue to mark Muslim behavior.”<sup>973</sup>

The vigorous enthusiasm felt by the Indian Muslims towards the Khilafat and Turkey forced the government to give “guarantees of fair treatment towards Turkey” and

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<sup>967</sup> Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 126. “Pan-Islam became important after the fall of the last Moghul emperor because orthodox Muslims had no person to turn to for religious leadership—or symbolically, to mention in Friday prayers— other than the Ottoman Sultan.” Weekes, *Pakistan*, 73.

<sup>968</sup> Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 129.

<sup>969</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>970</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>971</sup> After the Caliphate was abolished by Turks, Iqbal returned to Said Halim Pasha’s view that “Islam was a harmony of idealism and positivism and a unity of eternal verities of freedom, equality and solidarity has no fatherland.” Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 140.

<sup>972</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>973</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 69.

besides the Muslim solidarity, which reached its peak in these years,<sup>974</sup> there was an unprecedented collaboration between the Indians and the Muslims against the British policies. In 1920, Gandhi urged the Hindu society to help the Muslims, which was gratuitously accepted by the Muslim communities. The convergence between the two societies was so effective that it was almost bringing an end to the British sovereignty in India.<sup>975</sup> Mohammad Ali, one of the Ali Brothers who championed the Muslims' support for Khilafat, "had persuaded himself that the 'freedom of India was absolutely necessary for the freedom of Islam'."<sup>976</sup> He supposed that the only way to achieve this goal was collaboration with the Indians against the British. Abdul Hamid claims that, for this reason, "[I]t is evident that the Muslim concept of Indian freedom was a means to an end and not an end in itself."<sup>977</sup> According to Werner Levi, Muslims' "usual Pan-Islamism was now tinged with nationalism."<sup>978</sup> It was only when non-cooperation ended in 1921 by Gandhi with an abrupt decision that the Hindu-Muslim allegiance ended.<sup>979</sup>

#### **4.2.2 Between the Mughal past and an undefined future: Muslim community in India**

The impact and the inheritance of the Mughal past on Muslims is so great that it is almost impossible to avoid mentioning it even if the subject has almost no direct relation with this era of the Indian history. "For Many Pakistani intellectuals, certain periods during the 300 years of Mughal rule rank as the most glorious in the history of the Muslim peoples of the subcontinent."<sup>980</sup> Therefore, while this past constitutes a major source of pride and self-respect, it also provides a basis for the great dissatisfaction felt by the Muslims after the disintegration of the Empire. For the

<sup>974</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 133-4. "Muslim champions of the Turkish cause in Britain, like the Aga Khan, Ameer Ali, Yusuf Ali and Ispahani, all belonged to the Shia sect [.]” *Ibid.*, 141. Therefore, it can be supposed that thanks to the Khilafat Movement, the Shia-Sunni schism was also exceeded to a great extent.

<sup>975</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-145. On August 4, 1920, Mahatma Gandhi wrote as follows in his *Young India*: "My advice to Hindu brethren is: Simply help the Musslamans in their sorrow in a generous and self-sacrificing spirit without counting the cost and you will automatically save the cow... Islam is a noble faith. Trust it and its followers. We must hold it a crime for any Hindu to talk to them about cow-protection or any other help in our religious matters, while Khilafat struggle is going on." Sita Ram Goel, *Muslim Separatism: Causes and Consequences* (New Delhi: Voice of India, 1995), 93.

<sup>976</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 140.

<sup>977</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>978</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>979</sup> *Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>980</sup> Weekes, *Pakistan*, 57.

Muslims, the glorious past has been a criterion and an absolute source of reference to test their present-day situation. Unlike most of the Indian nationalists who consider the Muslim era as a dark age, for many Muslims, including the founders of Pakistan, “India’s Islamic period was a golden age, an era of high culture and material and spiritual progress that was all but absent under the displaced ‘pagan’ Hindu regimes.”<sup>981</sup> There can be found many an example to understand Muslims’ attitude of mind in this context. Akbar S. Ahmed, in his book *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity: Search for Saladin*, discusses Jinnah’s story by comparing him with the great Mughal emperors and the poets. “He was born in 1876 just two decades after the last Mughal emperor, Zafar Shah, sat on his throne in Delhi [...]. The span of time from Aurangzeb’s death in 1707 to Jinnah’s death in 1948 covers the two centuries of disintegration and changing political fortunes for Muslims in South Asia.”<sup>982</sup>

After Jinnah’s death one of the most prominent clerics of Karachi, the Sheikh-al-Islam, Allama Shabir Ahmed Usmani, in his funeral oration described Jinnah as “the greatest Muslim after Aurangzeb” (Mujahid 1981:659).<sup>983</sup>

Mughal Empire not only symbolizes the political superiority but also a cultural grandiose represented by great examples of arts, poetry and architecture. Although the Empire is believed to have created an Indian synthesis, these successes are seen as an expression of Muslim civilization by some scholars, including Ahmed Ali himself.

In Mughal times Akbar and his successors presided over, where they did not personally foster an imperial court culture, shared and contributed to by Muslims and non-Muslims alike. By the eighteenth century, the Mughal courts at Delhi and Agra had become schools of manners and good taste even for opponents and rebels. As Dr.

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<sup>981</sup> Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, 21.

<sup>982</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan and Islamic Identity*, xiii. Interestingly, Mountbatten, the last British viceroy in India, points to the Mughal past when he gives a speech in the Constituent Assembly in Karachi in August 1947. He advises Muslims to follow the example of Akbar the Great who is the third sultan of the Great Mughals. This example, as Akbar S. Ahmed observes, was not a coincidence: “Akbar has always been a favourite of those who believe in synthesis or what in our time passes for secular. To most non-Muslims in South Asia, Akbar symbolized a tolerant, humane Muslim, one they could do business with” *Ibid.*, 175. However, as he points out, Akbar’s synthesis was not so popular among the orthodox Muslims since his concord with the non-Muslim elements of the Indian lands included more than incorporation but a revision of Islam under the title of *din-e ilahi* “a hotchpotch of some of the established religions, with Akbar himself as a focal religious point” *Ibid.*

<sup>983</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 36.

Percival Spear has well said, “an observer who visited only the cities of Mughal India might have supposed that India was mainly a Muslim country...”.<sup>984</sup>

Especially the Mughal poetry, which follows the classical Persian and Islamic tradition, is another outstanding aspect of the Mughal culture that continued its development even after the political and military developments were the precursors of the unavoidable decline of the Empire. “Even the last days of the Mughal Empire were a time of great literary output. In Lucknow, Urdu reached new heights of elegance, and was used by many poets for charming [...] frivolous verses. [...] In Delhi a more traditional forms of Urdu was flourishing [...]”<sup>985</sup>

Architecture was also a very significant aspect of Mughal culture and testified their superiority and glorious inheritance even after the demise of the Empire, as Paul Hardy points out:

Mughal architecture, that architecture of drama and pageant, set the fashions of public building for the Rajput prince and for the British civil servant. Its unique combination of the Muslim tradition, outside India, of light and air, expressed by the vaulted arch, the dome, expansive courtyards and audience chambers, with Hindu traditions of massive solidity and ornate decoration, found expression in the triumphant structures of Akbar's palace city of Fatehpur Sikri, and of Shah Jahan's Red Fort in Delhi. Mughal influence is to be seen in the palace building of Maharaja Man Singh (1592-1615) and Raja Jai Singh (d. 1668) at Amber.<sup>986</sup>

Maybe the most important reason behind the Muslim attachment to the Mughal past was the fact that after the collapse of the Empire, the guarantee and the security the Muslim community had felt during this period was lost forever. After the establishment of Raj, “[f]illed with fresh memories of grandeur and glory, [Muslims] grew increasingly frustrated and fearful as Hindus adapted more swiftly than Muslims to the Raj’s new political and social order.”<sup>987</sup> In this context, it should not

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<sup>984</sup> Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, 17.

<sup>985</sup> Annemarie Schimmel, *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 259.

<sup>986</sup> Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, 17.

<sup>987</sup> Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, 25. “The Indian political movement was largely the outcome of Western influences imbibed through education... The principal sources of patriotic inspiration were furnished by English literature, European and American history and their accounts of struggles for freedom. However, after 1870, this European impact has greatly changed and the nationalism which came first to Indians as the education did, expressed antagonism towards others, bringing its great heritage to the forefront.” Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 26.

be forgotten that the Hindu attitude towards Muslims and Islam was not always so friendly, nor favorable.<sup>988</sup>

When the Muslim dominance is thoroughly considered in India, which lasted almost 900 years, —however, by no means it should be taken as a full dominance in the subcontinent— it can be clearly claimed that Muslims did not have a clear idea about their existence as one nation until very recently. Paul Hardy claims that among the one fifth of the Indian population during the British domination in the subcontinent, only a very small number of Muslims could see themselves as a “ruling nation”. “The vast majority of Muslims supported themselves as the vast majority of the non-Muslims supported themselves by ‘husbandry’ and by the provision of economic goods and services for others.”<sup>989</sup>

Paul Hardy asserts that like the British, Muslims were also “empire builders of medieval India”. This past had given them self-assurance in politics since they considered themselves the natural aristocracy of the country. However, for him “Muslim rule was neither a colonial rule from some central Asian homeland nor national rule by the members of a victorious political nation domiciled in India.”<sup>990</sup>

The success of the Mughal emperors lay in their ability to govern a racially and religiously heterogeneous elite<sup>991</sup> and their successful organization of the “internal military occupation of the country.”<sup>992</sup> “The Basic principle of Mughal political structure was that society consisted of a great multiplicity of conflicting segments

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<sup>988</sup> During the last decades of the nineteenth century when communitarian and national inclinations began to manifest themselves in India, especially in Bengal, some prominent Hindu novels expressed deep anti-Muslim sentiments. See Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 155. “In 1898 the Muslim Educational Conference formally condemned the animosity towards Muslims found in Bengali literature. Novels and poems depicting Muslims as ‘wicked, tyrannical, dissolute devils and hated lecherous dogs’ drew the ‘praise of countless Hindus’. Leading the attack was the popular Bengali novelist Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838–1894) whose creative imagination was not above dragging the daughters of Muslim rulers out of the harem to show them as ‘desirous of the love of Shivaji’, the ‘devil’ incarnate, ‘mountain-rat and slayer of women’. Muslim women were seen ‘languishing for the love of pig-eating Rajputs’ or portrayed as ‘handmaids’ of ‘Hindu slaves’. The delight with which such stories were staged and appreciated suggested that ‘Hindu authors, orators, poets and novelists’ believed they were ‘born only to slay the yavanas’.” *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>989</sup> Hardy, *The Muslims*, 6.

<sup>990</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>991</sup> “Despite the opposition of the shariah minded ideology, however, Mughal political values managed to survive even the demise of the Mughal power. The period of the imperial unity had not erased India’s heterogeneity even within the ruling class, but it did create a level of communication and interaction relevant to the political aspect of Indian culture.” David Lelyveld, *Aligarh’s First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 32.

<sup>992</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

that could only be brought into harmony by virtue of their subordination to the apex of the system, namely, the ruling dynasty.”<sup>993</sup>

*Zamindar* class was the most critical one in the Mughal system. Due to the vastness of the Empire they were generally posted to the places out of their *vatan* (homeland).<sup>994</sup> The more territory was gained, the more it became important to provide the loyalty of *zamindars* from different groups of religion. “The *zamindar* class was mostly Hindu; the official and military class, especially at the highest levels, mostly Muslim. Imperial rule could be justified to different people on the basis of different ideologies. The emperor was above such divisions; he was, in the words of Abul Fazl, ‘spiritual guide’ to the whole realm.”<sup>995</sup>

The resentment felt by the Muslim population during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first half of the twentieth century was in fact due to becoming a minority which they never had considered themselves to be until that time. However, when Hardy’s statement that Muslims were neither a national entity nor a single unity when the British came is taken into account, it is possible to think about two alternative answers for the Muslim reaction to the Hindu-dominated India. The first of them could be that when Muslims lost their sovereignty, which was in all but name during the last years of Mughal presence, they recognized the burden of the lost empire, at least psychologically.<sup>996</sup> The second answer could be that the reaction of the Muslim aristocracy especially in the United Provinces, which include some of the most important Mughal cities such as Delhi and Lucknow, shaped the rest of the Muslim population’s mind with the help of growing nationalist movements, including Hindu *Mahabharata* Movement which had strong anti-Muslim sentiments, and increased the Muslim awareness toward the dangers of living in a Hindu-dominated society.

In sum, then, the establishment of British rule in India affected different classes of Muslims in different ways. For a minority, it destroyed not a livelihood, but a way of life and damaged not so much their pockets as their pride. For the Mughal court in

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<sup>993</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>994</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>995</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>996</sup> Although in the 1820s many Muslims in India believed that the East India Company ruled in the name of Mughal Sultan and its power was nothing more than symbolic, “in 1857, the mutineers at Meerut, Muslim and Hindu alike, rode to Delhi, as if by instinct, to restore Bahadur Shah to the Empire of India” Hardy, *The Muslims*, 33-34. Hardy tries to show that it was a means of solace for the Muslims to see the Emperor on his throne. “For the Muslim elite in northern India, British conquest meant the destruction of a way of life more than the destruction of a livelihood.” *Ibid.*, 34.



Delhi and the Muslim aristocracy attached to it, life under British patronage was probably materially no worse than life under Maratha patronage - but the patronage was made more galling by a generation of British functionaries who put a low price upon the Mughal past and the Mughal present in the market of utility, who scorned gentility, poetry and those who did not live laborious lives (and could not because the British were there to prevent them from living the only laborious lives they knew - of fighting and politicking).<sup>997</sup>

Farzana Shaikh mentions about possibilities that are taken for granted by historians as an explanation for the change that took place among the Muslims in colonial India. The first view holds that the alteration took place as a result of colonial administration, which dictated the new course and political priorities to the Muslim community. For the second view, the source of separatist politics among the Muslims of India was the result of the selection and manipulations done by the elites. The last of all, the third view defends that, Muslims as a minority tried to defend themselves instinctively against a system that would bring them permanent subjection under the majority rule.<sup>998</sup> For Shaikh, there was also another reason behind the formation of a separatist Muslim politics in colonial India which was nothing other than the traditions and Islamic values that sought for such politics.<sup>999</sup>

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<sup>997</sup> Hardy, *The Muslims*, 49.

<sup>998</sup> Farzana Shaikh, *Community and Consensus in Islam: Muslim Representation In Colonial India, 1860—1947* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 5-6.

<sup>999</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

## CHAPTER V

### NATIONALISM AND CORRUPTION IN THE NOVELS OF AHMED ALI

#### 5.1 Ahmed Ali's Life and Career

Ahmed Ali was born in Delhi in 1910. When he was eight years old, he lost his father and continued his education with his cousins in his uncle's house in Fatehgarh, where he went to a missionary school for one year.<sup>1000</sup> He received his high school and higher education in Aligarh and Lucknow until partition, he then emigrated to Pakistan. There, he worked in the universities of Lucknow and Calcutta as an English instructor.<sup>1001</sup> After the partition, he worked as a diplomat in the Foreign Service almost for ten years, including missions in to China and Morocco until his obligatory retirement by the military regime in 1960.<sup>1002</sup> In this period of his life, he worked for the private sector, established his own business and at the same time continued his literary activities, publishing two novels, anthologies, poetry books and translations including that of Qur'an.<sup>1003</sup> "Just a few months prior to his death, on three October 1993, he received the Degree of Doctor of Letters (*honoris causa*) from Karachi University"<sup>1004</sup> and died in Karachi in 1994.

Ahmed Ali began his literary career by writing poems and plays. The two known plays of Ahmed Ali are *Land of Twilight* and *Break the Chains*, which was premiered in 1932.<sup>1005</sup> Later he became a short story writer.<sup>1006</sup> In Lucknow in 1929 he published his first short story in English in the *Lucknow University Journal*. In 1930s he wrote many short stories in Urdu, including *Mahavaton ki Ek Raat* (A Night of Winter Rains) which was published in Humayun. His first collection of short stories,

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<sup>1000</sup> Carlo Coppola, "Ahmed Ali in Conversation: An Excerpt from an Interview with Carlo Coppola", *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, 9 (1994): 46.

<sup>1001</sup> Leela Gandhi, "Novelists of the 1930s and 1940s" in *A Concise History of Indian Literature in English*, ed. Arvind Krishna Mehrotra, (New Delhi: Permanent Black 2010), 209.

<sup>1002</sup> Coppola, Carlo, "Ahmed Ali (1910-1994) Bridges and Links East and West," *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 29 (1994): 52, doi: 10.1177/002198949402900212.

<sup>1003</sup> Coppola, "Ahmed Ali," 53.

<sup>1004</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1005</sup> See "Ahmed Ali," Tariq Rahman, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.tariqrahman.net/olddocs/literatur/AHMED%20ALI.htm>

<sup>1006</sup> Hashmi, *The Worlds of Muslim Imagination*, ed. Alamgir Hashmi. (Islamabad: Gulmohar, 1986), 44.

*Sholay* (Flames) was published in 1936. In 1932, with a group of friends he published a collection of short stories named *Angaray* (Burning Coals).<sup>1007</sup> Written with a social realist perspective, some of these stories included scenes that would draw reaction; however, since the young writers wanted to give a shock to the Muslim society which “was going about like a dead body”, they decided to publish them.<sup>1008</sup> Although later he calls these stories adolescent, publication of *Angaray* brought notoriety to Ali and his friends. *Hamari Gali* (Our Lane) (1944), *Qaid Khana* (Prison House) (1944) and *Maut Se Pahlay* (Before Death) (1945) are his other collections of Urdu short stories some of which were translated into English and published in 1985 under the title *The Prison House*.<sup>1009</sup>

Ahmed Ali was one of the founders of the League of Progressive authors, “which eventually led to the formation of the All India Progressive Writers Association (AIPWA), the first meeting of which was held on April 9-10, 1936 in Lucknow.”<sup>1010</sup> He was a leading figure and “[h]is essay ‘A Progressive view of Art’ -included the Association’s first official publication, *Towards a Progressive Literature*- announced a commitment to the cause of social realism [.]”<sup>1011</sup> However, he soon departed from AIPWA due to some disagreements with his friends on the definition and objectives of progressivism. Ahmed Ali refused to accept the delimitation of the definition of “progressive” with the proletariat and peasants only and asserted that it should include the middle class and the whole humanity.<sup>1012</sup>

After leaving AIPWA, Ahmed Ali started writing his first novel *Twilight in Delhi* (published in 1940) to which he primarily owns his fame. His other two novels, *Ocean of Night* (1964) and *Of Rats and Diplomats* (1985) appeared with a twenty-year interval.

It is possible to say that translation was a lifestyle for Ali. Some of the famous translations of him include *The Flaming Earth: Poems From Indonesia* (1949), *The*

<sup>1007</sup> Tariq, Rahman, *A History of Pakistani Literature in English* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1991), 30-32.

<sup>1008</sup> Coppola, Carlo. “Ahmed Ali: Highlights From an Interview.” *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*. ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 56.

<sup>1009</sup> Rahman, *A History of Pakistani Literature*, 32.

<sup>1010</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>1011</sup> Gandhi, “Novelists of the 1930s,” 209.

<sup>1012</sup> Coppola, “Highlights,” 62.

*Golden Tradition* (1973) and *Al Qur'an* (1984).<sup>1013</sup> He also wrote three critical essays titled “Mr. Eliot’s Penny World of Dreams” (1941), “The Problem of Style and Technique in Ghalib” (1969), “The Shadow and the Substance: The Principles of Reality, Art and Literature” (1977),<sup>1014</sup> and also *Muslim China* (1949).

He is also renowned for his anthologies. Due to his love for Urdu poetry, Ali translated many Urdu poems into English and prepared anthologies that would be attractive for the Western reader. These anthologies were *The Falcon and the Hunted Bird: An Anthology of Urdu Poetry* (1950), *The Bulbul and the Rose: An Anthology of Urdu Poetry* (1962), *Ghalib: Selected Poems* (1969), and *The Golden Tradition* (1973) respectively.

Besides Urdu, Ahmed Ali wrote poems in English as well. In 1926 he published a poem in the *Aligarh Magazine*; however, “it was not until he went to China after the Second World War at the age of thirty-eight in 1947 that he turned to this genre with seriousness of purpose.”<sup>1015</sup> The first collection of his English poems (*Purple Gold Mountain*, 1960), which at first included a few poems, was compiled later under the same title in 1978.

## 5.2 Ahmed Ali and Indian Writing in English

Since the nineteenth century, when the British Empire made itself culturally and politically evident in the life of India, English has been one of the languages used by Indians in their creative works. Despite its history, it wasn’t until the third or fourth decade of the twentieth century “was there a serious and systematic attempt to place such writing in its proper historical and cultural context and to evaluate it as literature.”<sup>1016</sup> Although Indian writing in English or Anglo-Indian literature has always been a problematic issue due to the source of the language, since it was the language of the colonizer and had been exposed to criticism,<sup>1017</sup> especially after 1960s. Thanks to the careful work of Professor Iyengar titled *Indian Writing in English* (1962), the term Anglo Indian literature has become an indisputable

<sup>1013</sup> “Ahmed Ali,” Tariq Rahman, accessed April 5, 2016, <http://www.tariqrahman.net/olddocs/literatur/AHMED%20ALI.htm>

<sup>1014</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1015</sup> Carlo Coppola, “‘In Exile My Sun Has Set’: The Poetry of Ahmed Ali,” in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 116.

<sup>1016</sup> Meenakshi Mukherjee, *The Twice Born Fiction* (Delhi: Pencraft International, 2010), 21.

<sup>1017</sup> See Rahman, *A History*, 6.

reality.<sup>1018</sup> Apart from Iyengar's work, two important books written in 1960s, Dorothy M. Spencer's *Indian Fiction in English* (1960) and M.E. Derret's *The Modern Indian Novel in English: A Comparative Approach* (1966) also contributed to the field.<sup>1019</sup>

Ahmed Ali published his first English novel, *Twilight in Delhi*, in 1940. Although he was already a literary figure at the time his first novel was published, due to his immigration to Pakistan after the partition, he was mostly ignored by Indian critics and treated as a Pakistani writer. In addition to this, especially Muslim critics have welcomed him as one of the founding figures of Pakistani literature in English.

As Anderson, in his essay "Ahmed Ali and the Growth of a Pakistani Literary Tradition in English" states, in 1930s a new generation flourished in India, writing with the Western realist techniques. Leading writers were R.K. Narayan and Mulk Raj Anand.<sup>1020</sup> Although a Muslim tradition similar to that of Indian writers' began in Urdu, according to Brander, Ahmed Ali (who continued his career by penning a novel in English) became a leading literary figure with a great impact of Pakistani writers in English. According to Priya Joshi, in his book *In Another Country* (2002), "Progressive Movement [...] whose goal was to use literature in order to raise the fragmented social castes and classes of India and unite them against the British"<sup>1021</sup> had also impact on Indian writing in English.<sup>1022</sup> For him, it was Ahmed Ali's short stories in Urdu and especially his novel that reversed the politics of Macaulay and by writing his novel in English, "Ali both fulfilled and overturned a century of British domination in India [...]"<sup>1023</sup> In his book *A History of Pakistani Literature in English* (1991), Tariq Rahman considers Ahmed Ali as the most important name who wrote fiction in the pre-partition period.<sup>1024</sup> According to Alamgir Hashmi, in his essay "Prolegomena to the Study of Pakistani English and Pakistani Literature in English" (1996), "It is Ahmed Ali's work that has generated much of Pakistani literature in English, for without him any account of South Asian English letters would not be

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<sup>1018</sup> Mukherjee, *The Twice Born Fiction*, 21.

<sup>1019</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>1020</sup> David D. Anderson. (1975): "Ahmed Ali and the Growth of a Pakistani Literary Tradition in English," *World Literature Written in English*, 14:2, 437.

<sup>1021</sup> Priya Joshi, *Another Country: Colonialism, Culture and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 208.

<sup>1022</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>1023</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>1024</sup> Rahman, *A History*, 15.

complete.”<sup>1025</sup> Both Joshi<sup>1026</sup> and Hashmi see novel as Ahmet Ali’s primary achievement among his creative works and especially *Twilight in Delhi* plays the leading role in Ahmed Ali’s literary career.<sup>1027</sup>

### 5.3 *Twilight in Delhi: A Land of Poetry Once upon a Time*

*Do not go into the ruins of Delhi. At every step  
priceless pearls lie buried beneath the dust...  
times have changed as they can never change again.*  
Hali

Ahmed Ali’s magnum opus, *Twilight in Delhi*, is considered as one of the leading works of Indian/Pakistani literature written in English. As a Muslim writer in India, Ahmed Ali wrote the book in the late 1930s when India was going through subsequent political turmoil that resulted with the independence and a new Muslim country. David D. Anderson states that among the new educated classes in India, English was the language, yet it was far from understanding of the masses. “However, in 1930s a group of young Indian writers, writing in English and in the mainstream Western realistic techniques and deterministic philosophy began to emerge.”<sup>1028</sup> Ali had started to write *Twilight in Delhi* in 1938, when he was twenty eight years old, upon a strong disagreement with the AIPWA.<sup>1029</sup> According to Ahmed Ali, the definition of progress was “essentially an attitude of mind,” while for the majority of the movement, particularly for Sajjad Zaheer and Mulk Raj Anand, representations of the struggles of the proletariat alone were progressive and everything else was decadent.<sup>1030</sup> As Snehal Shengavi points out, in the Angaray project, “[t]he collective goal had been to illuminate the repressive atmosphere that

<sup>1025</sup> Alamgir Hashmi, “Prolegomena to the Study of Pakistani English and Pakistani Literature in English” in *English Postcoloniality: Literatures from Around the World*, ed. Radhika Mohanram & Gita Rajan (Connecticut & London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 122.

<sup>1026</sup> Priya Joshi, *Another Country*, 211.

<sup>1027</sup> *Ibid.*, and Hashmi, *Prolegomena*, 122.

<sup>1028</sup> David D. Anderson, “Ahmed Ali and the Growth of a Pakistani Literary Tradition in English,” *World Literature Written in English*, 14:2,(1975):437.

<sup>1029</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 213.

<sup>1030</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

existed under the weight of Muslim orthodoxy and to attempt to open up new spaces for critiques of sexism and class stratification.”<sup>1031</sup>

According to Shengavi:

The Angaray group in some ways shared the criticisms of aristocratic Muslim culture<sup>1032</sup> that the intellectuals connected to the reformist Aligarh Muslim University had also developed (specifically Altaf Husain Hali and Muhammad Husain Azad), finding literary culture in particular to be the source of the political decomposition and degeneration of a class and a race of people as a whole.<sup>1033</sup>

Once known as a reformist writer with confounding projects, Ali moved towards a more nationalist oeuvre, while he continued to focus on the life of the Muslim community in India, thus manifesting his spiritual and mental bond with the fate of the Muslims torn between the nascent Indian nationalist movements, colonial subjugation and the indistinct promise or dream of a new country of their own. While writing about the society he lived in, Ahmed Ali seems to have decided to give priority to the issues he considered as the most essential. According to Shengavi, after Ali’s break up with the AIPWA, there occurred certain changes in his writing. The first transformation was his shift from Urdu to English; moreover, he preferred realism instead of stream of consciousness technique he had used in his first works of short fiction. “Gone too was the female centered narrative voice of not only pieces, which had used female desire to critique both orthodox restrictions on female sexuality but also the ways that poverty was experienced doubly by women.”<sup>1034</sup> For some critics, this sudden turn in Ali’s writing is surprising; since he was known as an

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<sup>1031</sup> Snehal Shengavi “Lavish Weddings and Nostalgic Delhis: Anticolonial Aesthetics in Ahmed Ali’s Fiction,” in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 154.

<sup>1032</sup> While explaining the historical background that divided Indians and Muslims from each other, Francis Robinson alludes to C.A. Bayly’s work, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) and propounds that a distinction between *qasbahs* and Hindu *ganj* due to the appearance of a “rooted Islamic gentry and a unified Hindu merchant class” as a result of commercialization process in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took place. While this helped Muslims and Hindus to sustain Islamic and Hindu high cultures throughout the eighteenth century, aftermath of the introduction of the British colonial policies, unlike people in *ganj*, people living in *qasbahs* were negatively affected and their age of prosperity ended. In political arenas, the dwellers of *qasbahs* who appear to be the main provider of the leaders of Muslim separatism, including the leaders and ideologues of Aligarh College and All Indian Muslim League, did not give their support to the Congress except for a few people. For Richardson “If they did not join Muslim organizations, they joined left-wing organizations like the Progressive Writers Movement in which socialism might range from magnolia through pink to a kind of red.” C.A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen*, 215.

<sup>1033</sup> Shengavi, “Lavish Weddings,” 156.

<sup>1034</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

“iconoclast and a progressive writer,” Tariq Rahman considers Ali’s attitude as strange.<sup>1035</sup>

*Twilight in Delhi* is important in literary history since “it was the first novel written by a Muslim ever to be published in English [...]”<sup>1036</sup> According to Anderson, *Twilight in Delhi* has a central position in Pakistani writing in English and a visible impact on new generation writers such as Junus Said, Anwar Enayatullah and Iqbal Ahmed.<sup>1037</sup> Ali had a substantial impact on the new generation and according to Anderson, the works of Ahmed Ali “became part of the cultural heritage of the new nation.”<sup>1038</sup>

The main thematic of Ahmed Ali’s novel centers upon the traditional Muslim life in Delhi, witnessing the dying culture of Muslim Delhiites trapped between colonialism and modernity. As Laurice Brander puts it, “*Twilight in Delhi* is the finest representation we have in English of Muslim life in Delhi fifty years ago, a life that was perhaps artificially preserved unwittingly by British rule and certainly cruelly broke up by fate since then. We are shown vividly the decline of what had been a most colorful and brilliant culture.”<sup>1039</sup>

*Twilight in Delhi* reflects Muslim life in Old Delhi and focuses on the traditional lives of the Muslims through narrating the Mir Nihal Family. Along with many details pertaining to the lives of Muslims in India, certain aspects such as poetry, traditions, music, pigeon-flying, arranged marriages, wedding ceremonies, traditional medical practices, and beggars have a special place in the rich world we come across in the pages of the novel. Ahmed Ali maintains the “national life”<sup>1040</sup> and traditional values through narrating it via colorful and real-like portraits. According to Laurence Brander “[t]he chapter which describes the wedding, with the verses sung by the *domnis* [...] is the climax of all these descriptions of Muslim life in Delhi [...]”<sup>1041</sup> Besides this, there exists a strong criticism toward the British and the Coronation of

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<sup>1035</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History of Pakistani Literature in English*. (Lahore: Vanguard, 1991), 49.

<sup>1036</sup> Amin Malik, *Muslim Narratives and the Discourse of English*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 19.

<sup>1037</sup> Anderson, “Ahmed Ali and the Growth,” 441.

<sup>1038</sup> *Ibid.*, 442.

<sup>1039</sup> Laurice Brander, “Two Novels by Ahmed Ali,” *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 3:76 (1968): 83.

<sup>1040</sup> “My purpose was to depict a phase of our national life and the decay of a whole culture, a particular mode of thought and living, now dead and gone already right before our eyes.” Ahmed Ali, *Twilight in Delhi*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), vii.

<sup>1041</sup> Brander, “Two Novels,” 81.



George V is given in detail from the eyes of Mir Nihal. It is also possible to witness the scourge of the First World War among the pages of *Twilight*.

From the second part on, the nationalist and political tone of the novel escalates and the reader comes across with the deterioration of the classical Muslim life with a continuous yearning for the fall of Mughal Empire. Anniah Gowda, in her article “Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi* and Chiuna Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*”, states that “[t]he analysis of cultural degradation of the soil is the central point in both novels.”<sup>1042</sup> She claims that even though “they are different, they have a common background. As one reads *Twilight* one feels the old city, built during the great battle of Mahabharata by Raj Yudistra in 1453 B.C., being reconstructed.”<sup>1043</sup>

Tariq Rahman, concurring with Anniah Gowda, says: “*Twilight* represents an aspect of Indian culture as successfully as Chiuna Achebe’s novel *Things Fall Apart* represents African Culture.”<sup>1044</sup> Also, Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, in the fourth Ahmed Ali Memorial Lecture, states that “[i]t was a novel of cultural recall, something that was rather ahead of its times.”<sup>1045</sup> As the novel moves on, the Mir Nihal Family begins to experience the destructive impact of impending modernity and colonial administration on the traditional lives of the (Delhi/ Indian) Muslims, who are presented as the last representatives of Muslim culture with their special relation to Mughal heritage. While his son Asghar is torn between the modern (European) way of life and his unsuccessful marriage, Mir Nihal, devoid of his health which is impaired by a stroke, watches the withering of traditional Muslim life and rues for the old days in his sick bed.

Relating the fate of the Mir Nihal Family to Indian Muslims, Amin Malik, in his book *Muslim Narratives and the Discourse of English* (2005), claims that:

[t]he thrust of Ahmed Ali’s thematics in this novel is to suggest passionately, prophetically, but always lyrically, that India’s Muslims are falling on perilous times as they face the British occupation, conveying through the novel’s title a dejected premonition of the subsequent fragmentation of Muslims in the subcontinent. The novel thus functions through nostalgia for the glorious era of the Mughals and prophecy about the pending collapse of the Muslim power

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<sup>1042</sup> Anniah Gowda, “Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi* and Chiuna Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*,” in *Alien Voice: Perspectives on Commonwealth Literature*, ed. Avadhesh K. Srivastava (Lucknow: Print House, 1981), 55.

<sup>1043</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>1044</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 46.

<sup>1045</sup> Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, “The Truths of Fictions” in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

and glory in India, with ruins of Delhi becoming ‘symbolic of the ruin of Islam’ (King, 244).<sup>1046</sup>

In his interview with Carlo Coppola, Ahmed Ali remarks that when the novel first appeared, his friends from the Progressive Writers Movement criticized the novel for being a reactionary work that glorifies feudalism.<sup>1047</sup> According to Alistair Niven, allusion to the major historical events in fact, constitutes the epic structure of the novel. Niven thinks that the use of these events is by no means a coincidence but “a complementary nature of public and private affairs”<sup>1048</sup> and the other events such as the death of Mir Nihal’s pigeons are “symbolic expressions of foretelling the vanquish of a certain way of life.”<sup>1049</sup> However, he also notes that “Ali’s Writing can be charged [...] with two permeating weaknesses; its tendency towards a tired vocabulary and its sorrow for the past which at times collapses into ineffective nostalgia.”<sup>1050</sup>

While most of the former comments focus primarily on the nostalgic elements present in the novel, the latter studies open up new discussions about the aesthetics of Ahmed Ali and interrogate the presentation of the events through contextualizing it in nationalism.<sup>1051</sup> For Shenal Snegavi “[n]ostalgia for Ali simultaneously marked the distance from the greatness of Delhi’s past, and the future of the nationalist promise, an idiosyncratic resolution to the contradiction produced by the conflation of culture and nation on which the novel relies.”<sup>1052</sup> According to Khurram N. Khurshid, “[t]he purported defeatism and nostalgia of *Twilight in Delhi* represent a political manoeuvre that imaginatively recreates the atmosphere and emotional

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<sup>1046</sup> Amin Malak, *Muslim Narratives and the Discourse of English* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 22.

<sup>1047</sup> Carlo Coppola, “Ahmed Ali: Highlights From an Interview,” in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63.

<sup>1048</sup> Alistair Niven, “Historical Imagination in the Novels of Ahmed Ali” *JWE* 8, 1-2 (January-July 1980): 3-13. Quoted in, Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 40.

<sup>1049</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 40.

<sup>1050</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>1051</sup> To consider Ahmed Ali as a nationalist writer has always been problematic. Since the beginning of his career, Ahmed Ali in some way avoided dealing with politics directly. For Snegal Shingavi, the reason for this is “because his critique of the politics of Indian nationalism (in both its Congress and Communist variants) does not fit with the established strategies for making sense of late-colonial India and its attendant aesthetics.” Shingavi, “Lavish Weddings,” 163.

<sup>1052</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

ambiance of a Muslim period prior to colonial oppression, problematizing the condition of Muslim identity and consciousness in the novel's present."<sup>1053</sup>

Placing a novel into a nationalist context, or to put it differently, to consider a novel (or a piece of writing) as a nationalist narrative, one of the basic elements that is generally sought for is realism. Tariq Rahman is very cynical about Ali's use of realism:

Ali's realism seems merely a surface realism: that is to say, it seems authentic as far as the surface of life, the everyday details, are concerned. But when it comes to communicating the spirit, the depth, the inner side of a culture, it is inadequate and its inadequacy is that of a fairy tale which ignores complexity. In a word, it is sentimental.<sup>1054</sup>

However, both Shamsur Rahman Faruqi and Mehr Afshan Farooqi agree that Ahmed Ali's realism is different than "objective expression of copying the real."<sup>1055</sup>

According to Farooqi, the reason for this divergence is the fact that the culture Ahmed Ali depicts is grounded on a combination of elements such as irregular logic, metaphysics, and recycling of the imaginary with realism itself. "Against this backdrop, we can focus on his functioning as a bilingual writer and explore his successes in dismantling the divergences between Urdu and English, realism and myth."<sup>1056</sup>

Also, in a recent essay titled, "Staging Realism and the Ambivalence of Nationalism in the Colonial Novel" (2011), Ulka Anjaria associates Ahmed Ali's aesthetics with nationalism. According to Anjaria, based on the mimetic representation of the realist narratives, there is believed to be a strong relationship between realism and the nation in the novel in Colonial India.<sup>1057</sup> However, in the performative mode of social realism, in which the realism itself is interrupted, we come across with "projective dimensions" of realism that presents an "alternative register of synchronic time" and forces us to think about the relationship between nation and the novel again.<sup>1058</sup> This projective dimension of "social realism offers a way to

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<sup>1053</sup> Khurram N. Khurshid, "Discourse of Difference: Cultural Resistance, Identity, Politics, and Feminist Nationalism in Indo-Muslim Fiction." (PhD diss., The University of New Brunswick, 2010), 38.

<sup>1054</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 50.

<sup>1055</sup> Farooqi, Mehr Afshan. "Language Crossings: Dilli to Delhi Through the World of Ahmed Ali" in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27.

<sup>1056</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1057</sup> Ulka Anjaria, "Staging Realism and Ambivalence of Nationalism in the Colonial Novel," *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 44:2 (2011): 187.

<sup>1058</sup> Anjaria, "Staging Realism," 187.

significantly rethink the relationship of the novel to the nation in the colonial period, before the nation had been actualized.” Anjaria argues that “attention to precisely where mimetic representation breaks down in these novels reveals a profound ambivalence not only toward the desirability of the nation but also with regard to its actual content.”<sup>1059</sup> She considers *Twilight in Delhi* as one of those novels written in colonial India where assumptions of nationalist novel for mimetic realism have been interrupted by performance.

Anjaria observes “three key historical moments where Ali frames the text”: 1857, The Great Mutiny; 1911 Durbar; and “extradiagetically” 1940, which is the year of publication of the novel and Muhammed Ali Jinnah’s declaration of the Two-Nation Theory in Lahore at the same time.<sup>1060</sup> She claims that *Twilight in Delhi* is not a nostalgic text as it has been conceived by the critics but from the way realism is used it “offers an alternative account of nationalism that is not the ontologically stable, hegemonic discourse that so many critics assume but is premised on heterogeneity and ambivalence.”<sup>1061</sup>

Alex Padamsee, in his essay “Postnational Aesthetics and the Work of Mourning in Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi*” (2011), relates the atmosphere of mourning in the novel with aesthetics in connection with nationalism, leaping over the daily politics and claims that Ahmed Ali’s text is “a mediation and transition between Urdu and Indo-English literary cultures, cultural loss and postcolonial recuperation.”<sup>1062</sup> He doesn’t consider mourning as a fully nostalgic and reactionary engagement, but contextualizes it with the Lahore Demand and asserts that it “opens its Indo Muslim subject up to the possibility what Derrida called the liberty of finitude, and which we might ascribe as the first Indo-English fictional performance of a post national South Asian future.”<sup>1063</sup>

Although *Twilight in Delhi* focuses on nostalgic elements ruing for the good old days (glorious days of the Mughal Empire), by no means it can be labelled as a complete work of nostalgia. The revelation of nationalistic elements in the novel transforms

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<sup>1059</sup> *Ibid.*, 189.

<sup>1060</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>1061</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1062</sup> Alex Padamsee, “Postnational Aesthetics and the Work of Mourning in Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi*,” *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 46:27, (2011): 30.

<sup>1063</sup> *Ibid.*

the narrative into a manifestation of certain national assumptions that bring the novel an assertive stance exceeding the limits of anti-colonial nationalism. The narrative guarantees the existence of the Muslim community in India by displaying their characteristics and authenticity, which underpins the claims for a separate state in the future. By blending the general philosophy of the traditional Islamic arts with the basic assumptions of nationalism, Ahmed Ali marks out the distinctive features of the Muslim society in India while judging the present community through a critical perspective, which comes out as a moral stance revealing the dilemma of the people torn apart between impending modernity and indefinite future.

The publication of *Twilight in Delhi* (1940) coincides with the culmination of separatist movements of the Muslims in India and naturally cannot be considered immune from the discussions of the time it was being written. However, the novel does not mention the problems of 1930s; rather, it takes the first and second decades of the twentieth century. *Twilight* witnesses the eradication of the Muslim culture of Delhi and describes a period when the British power saw the peak in the subcontinent. In parallel with other literary works of the period, Ahmed Ali centers his plot around arguments that include Muslim separatist movements, the politics of the Congress, as well as anti-colonialist sentiments, revealing the hazards of growing imperial control over the common people of Delhi or India. This stance of Ali, when placed into the political and literary context of 1930s is by no means unusual. Leela Gandhi in her article “Novelists of the 1930s and 1940s” states that “while the incipient Indian nation frequently supplied the content and inspiration for the incipient novel form, the novel of the 1930s and 1940s in turn played a very important part in imagining and embodying the radical vision of anti-colonial nationalism.”<sup>1064</sup> On one side, readers witness the dying culture under the shadow of great Mughal monuments, on the other, they increasingly become aware of the nationalist fervor against the British. The family plays a significant and representative role in the novel. Anniah Gowda, in her essay, states that “Ahmed Ali’s novel, [...] stems from the linear bourgeois familial novel of the Victorian era. Ahmed Ali develops the plot in terms of basic familial unit”<sup>1065</sup> and in this context, the Mir Nihal Family symbolizes the Muslims of India and their decaying world

<sup>1064</sup> Leela Gandhi, “Novelists of the 1930s and 1940s,” 190.

<sup>1065</sup> Anniah Gowda, “Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi*,” 58.

manifests great parallelisms with the alienation of Muslims from their distinctive role in the government of India. As the plot moves, the coincidence between the Mir Nihal Family and the fate of the India becomes more apparent. The tragic unravelling of the family coincidences with the political fate of India and in Malak's words:

While blending the private with the public, the familial with the communal, the novel interlinks the present with the past. More specifically, the reader senses the deliberateness of these historical flashbacks when the family's wedding ceremony coincides with the Raj's Durbar, celebrating the 1911 coronation of George V, which in turn evokes in the mind of the protagonist, Mir Nihal graphic memories of the British ruthlessly quelling the 1857 Revolt.<sup>1066</sup>

In the novel, Ahmed Ali gradually moves the attention of the reader from the Muslims' daily life in Delhi to the events that bear a symbolic meaning for the Muslim separatist movement and Muslims of India. According to Alistair Niven, allusion to the major historical events in fact constitutes the epic structure of the novel. Niven thinks that the use of these events is by no means a coincidence but "a complementary nature of public and private affairs."<sup>1067</sup> One of the main events, 1911 Coronation Durbar, has a central point in the novel. It is not simply a celebration of a King; rather, in many ways it is the embodiment of what Ahmed Ali desists: the eradication of traditional culture of Muslim Delhi, the encroachment of modernity, transformation of the Mughal capital to that of British Empire, which is the formal reminder of Muslim loss of India forever... It is not a mere coincidence that the conjunction of the coronation and Asghar's wedding, both of which take place without the consent of Mir Nihal, results in anti-climax. Both celebrations bring forth unhappy and tragic results; the fate of India reveals itself through the coalesce of two different celebrations into one another in the novel form. The coronation symbolizes the destruction of its native culture, whereas the wedding represents one of the liveliest traditions of the society after which the reader witness the tragic fate of the social order.

According to Tariq Rahman, apart from using main events, Ali depicts the Muslim middle classes' way of life in Delhi, "by reproducing the nearest equivalent of their linguistic idiom in English; by describing their ethos through the behavior and attitude of minor characters; and by narrational comments."<sup>1068</sup> Congruent with the social order, under the threat of foreign yoke and the impending modernity, the

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<sup>1066</sup> Amin Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 20.

<sup>1067</sup> Quoted in Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 40.

<sup>1068</sup> Rahman, *A History*, 40.

smallest unit of community, in a sense becomes obsolete. “While the enclosed quarter of old Delhi begins to discuss the foreign king and the British India, Mir Nihal begins to retreat more and more into the world of the past, for it is the only world that has meaning for him.”<sup>1069</sup>

### 5.3.1 The social and political background

Although Ahmed Ali is not primarily considered as a nationalist writer and *Twilight in Delhi* as a nationalist novel, there are several aspects to it that place the novel into a nationalist context. The first of these is anticolonial nationalism and cultural resistance. According to Khurram N. Khurshid, “Ahmed Ali’s *Twilight in Delhi* creates an Urdu-centric English narrative that unsettles the hegemony of official colonial language/discourse in India.”<sup>1070</sup> He claims that *Twilight in Delhi* bears certain linguistic strategies and Urdu tropes and motifs which build up “a deviant English voice” that enables insinuation of “Muslim identity and consciousness” in the novel through the utilization of Urdu vocabulary, expressions, verses and idioms from Urdu poetry as well as translations of folk and religious songs.<sup>1071</sup> “Urdu idiomatic conventions” create a “culture specific reference and meaning” which manifests its difference from the Standard English through *relexification* of language, which is “neither Urdu nor standard English, but Zabus’ third ‘relexified’ inter language.”<sup>1072</sup>

At first sight, its stress on Urdu-centered culture and the anti-colonial stance of the novel is easily felt; however, Ali’s utilization of Urdu and his distinct stress on Urdu poetry should not be necessarily considered within the anti-colonial context only. When the journey of Urdu from a court based but one of the local languages of India to the national language of the Muslims in Southeast Asia (or Pakistan) is taken into account, (which Khurshid mentions in pages 76-78), a nationalist stance in accordance with the political environment in which the novel was written can be easily visible.

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<sup>1069</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 215.

<sup>1070</sup> Khurshid, “Discourse of Difference.” 33.

<sup>1071</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>1072</sup> “In a study of the West African novel in English and French, Chantal Zabus uses the term ‘relexification’ to denote the process of transference from one language into another that occurs in those novels. Zabus contends that this movement is not ‘translation’, ‘transference’ or ‘transmutation’ but a mechanism that creates an ‘interlanguage,’ which is neither the source language nor the target language, ‘but a third register [...] of communication out of an alien lexicon’[.]” Khurshid, “Discourse of Difference.” 74.

According to Paul R. Brass, although there have been differences between Hindus and Muslims from the beginning, Muslim separatism was not a result of these differences —as Jinnah claims in his famous Lahore speech in 1940— but a consequence of “out of the uses which were made of those differences through the manipulation of symbols of Muslim unity and Hindu-Muslim separateness by an elite concerned to preserve its political privileges.”<sup>1073</sup> He opposes to the argument that demonstrates Muslim separatism as a consequence of Muslim backwardness that came out as a consequence of 1857 Mutiny, and observes that Muslim separatism started not in Bengal but in the United Provinces where the Muslim elite preserved their dominance.<sup>1074</sup> He claims that two significant general features manifest themselves in the history of Muslim separatism, namely primacy of political choice and creation of their own history “through a conscious process of symbol selection.”<sup>1075</sup> The selection of symbols as well as “the creation of historical myth is itself an objective fact of history in the development of nation.”<sup>1076</sup> Brass accepts the importance of (religious) revivalism on nationalism —which also comes out as the choices of religious elites<sup>1077</sup>— and notes that when Muslims entered the national politics in 1921, they did this with their own symbols.<sup>1078</sup> He notes that language, that is Urdu, was a national symbol especially for the Muslims in the North only second after Islam;<sup>1079</sup> however, it became an important cultural symbol in the process. Although there is not much difference between the two languages, Hindu–Urdu conflict arouse as a conflict of the elites that continued for almost a century.<sup>1080</sup>

Brass also notes that in North India it was not language but religion that constituted a powerful force behind national movements. And due to these movements, although “language has not been a barrier in fact to communication between religious groups, but has been turned into a symbolic barrier by political elites.”<sup>1081</sup> As he points out, if

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<sup>1073</sup> Paul. R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 120.

<sup>1074</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>1075</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1076</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>1077</sup> *Ibid.*, 126

<sup>1078</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>1079</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>1080</sup> Brass, *Language, Religion*, 128. According to Brass, there were three main points of conflict which were the difference of script (Devanagari and Persian), Hindu movement and Sanskritization of Hindu (*Ibid.*, 129), and Hindu Muslim revivalisms and the antagonism that came out as a consequence of these movements. *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>1081</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.



religion is the main source of the separatism, then all other differences are brought into line with religious cleavage.<sup>1082</sup>

Tariq Rahman, in his book *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (1996), expresses a similar opinion that supports Brass' views. According to Rahman, in colonial India, languages did not have a consolidative potential and were divided as vertically and horizontally. The former meant the division between Western educated elites speaking English and other proto-elites who used vernacular languages and the latter stood for the division between proto-elites who preferred using different (their own) vernacular languages.<sup>1083</sup> First, it was Persian, used in judiciary, which lost its power and was abolished by the British<sup>1084</sup> and then came Urdu-Hindi controversy.

Rahman thinks that Urdu-Hindi controversy was a part of identity creation process and was directly related with politics. "This phenomenon, called Urdu-Hindi controversy, occurred in British India in the nineteenth century and contributed to the partition of British India into Bharat and Pakistan."<sup>1085</sup> For Rahman, despite religion being the primary factor in defining Muslim identity, Urdu was also a significant symbol.<sup>1086</sup> Although the controversy began in the latter half of the nineteenth century,<sup>1087</sup> "[in] the early part of the twentieth century the Urdu-Hindi controversy gathered particular momentum what is known as UP."<sup>1088</sup>

Whether it is an intrinsically political novel or not, *Twilight in Delhi*, with its stress on Urdu and Urdu poetry, indispensably shares and contributes to the stance of the Muslim elites who were at pains to constitute and demarcate the difference of the Muslim community from the Hindu and Sikh majority in the Subcontinent. As Khurshid observes, "[t]he novel deploys a 'consciousness-raising' strategy by drawing attention to the unique cultural identity of the Muslims of Delhi and their experience of fragmentation and alienation in the early decades of the twentieth century."<sup>1089</sup>

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<sup>1082</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>1083</sup> Tariq Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 40.

<sup>1084</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>1085</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>1086</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>1087</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>1088</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>1089</sup> Khurshid, "Discourse of Difference." 38.

One other factor that really places this novel into a nationalist context is the fact that Ahmed Ali was writing about a “community” in an age when the idea of community was equal to nation, especially in the formerly colonized countries. In his work, *The Politicization of Islam Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State Studies in Middle Eastern History*, after stating the lack of reasoning about the social changes in the Muslim communities, which had been generally attached to the divine will,<sup>1090</sup> Kemal Karpat explains that foreign occupation (that manifested itself as the colonial administration in many parts of the World):

thus unwittingly helped revive the Muslim community’s memory of the past golden age — *devr-i saadet* (happy age)— at the same time as it revealed the state’s political and military inability to protect the faith, and undermined its legitimacy as the unquestionable authority over the community. Consequently, in the occupied Muslim lands, the eclipse of the Islamic state led gradually to the revival of the community as a basic unit of social organization and stimulated the educated modern and traditional elites to search for some means to reassert and maintain its Islamic identity and culture.<sup>1091</sup>

And the Muslim community of India had to deal with the problems of their society after 1857 (even before the Great Mutiny), when the sovereignty and the protection of a state on religious matters was not possible anymore. Thus, in this atmosphere, the expression and protection of the pillars of identity—most of which are related to Islam and the tradition— gains much more importance. The community grows necessary reflexes to protect its identity and accordingly, creation and adaptation of new values and symbols take place during the process. To give an example, the emergence of religious revivalism in India in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries has a significant endeavor to compensate for the great vacancy in religious and cultural arena, created by the absence of state protection and support. As Barbara Daly Metcalf expresses in her book, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (1982):

Muslim states had earlier protected Muslim interests and had, ideally at least, set policy and provided patronage to foster religious learning and a Muslim way of life. As these states declined, many Muslims, troubled by the constraints put on the political expression of their faith as well as by the inevitable social and economic dislocations that ensued, drew on their own traditions for interpretations and patterns for action.<sup>1092</sup>

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<sup>1090</sup> Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State Studies in Middle Eastern History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 6.

<sup>1091</sup> *Ibid.*, *The Politicization*, 7.

<sup>1092</sup> Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), 3.

Therefore, as the Mughal power and sovereignty declined, the importance and conscience of community gained much centrality and importance in Indian Muslims' life. According to Paul R. Brass, "[a]n ethnic group is a group which is objectively distinct, but whose members do not necessarily attach subjective importance or political significance to the fact."<sup>1093</sup> A community on the other hand, is different than an ethnic group of people which "have developed an awareness of a common identity and have attempted to define the boundaries of the group."<sup>1094</sup> And this community only becomes a nation "when it mobilizes for political action and becomes politically significant."<sup>1095</sup>

In the novel, with all its rituals and social relations, Muslim life appears as the life of a community, the past of which looms over the individuals who are beyond the reach of such a power their ancestors were enjoying. As Anderson points, there is a strong bond between Ahmed Ali's famous short story *Our Lane* and *Twilight in Delhi*. *Twilight* is in fact a maturation of Ali's short story *Our Lane*, which chiefly focuses on the same thematic.<sup>1096</sup> "The Lane of the story's title is a mohallah or neighborhood of old Delhi, of the Muslim community that surrounds the Jama Masjid, the Great Mosque of Delhi."<sup>1097</sup>

Whether Ahmed Ali had intended to do so, when *Twilight in Delhi* is placed within the political context of the period it was written, neither the depiction of Muslims as a separate and distinctive community nor the selection of Jama Masjid as the symbol of Muslim life in Delhi can be seen as a mere coincidence; similarly, it is very unlikely to consider it exempt from the consciousness-building strategy of the Muslim elites of the period. According to Paul R. Brass, the "process of internal

<sup>1093</sup> Brass, *Language Religion*, 8.

<sup>1094</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1095</sup> "Some examples of significant political successes would be the achievement of political sovereignty, or a separate political status within a sovereign state, or a system of communal political representation, or control over the educational process in the public schools attended by the members of the group. It must be stressed, however, that it is not the political indicators which define nationality or nation but the fact of having achieved one or more of these political results through group action." Brass, *Language Religion*, 9.

<sup>1096</sup> As Coppola observes, in fact, many of Ali's short fiction bear similar thematic and characters with *Twilight in Delhi*, including the *mohallah* life, "1857 Uprising", disadvantages of women, etc. He even shows some passages that bear great resemblance with *Twilight in Delhi*. Carlo Coppola, "Evening, Twilight Then Night: The Short Fiction of Ahmed Ali," in *The Two Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 105. Also his poems written when he was in China in 1947 "address such themes as the evanescence of life and the ravages which Time visits upon humankind- important motifs in the novels, especially *Twilight in Delhi*." Coppola, "Evening, Twilight Then Night," 119.

<sup>1097</sup> Anderson, "Ahmed Ali and the Growth," 439.

value creation or myth construction” is a usual process for a group that “seeks to build a sense of consciousness,” and this process, though common for South Asian nationalisms, is considered as a universal characteristics of nationalist movements under a foreign rule, or to put it differently, colonial regimes.<sup>1098</sup> Brass claims that the general implications of this process are made up of three phases which are, firstly “attachment of value and pride to the objective makers of group identity,” secondly “a search for new symbols of group identity from the past” and lastly “a process of identification of oppressors.”<sup>1099</sup>

To illustrate, being an important symbol of the Mughal architecture, Jama Masjid is the locus and the center of the Muslim life in the novel around which the Mir Nihal Family, as a part of the Muslim community, continue their life. Ahmed Ali reserves one of the most important sensitive moments in the novel (climax) to the defense of the Masjid which can symbolize the defense of Delhi, Empire, India and Islam at the same time. When considered in concordance with the “community” depicted in *Twilight*, Jama Masjid fulfills a place more than its literal function as a mosque but as the embodiment and symbol of Islam, Mughal (court), Empire or one of the leading identity makers of Indian Muslims.

In the chapter “Rebuilding Indian Space From the Ruins of Mughal ‘Moral City’” of his book *Monumental Matters: The Power, Subjectivity, and Space of India's Mughal Architecture* (2011), Kavuri-Bauer Santhi asserts that even before 1857 uprising, due to the successive shocks they had been exposed to, Muslim community in colonial India ascribed a new meaning if not meanings to the Mughal monuments as a means for construction of their identity and these monuments gained a political meaning in the course. “The distinctive spatial practices at the monuments were born out of the particular struggles these men engaged with, first to defend against the social death of their religious community, then to seek social justice and equality, and finally to obtain political representation in an India increasingly defined by electoral politics.”

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<sup>1098</sup> Brass, *Language, Religion*, 29.

<sup>1099</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>1100</sup> Santhi Kavuri-Bauer, *Monumental Matters: The Power, Subjectivity, and Space of India's Mughal Architecture* (Durham, NC,: Duke University Press, 2011), 106.

It is interesting that in *Twilight in Delhi*, Jama Masjid, which was one of the two mosques that “alone emerged as the space of Indian Muslim social survival and identification”<sup>1101</sup> appears as the locus of Muslim life in Delhi and functions as the historical witness of the Muslim national identity and valor.

This new meaning and the value of the mosque came out as the corollary of some developments in the Muslim society: in the twentieth century Muslims in India began to seek new ways to their political representation, and the spatial reflection of this demand manifested itself in some certain outstanding historical places and the mosque -unlike other monumental structures such as “the palaces, forts, empty shrines and gardens” which had lost their significance in the course of history- “still constituted the center of Muslim life. It was the spatial embodiment of the universal and central principle of Islam – unity.”<sup>1102</sup> Therefore, Jama Masjid, with its pivotal significance in the life of Delhiite Muslims was to be the symbol of Muslim unity.<sup>1103</sup> Santhi stresses this pivotal importance of the mosque through explaining the struggle by the Muslim community:

The Muslim community utilized the courts and the press to challenge British practices and to reshape the mosque to fit its own needs and aspirations. No other structure or space offered this radical possibility. [...] Through court cases and newspaper reports the mosque was transformed from a local structure limited to religious practices into a nationalized space of the Indian Muslim community, a site where political resistance and social desire for recognition could find expression. At Delhi’s Jama Masjid, this transformation started to take shape in the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>1104</sup>

In this context, when Mughal monuments are considered as the symbols of Muslim national identity, the British intrusion in *Twilight* cannot be read as impinges of modernity into the traditional life only; rather it procures a nationalist meaning that transforms the text into a more nationalist context. In a novel in which the distinctive national identity is expressed through aesthetic works of the Muslim culture such as poetry and architecture, intrusion to a Muslim monumental structure turns into an attack on the pillars of the community or nationhood, especially when the sensitivity of the Muslim elites in North India about the symbolic importance of Mughal monuments as the representatives of the Muslim community’s identity is taken into account.

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<sup>1101</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>1102</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>1103</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>1104</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

Parallel to Brass' views, according to Santhi, before Pakistan was a territorial reality, it was a part of "ideological imagining" and till the foundation of the new country in 1946, "Muslim elites thought of it as a useful concept for constructing an imagined 'moral community' but considered its actual creation an unattainable goal, given the geographic dispersion of Indian Muslims throughout the subcontinent."<sup>1105</sup> We can say that the general material and spiritual corruption felt in *Twilight in Delhi* appears as a consequence of the disruption of this moral community through colonial interference and the inability of the Muslim community to contend with this disruptive intrusion leads up to their moral if not physical corruption.

In the novel, Jama Masjid does not appear as the only symbol; other elements that make up the symbols of Muslim community are Mughal past, Urdu poetry and Delhi itself.

Delhi, being the main carrier of this culture, is one of the leading elements that have a central place in the depiction of the Muslim life. Historians like Akbar S. Ahmed stresses the significance of Delhi in Muslim identity and the Mughal mark on the Subcontinent: "Several dynasties, traditionally termed the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526), preceded the Mughals but it was left to the latter to provide the sense of continuity and unity in the subcontinent which left an historical impact."<sup>1106</sup> The importance of Delhi in the novel is so great that Anderson considers it as the second protagonist other than Mir Nihal, "the prosperous, successful and secure head of a Syed household of Delhi."<sup>1107</sup>

The symbolic meaning of Delhi for Ali stems not solely from the political significance of the city but also from cultural significance it bears for Indian Muslims as well. As Shingavi puts it: "The concerns for Ali [...] are to find in Delhi the embryo of a national identity that can stand in for the whole country... But Delhi was also important because allegorizing it secured in the Indian nation a place for a Mughal and Muslim Past."<sup>1108</sup>

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<sup>1105</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>1106</sup> Akbar S. Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 37.

<sup>1107</sup> Anderson, "Ahmed Ali and the Growth," 440.

<sup>1108</sup> Snehal Ashok Shingavi, "The Mahatma Misunderstood: the Politics and Forms of South Asian Literary Nationalism." (PhD diss., University of California, 2009), 236-7.

In fact, as a result of Ahmed Ali's affinity with the classical Urdu poetry and the cultural and political significance of Delhi for the South Asian Muslims, he follows the same line of classical Muslim poets and buttresses the classical view of the *ashraf* classes that Delhi has been the cultural center and symbol of the whole Muslim community. When mentioning the invasion of Delhi by Persian Nadir Shah, Metcalf accounts the reaction of the Urdu poets of the time: "As the poetry of the times reveals, no single event shook the inhabitants of North India more than did that first invasion. The event was perceived as a catastrophe, not only to the Delhi but to civilization as a whole."<sup>1109</sup>

Based on Jyoti Hosagrahar's<sup>1110</sup> and Narayani Gupta's<sup>1111</sup> accounts, Snehal Ashok Shingavi mentions that after 1857 Mutiny, the deterioration of the urban landscape and the confiscation of the properties of *ashraf* classes by the British,<sup>1112</sup> as well as "the slow deterioration of a feudal economy and its replacement by a colonial capitalist one," which makes up the "urban and domestic decline alongside the cultural stagnation"<sup>1113</sup> constitute an important background for what the Mir Nihal Family goes through in *Twilight*. Also it is possible to draw connections between Muslim separatist movement and the importance of Delhi for the North Indian Muslims who played the key role in shaping the politics of Muslim separatist movement and the foundation of Pakistan.

Although in 1940 edition Ahmed Ali says that his choice of Delhi symbolizes "homogenous and cosmopolitan" capital of India,<sup>1114</sup> and in one of his last interviews claims again that "it was a book about India, though written through the eyes of Muslims —of a Muslim family— but it's the story of India,"<sup>1115</sup> the life he depicts in the novel does not seem to accept any non-Muslim element in his imagined territory. As Farooqi mentions, "what Ali seems to have missed in his understanding of Delhi's past and its culture is that it is not an exclusively Muslim past."<sup>1116</sup> However,

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<sup>1109</sup> Metcalf, *Islamic Revival*, 25.

<sup>1110</sup> Jyoti Hosagrahar, "Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscapes of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60.1 (March 2001): 26.

<sup>1111</sup> Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 29.

<sup>1112</sup> Shingavi, "The Mahatma Misunderstood." 268-9.

<sup>1113</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>1114</sup> *Ibid.*, 236.

<sup>1115</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 213.

<sup>1116</sup> Farooqi, "Language Crossings," 33. Ahmed Ali, in his interview with Carlo Coppola, explains this fact as a corollary of his realism. "I had always believed in a certain realistic approach to literature

similar to the attitudes of the Muslims in North India, who entered the politics of nationalism with their own symbols (Khilafat Movement), Ahmed Ali follows the same pattern and creates a narrative about India through utilizing the symbols of the Muslim community in North India. In the novel, upon hearing Mirza's son was killed in cooperation, Habibuddin links it to Muslims' fear of the English, which shows that the Indian nationalist movement is constrained to the Muslim reaction and thus Islamized. Ahmed Ali's general attitude in *Twilight* is visible here; a nation Indian by the name but Muslim in practice.<sup>1117</sup>

Despite its author's claims, the connection between *Twilight in Delhi* and Pakistani or a separate(d) Muslim identity is much more stronger than with Hindu nationalism/the politics of Congress. When we take a glance at Ahmed Ali's essay titled "The Culture on Pakistan" in *The Making of Pakistan*, first published in 1950, that is only ten years later *Twilight* was published, it is possible to see the stark similarities between Ahmed Ali's opinion about the fundamentals of the culture of Pakistan and the Muslim community of *Twilight*. The confusion about the nation and nationalism in Ahmed Ali's work stems not solely from the ambivalence in the novel but also from his own declaration that he meant the whole Indian nation. "But I was depicting a phase of the life of India that had passed...."<sup>1118</sup>

First Ahmed Ali, with the impact of Two-Nation Theory, claims that even though contrary to the popular belief, a synthesis between the Muslims and Hindus was achieved much earlier than the Mughal Period and "this synthesis did not weld the Hindus and Muslims into one nation."<sup>1119</sup> "In spite of being under the same rule and

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in my practice and otherwise. I believed that a writer writes best about that which he knows intimately and well. That's why I haven't written about Hindu society, for I don't know it in the very minute and with insignificant detail." Coppola, "Highlights," 62.

<sup>1117</sup> Ahmed Ali appears not to be sure about the dependability of a new nationalist movement, which will invite modernity and transformation at the same time. Although the author does not assert it, the novel presents the basic elements of a Muslim community that should form the locus of a Muslim society in the future; its obsession with the past and bygone splendor can be explained through the trauma felt before colonialism and modernity. Although they are more openly exposed; the colonized people of the old Delhi (India) grow a more austere reaction towards the Western modernity; they seek ways of protecting the old values and constructing a national identity upon the traditional values. This national spirit is saved and renewed through re-narration of the events in 1857 but these narratives are also Islamized: "Amma, tell us what happened in the Mutiny. You were once telling us how the Farangis had turned all the Mussalmans out of the city. Why did they do that?" Ali, *Twilight*, 6.

<sup>1118</sup> Carlo Coppola. "Ahmed Ali in Conversation," 14.

<sup>1119</sup> Ahmed Ali, "The Culture of Pakistan," in *The Making of Pakistan*, ed. Richard Symonds. (London: Faber and Faber: 1<sup>st</sup> edition in 1950).



though living most amicably together, they followed different religions and divergent streams of thought and tradition.”<sup>1120</sup> He differentiates what is now Pakistan from India, claiming that the disparity between the Indians and the dwellers of Indus Valley or today’s Pakistan goes back to the early Greek and Persian occupations which created a more Western culture that probably facilitated their acceptance of Islam.<sup>1121</sup>

Although Ahmed Ali accepts Urdu, which is spoken by the Mughal court, as a synthesis between the Hindus and Muslims and “the symbol of the much publicized unity of the Hindus and Muslims in Hindustan,”<sup>1122</sup> he claims that Muslim and Hindu cultures have always remained separate and “Hindus and Muslims remained two separate nations.”<sup>1123</sup> Therefore, the symbolic unity that Urdu provides is not enough to create a “nation” and other elements of culture such as painting and architecture serve to the same end. According to Ali, “Yet though left in India, the monuments and buildings of Agra and Delhi are entirely outside the ‘Indian’ tradition and are an essential heritage and part of Pakistani culture.”<sup>1124</sup>

For Ali, among the most important elements of culture, poetry stands as the leading representative of Pakistani culture. “It is in our crafts and handicrafts and in our poetry that Pakistan’s culture can be studied.”<sup>1125</sup> Urdu language and Urdu have a very distinctive place in Ahmed Ali’s mind and it is certain that for him the culture of UP, especially Delhi has a central place in the formation of Pakistan’s culture, which adds extra meaning to the Muslim life and culture depicted in *Twilight in Delhi*. According to Ali:

Within Pakistan herself, revolutionary changes are taking place. The finer and more aesthetic elements of Delhi and the Indo-Gangetic plain have come to Western Pakistan. A mellowing of the regional cultures, therefore, seems a certainty, the more so as the distinctions between the different regions are vanishing fast. The peoples of Eastern Pakistan are moving towards their national goal without let or hindrance from the forces of exploitation or tyranny.<sup>1126</sup>

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<sup>1120</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>1121</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>1122</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>1123</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>1124</sup> *Ibid.*, 205. As Mehr Afshan Farooqi notes, after the disintegration Ali moved to Pakistan and got married in 1950. “Urdu was the national language of Pakistan; Ali turned his attention to introducing Urdu and its classical literature to a wider Anglophone audience. In doing so, he laid claim to the classical heritage from undivided India. He was the first to introduce to Urdu literature to the West.” Farooqi, “Language Crossings,” 29.

<sup>1125</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>1126</sup> *Ibid.*, 216.

Therefore, it is obvious that this national dream seen by Ali is culturally Delhi-centered.<sup>1127</sup> The new country (Pakistan) made up of a myriad of cultures and at least four ethnic regions can be easily united under the cultural flag of Urdu and elaborate culture of Delhi, which also appear as a symbol for the lost Mughal grandiose and power. Therefore, in this aspect, it would not be totally wrong to accept *Twilight* as the harbinger of Pakistan, a bridge that fictively sutures edges of Muslim past (Mughals) and future (Pakistan) torn apart by colonial administration of a foreign Empire.

One point that should not be forgotten while reading the novel is the strong bond between Pakistan and the Muslims of the U.P., especially their role in the Muslim separatist movement and the foundation of Pakistan. Although the novel clearly avoids delving into daily politics, it reflects the common Muslim sentiments in the U.P. (*ashraf* classes), which in fact formed one of the important bases for Pakistan's certain national values. When the importance of the role played by the people and immigrants of the UP on either the foundation of Pakistan or the type of nationalism implemented by its elites is taken into consideration, the nationalism expressed in the novel gains a much more substantial place. Although there are different explanations for the dissatisfaction and the reaction took place among the Muslims in the U.P. in India, it is undoubtedly clear that the culture of these provinces have had a central point in the newly founded Muslim country.<sup>1128</sup> Paul Brass in *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (1974), claims that "symbol selection" of the Muslims in North India, especially in U.P. was very effective in Muslim separatism before Independence and in their choice they opted for symbols which were "divisive rather than composite."<sup>1129</sup>

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<sup>1127</sup> Ahmed Ali, in his interview with Carlo Coppola, criticizes those who deny the cultural and historical inheritance of the Muslims of the subcontinent. "[...]he man who looked after the Foreign Publicity Office [...] S.M. Shaikh [...] believed in cutting out the past of Muslims of the subcontinent, all of their achievements, everything. He said, 'Whatever has been left behind in what is now India does not belong to what is now Pakistan.' He had a very narrow view of life and literature, though he has written many books in Urdu with very flowery titles; so far the culture was concerned, his view was very narrow." Coppola, "Highlights," 87.

<sup>1128</sup> Ahmed Ali himself worked in Foreign Affairs many years and had an important impact in Pakistan's Chinese policy. After stating that Pakistan was under the impact of British policies until 1960s—which turned towards America then on—his offer to Liaquat Ali Khan and the Foreign Minister to de-recognize nationalist China and lean towards China was effective and he established diplomatic relations with China in one week time. Coppola, "Highlights," 85.

<sup>1129</sup> Francis Robinson, *Islam and MuslimHistory*, 158.

Ayesha Jalal draws attention to the significant role of the *ashraf* classes in U.P. in creating Muslim consciousness starting from the late nineteenth century:

In the late nineteenth century the notion of Muslims as a distinct community with identifiable interests was propagated vigorously by the Urdu vernacular press and a matching publications market concentrated mainly, but not exclusively, in the North Western Provinces and the Punjab. An active as well as a reactive process, the public debate on 'Muslim interests' was shaped by the twin imperatives of influencing colonial policy and combating the claims put forward on behalf of the 'Hindu' community. The discourse on 'Muslim interests' was for the most part the handiwork of members of the north-Indian ashraf classes smarting under the loss of sovereignty on the one hand, and the onset of western colonialism and 'modernity' on the other.<sup>1130</sup>

Muslims were not having easy times in forgetting their glorious past during and after the nationalist movement in India. What they carried in their minds was an ideal government led by an ideal ruler like Saladin. As Akbar S. Ahmed notes, when they looked at Jinnah what they saw was Saladin. For example, Yahya Bakhtiar stated that "Jinnah reminded him of the Muslim generals who conquered India."<sup>1131</sup> Even the title given to Jinnah "-Quaid-i Azam-" echoed that of their greatest dynasty, Mughal-i Azam or the Great Mughal."<sup>1132</sup>

In the novel, Ahmed Ali directs the projection of his pen towards the city which was the locus of high Muslim life and the embodiment of Muslim court culture, which was also especially important for the founder fathers (cadre) of Pakistan. While reading the novel, the role Muslims of U.P. play for the formation of Pakistan's founding ideology is worth remembering since all the primary actors of the Muslim community such as Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Ali Brothers were from this region.

When looked in the cultural and ideological perspective, it is possible to see a number of stark similarities between the expression of nationalism in *Twilight in Delhi* and Pakistan. The maintenance of some certain ideas and their impact on the newly founded country can give us a set of clues about the continuation of certain national feelings shared by the Muslim society of India and Pakistan. Though written in English, in his novel Ahmed Ali attaches great importance on Urdu, Urdu poetry, and the Mughal inheritance petrified in the great architecture of Delhi and vernacular (traditional) culture of its people. According to Cohen, Pakistan was envisaged as the extension of the former South Asian empires "whose physical remnants still

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<sup>1130</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 46.

<sup>1131</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 87.

<sup>1132</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

dominate the subcontinental landscape.” Even “many prominent Indian Muslim families traced their lineage back to particular invasions of the subcontinent or to a distinguished ancestor’s conversion from Hinduism to Islam.”<sup>1133</sup> In this context, Ahmed Ali’s emphasis on the Muslim architecture and poetry and the absence of the Hindu community in the novel fictively and culturally corresponds to the Two-Nation theory of Jinnah, whereas it is far from developing enough sentiments that politically buttress the separatist movement.

Another significant point that deserves attention is that Ahmed Ali, bringing traditional life and culture to the fore in the midst of Islamic movements and during the dawn of an Islam-fueled campaign by Jinnah, refrains from delving into the pan-Islamic aura. Islamic movements, some of which aim at reaching a golden age, by practising a pure Islamic life similar to that of the life of the Prophet Mohammad or his companions, can be regarded as transformers of the tradition, a role reminiscent of the function of modernity. What Ahmed Ali defends and moans for is the deterioration and transformation of the cultural and traditional life, imagined within the heritage of The Mughal Empire. In *Twilight*, rather than the ever-mounting Islamic movements or emphasis, it is this cultural life that provides the locus of the Muslim nation.

As some critics point out, this concord with the separatist inclinations of the Muslim community in India and the void of a positive nationalist character in the novel creates ambivalence. When located in its historical context, one of the reasons for the ambivalence of the “nation”/nationalism *Twilight* mentions can be found in the

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<sup>1133</sup> Philip S. Cohen, *The Idea*, 37-38. One explanation for the Muslim dissatisfaction toward the British rule is given by Jaffrelot. He claims that unlike the primordialist assumptions suggesting that Muslim separatism stemmed from a Muslim consciousness which tried to defend identities such as language and religion, Ernest Gellner’s theory, which provides a more economic and functionalist explanation of nationalism in explaining the Muslim separatist acts, can be a better explanation for the situation. According to Jaffrelot, it was the danger for loss of privilege in economic and social grounds that triggered UP Muslims to look for a separate country. The emergence of a Hindu intelligentsia that further adapted to the English-medium education system caused Muslim elites to mold a nationalist Muslim identity for themselves, utilizing some cultural symbols such as Islam and Urdu which in fact was used by many Hindus and could not be distinguished from Hindi as a spoken language. Urdu, which became the language of Muslims and later the official language of Pakistan, played an important part in the consolidation of Muslim identity. The Muslims of the provinces did not affiliate with the ideology of separatism as they governed themselves in regions such as Punjab and Bengal. Therefore, the real big issue for Jinnah was “to convert these majoritarian Muslims to the two-nation theory” in 1940. Christophe Jaffrelot, *Pakistan: Nationalism*, 10- 11.

suddenness of the creation of Pakistan. As Haqqani asserts, “Pakistan’s freedom struggle had been relatively short, beginning with the demand by All-India Muslim League for separate Muslim and non-Muslim states in 1940 and ending with the announcement of the partition plan in June 1947.”<sup>1134</sup> According to Ayesha Jalal, the real tension behind the political uneasiness on the side of Muslim community was not the inconveniency or impossibility of a Muslim nation but a separate Muslim state:

The historiographical debate has focused more on the Muslim claim to ‘nationhood’ than on the ambiguities of the demand for ‘statehood’. A product of the telos which presumes the orchestration of separate nationhood as an inevitable overture to exclusive statehood, it ignores the uncertainties which attended the Muslim League’s movement for a ‘Pakistan’. While the insistence on national status for Indian Muslims was absolute, the demand for a separate and sovereign state with no relationship to a Hindustan containing almost as many Muslims remained open to negotiation until the late summer of 1946.<sup>1135</sup>

Therefore, when Ahmed Ali was planning to write his novel, the possibility of a separate country for the Muslims was not so strong and real as it was when it was published. However, this does not disprove the hidden nationalist impulses inside the author and the lines of the text.

### 5.3.2 Nationalism in *Twilight in Delhi*

*Twilight in Delhi* adumbrates the common national principles found in the nationalist ideology. In the pages of *Twilight*, national *autonomy*, *unity* and *identity* have primary importance, which redound a nationalist perspective in general.

To start with, the novel makes many references to 1857, the Great Mutiny, from the beginning to the end. The reactions of Mir Nihal to the Mutiny is “fundamental to his character”<sup>1136</sup> and constitutes the basis for the tragedies of both the family and Delhi in general; if not for Hindustan or the Muslims.

For both the Muslims of northern India and the British, the events of 1857 were a trauma. The savage British suppression of the Mutiny and Rising, with its destruction of Delhi as a center of Muslim culture and the dispersion of the descendants of Akbar and Aurangzib by execution and exile at last forced educated Muslims to realize not only that the British were in India to stay, but also that they intended to stay on their own terms. The last illusions that they were the mayors of the Mughal palace were dissipated; the last illusions that an education in Persian and Urdu and in the Muslim religious sciences would serve both a Muslim's eternal and his worldly welfare were torn away. The British, though a mere handful of men, had successfully defied the hosts of Zion, or rather of Mecca. Their behavior in 1857 showed that success owed

<sup>1134</sup> Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 4.

<sup>1135</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 400.

<sup>1136</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, vi.

nothing to superior virtue; it must therefore be success of a superior technique, the sources of which could no longer be ignored.<sup>1137</sup>

Therefore, the mention and re-mention of 1857 in the novel and its principal location in the events problematizes the national autonomy of the Muslim community and India in general. The Mutiny, or the unsuccessful attempt made by the people of India, ascertains itself as the incident after which national autonomy, whether it was symbolic or not, was to be lost ever. Ahmed Ali carefully ties the fate of Mir Nihal to the tragic events of 1857 and makes it as the real cause behind general impasse felt by the family. Towards the end of the novel, the reader comes to learn that the impact of 1857 is not limited with the cultural degeneration in Delhi but it is directly linked to the family's fate: "Their father had died of cholera soon after the massacres of 1857. He had left a good deal of money in the house when they were turned out of the city. But it had been discovered and looted by the Prize Agency. Most of their property was also lost, sold to the banis at ridiculously low prices by the English."<sup>1138</sup>

The obvious overlap of the fate of the family and the country is given in a way that the effeteness of Mir Nihal and his retreat from the public domain stems from the absence of national autonomy, which also precludes the continuation of the native culture and annihilates the traditional code of living. Mir Nihal, the patriarch of the *ashraf* household,<sup>1139</sup> the symbol of the Old Delhi and (Mughal) India, has been brought down onto his knees by the deathblow of the "foreign empire" that cuts their connection from the traditional values, multiplying the devastating impact of lack of national autonomy.

Mir Nihal often talked of this to his friends, and they all felt grieved. But *they were masters of their land no longer*. They were in the hands of the foreigners who did as they pleased and they had no command over their own destiny. That is why Mir Nihal began to live more and more at home, in his own world, and in the atmosphere

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<sup>1137</sup> Paul Hardy, *The Muslims*, 61.

<sup>1138</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 275.

<sup>1139</sup> In Mughal Empire, similar to the Ottomans, there was a courtly culture, which was cosmopolitan in essence. Although Lelyveld calls this "international Muslim culture", he admits that when considered according to God's revelations or the prophet's life it could be hardly called "Islamic". Rather, "taking inspiration from courtly styles of Safavid Iran, it was a culture that had no religious prerequisites for membership; it included many Hindus, and excluded most Muslims." David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 29. Even though the highest strata was eighty percent Muslims, in the "lower levels the number of Hindus that adopted Mughal dress, culture, architecture... etc., was much higher. The people adopting this culture were either called *sharif* or *ashraf*, whose nobility were not necessarily genealogical."<sup>1139</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 29- 30.

of alchemy and medicine, a world which was still his own, where no one could disturb him or order him about.<sup>1140</sup>

The helplessness felt by Mir Nihal is the direct consequence of the loss of (national) independence without which a way of life, a culture is shown to be under the threat of foreign oppression that precludes the possibility of maintaining the identity. Vulnerability of the society stems from direct exposure to the foreign (culture) which transforms the conventional social code to something unfamiliar and alien, thus ending up with the alienation of traditional way of life.

Priya Joshi discusses the alienation of Mir Nihal from his environment in the context of homelessness in his own home and claims that Lutyen's New Delhi is not the same Delhi that his inhabitants are familiar with. "To its inhabitants, the new city increasingly resembles an alien, foreign, environment in which the individual is pitted in a contest against the metropolis, a contest that, we will see shortly, takes its toll on what Simmel has called the individual's mental life."<sup>1141</sup> He continues that the city also becomes an "alienating" force<sup>1142</sup> and "what we see here are the beginnings of Mir Nihal's homelessness in a society where all familiar" rituals and relationships have been made impossible.<sup>1143</sup> The modernity and Empire crouching upon the traditional life and values of Delhi not only severs Mir Nihal's connection with the land but also with the time as well.<sup>1144</sup> "In the novel, the proprietor of the historicide is not simply modernity [...] but empire, whose penetration critically severs the continuity between the past and the future."<sup>1145</sup>

National unity is also problematized within the novel. The aforementioned coronation of George V, "which constitutes the climax in the novel"<sup>1146</sup> also

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<sup>1140</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 206. Emphasis added.

<sup>1141</sup> Priya Joshi, *Another Country*, 217.

<sup>1142</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

<sup>1143</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>1144</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>1145</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>1146</sup> Abdul Hamid states that the great Mutiny was followed by Muslim disintegration which continued three quarters of a century made them unable to constitute a corporate authority. Western education did not help them to gain their old strength; paradoxically it caused them to seek "justification in a pathetic dependence on the benevolence of the government." However, the introduction of separate electorates caused them to feel the need for consolidation more deeply. Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 77. The main events that revealed the necessity of Muslim representation in the political scene is believed to have been the revocation of the partition of Bengal. The partition plan of Curzon for Bengal (1905), which was cancelled a few years later and announced during the Coronation of George V, "was pregnant with ominous significance." This event not only caused Muslims to enter

symbolizes the absence of national unity. Through a flashback, the reader is reminded of the British atrocities during the Mutiny and the crowd gathered in the coronation durbar is given as a stark contrast with those fighting for their own country. Mir Nihal, after narrating the heroic defense of the Jama Masjid (from the British Army under the command of Sir Thomas Metcalf), puts the difference of his own generation from these people in a pathetic tone: “There were those men of 1857, and here were the men of 1911, chicken-hearted and happy in their disgrace.”<sup>1147</sup> Ali directly nationalizes this defense and his inclination to depict Delhi as the nation and his equation of this nation with the Muslim community can be visible in the following sentences: “But with a resolution to embrace death in the cause of the motherland, the Musslamans made a sudden rally and....”<sup>1148</sup> Here, the absence of national unity is shown as the degradation of the people and the ill fate Muslims are going through in the novel can be attached to the absence of national unity which is only known only by the old dwellers of Delhi. Those who collaborate with the British disrupt the national unity and contribute to the annihilation of the traditions that make life meaningful. Ali criticizes the native Rajahs who appear in the British army: “As Mir Nihal thought of their slavishness and their treacherous acceptance of the foreign yoke he was filled with shame and disgust.”<sup>1149</sup> Also “the greetings of Indian Mussalmans to the English King” makes Ahmed Ali’s gorge rise and considers them as those “displaying the treachery of the priestly class to their people and Islam.”<sup>1150</sup>

In this situation, words used by the author include a great resentment and exprobaton towards those who disrupt the national unity. Even though he includes Hindu community in this criticism, the general disapprobation is directed towards the members of the Muslim community. They are now people “happy in their disgrace” and their slavishness, treachery is an open expression of the corruption of the society. Once cut off from the national and the patriotic cause, those people only nauseate the beholder.

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the political arena but also it gave way to a mutual rivalry between the Muslims and the Hindus. *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>1147</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 152.

<sup>1148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1149</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 149.

<sup>1150</sup> *Ibid.*, 150.



The novel presents the coronation as the peak of British power in India, arousing anti-British and colonialist sentiments. As the coronation took place in front of the Jama Masjid, symbolizing “the Mughal grandeur” it serves as the permanent reminder of British supremacy in India.<sup>1151</sup> Historically, the moment also signifies the Muslim disillusionment against the imperial justice which gave priority to Hindu demands and proved the ineffectiveness of Muslims on British Raj and their lands. “The reversal of this partition was a shattering blow to the Muslims. It left them sullen and disillusioned. They were persuaded that the Government had played them false.”<sup>1152</sup> Though not openly mentioned in the novel, this historical moment inevitably bears negative connotations with the nascent Hindu nationalism. The Muslim indifference toward Hindu national movements in the novel can be seen as an expression of Muslim distrust towards the politics of the Congress and fear felt by the Muslims towards growing Hindu dominance in politics.<sup>1153</sup>

As Abdul Hamid states, coronation of King George V in Delhi in 1911 does not only symbolize the vigor of the British Empire in India or —to look at from Indians’ perspective— foreign hegemony in the Subcontinent but the estrangement between the Muslims and the government which came out as a result of revocation of Curzon’s partition plan.<sup>1154</sup> On 12 December, when King George announced the revocation of the partition of Bengal, he was also accepting the Hindu influence on the government. “It was not difficult to see that this step was an abject surrender to militant Hindu opinion.”<sup>1155</sup> Laying emphasis on its dramatic side, Abdul Hamid explains the significance of the Coronation for the Muslims:

When the great moment came, he stood up before a colorful and dazzling levee, brilliantly ceremonious in all its oriental splendor, to announce the much talked of and eagerly-awaited rewards. The Royal proclamation, made in slow and measured tones amidst profound silence, offered amnesty to all political prisoners, set apart a sizeable sum of money for the advancement of education, removed the ineligibility of Indian soldiers for the high military decoration of the Victoria Cross, granted an additional half-month’s salary to the low-grade employees of the Government, transferred the seat of Government from Calcutta to Delhi, and

<sup>1151</sup> Hosagrahar, Jyoti, “Mansions to Margins”, 83. Quoted in Ulka Anjaria, “Staging Realism,” 195.

<sup>1152</sup> Abdul Hamid, *Muslim Separatism*, 91.

<sup>1153</sup> According to Leela Gandhi, “All story foregrounds the painful gap between the Indian Muslim community and the emerging Indian nation. The national movement is, at best, an unwelcome intrusion in to *Chelon Ka Koocha*, manifesting itself through the death of Mirza.” She observes that “the fragmented composition of anti-colonial nation is also reflected in the story’s account of the profound absence of the Hindu – Muslim rapprochement.” Leela Gandhi, “Novelists of the 1930s and 1940s,” 209. “In a sense, this novel eggs its readers to reconsider more objectively, the failure of Indian nationalism to extend its appeal adequately to Muslim inhabitants of the country.” *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>1154</sup> Abdul Hamid., *Muslim Separatism*, 86.

<sup>1155</sup> *Ibid.*, 86

finally annulled the partition of Bengal. This last item of the announcement was psychologically well-timed. At first it was received in funeral silence, followed by a wild outburst of cheering. The Hindu part of the audience went into raptures. The annulment decision immediately ensured the successful progress of the royal itinerary through the most crime-infested pockets of the Empire.<sup>1156</sup>

Therefore, the harsh criticism against the British rule can be regarded as the reverberation of the Muslim reaction towards inconsistent imperial politics that left Muslim community in disillusionment and anguish and their uneasiness for a Hindu-dominated democracy in India.

Apart from national autonomy and unity, national identity is also problematized in the novel. The inherited cultural identity is the most prominent denominator of national identity in the novel, which manifests itself in the rich Urdu poetic tradition and the habits and mores of the Delhiites that are chosen by Ali to constitute the basis for the Muslim nation. The fate of the Muslim community was not clear when the author was writing his book; in this ambiguous atmosphere Ahmed Ali is at pains to show the corollaries and basics (identity) of a Muslim nation. Since Ali depicts the “national life”, when he mentions the daily lives of Muslims, he has an endeavor to inform them about the cultural codes and corollaries of the “nation.” Muhammad Hasan Askari, in his essay “A novel by Ahmed Ali”, states that being a collective novel, *Twilight in Delhi* bears two purposes and Ahmed Ali’s primary or non-literary purpose is “to write a guide to Delhi for Englishmen.”<sup>1157</sup> He continues by saying that Ahmed Ali’s novel should not be seen as the depiction of individuals but the whole society of Delhi, “the entire city.”<sup>1158</sup> Also Snehal Shengavi states that Ali reorganizes the connections between “the emotional resources which culture provides and the customary ways those cultural practices are understood and lived.”<sup>1159</sup> His “anti-colonial and anti-materialist reading of Dehlvi culture” manifests the anthropological aspect of the novel, which includes the translation of more than sixty poems, including a myriad of scenes depicting the cultural life of Old Delhi.<sup>1160</sup> For example, while explaining the reason for Asghar’s elder sister’s self-imposed widowhood, to prevent any kind of misjudgments towards his culture and Islam, Ahmed Ali informs his foreign reader: “She was religious by nature; and, not

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<sup>1156</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>1157</sup> Muhammad Hasan Askari, “A Novel by Ahmed Ali,” trans. Carlo Coppola, *Annual of Urdu Studies*, vol. 09 (1994): 30.

<sup>1158</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>1159</sup> Snehal Shengavi, “Lavish Weddings,” 166.

<sup>1160</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

to arouse unnecessary suspicions, she had decided to live with her husband's people. *For though Islam permitted her to marry again, the social code, derived mostly from prevailing Hindu practice, did not favor a second marriage.*"<sup>1161</sup> When Ali mentions a new word in the novel, he himself explains it: "With difficulty Mir Nihal reached the *mardana*, the men's part of the house."<sup>1162</sup> Such explanations follow each other in the pages of the novel: "He was called Bilal Habshi (the Negro companion of Mohammad who was renowned for his azaan)."<sup>1163</sup> "But Friday being the Muslim holiday there is always a bigger crowd."<sup>1164</sup> Also while informing, Ali maintains his critical stance: "For though women hold a subordinate position in Indian life yet in certain matters they can take the law in their hands, and marriage is one of them."<sup>1165</sup> For Shengavi,

Anglicizing the Urdu, Dehlvi past was not only an act of triumphantly preserving Delhi against colonialism, even preserving it into colonial time, but also an admission of defeat that Delhi had already died, and the nation that was going to be built shared only the traces of the cultural past that it sought to preserve. Nostalgia for Ali simultaneously marked the distance from greatness of Delhi's past and the future of nationalist promise, an idiosyncratic resolution to the contradiction produced by the conflation of culture and nation on which the novel relies.<sup>1166</sup>

Paul Gilbert in his book *Philosophy of Nationalism* (1998) puts forward a principle he considers to be one of the universal features of nationalisms. This principle is called *the constitutive principle of nationalism*, which claims that "a nation is a group which has, *ceteris paribus*, a right to independent statehood by virtue of being the kind of group it is. Different nationalisms should therefore be classified [...] in accordance with the different sorts of argument they deploy in support of such a right."<sup>1167</sup>

When Ahmed Ali's considerations about the importance of culture of Delhi for Pakistan and the timing of the novel are taken into account, —whether consciously or unconsciously— the depiction of Muslim life in Delhi and the representation of the Muslim community with an anthropological endeavor can be construed as the

<sup>1161</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 36. Emphasis added

<sup>1162</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>1163</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 92.

<sup>1164</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>1165</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>1166</sup> Snehal Shengavi, "Lavish Weddings," 172.

<sup>1167</sup> Paul Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 19. "This is a corollary of the principle of national self-determination, for if a nation has a right to determine under what constitutional arrangements it should be governed, then it must, other things being equal, have a right to the various forms of government between which it must choose, and one of these will usually be thought of independent statehood." *Ibid.*, 16.

manifestation of the rights of a certain group of people who have a right for independent statehood.<sup>1168</sup> The novel's aloofness from Hindu nationalist movement, and the expression of the corollaries of Muslim culture with a focus on basic tenets of the Muslim culture through a special emphasis on distinctive symbols of the Muslim community such as Jama Masjid, Urdu poetry and the Mughal past perfectly concur with the tendencies of Muslim separatist movement which utilized these symbols as a consciousness-raising policy especially after the second half of 1930s.

Paul R. Brass believes that it would have been possible for both Hindus and Muslims to find a hero that could be acceptable for both sides; however, due to the revivalist movements in the nineteenth century and the conscious symbol selection of the elites, the historical orientation of Hindus gravitated towards "either to the great empires and Hindu civilization of the pre-Muslim period or to the regional Hindu kingdoms of the Marathas and Sikhs, who fought against the Muslim power."<sup>1169</sup> And as a parallel to Hindu inclination, Muslims' inspiration came from the Muslim domination in India and Arabic successes before that period.<sup>1170</sup>

As Khalid Sayyeed has put it, "Memories of Muslim rule in India not only remained alive [in the late nineteenth century], particularly among the upper-class Muslims, but were constantly used by them to impress upon the Muslim masses that having ruled India, Muslims should not allow themselves to be ruled by the Hindu majority."<sup>1171</sup>

Brass states that after 1936, when the Congress won the elections and a Congress government came to power, Muslim politics in India, or to put it other way, "the strategy of Muslim political leaders in U.P." changed from demanding minority rights to a separate homeland for Muslims and the Subcontinent.<sup>1172</sup>

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<sup>1168</sup> Indeed, this kind of stress on traditional life or traditionalist view is not an unordinary stance in the Islamic World. William Graham sees traditionalism as one of the main features of Islamic thought. According to him, traditionalism includes "not in some imagined atavism, progressivism, fatalism, or rejection of change and challenge," but instead, "a personally guaranteed connection with a model past, and especially with model persons, offers the only sound basis [ . . . ] for forming and reforming one's society in any age." William A. Graham, "Traditionalism in Islam: An Essay in Interpretation," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23/3 (1993): 495–522. Quoted in Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *Ulama in Contemporary Islam*, 3.

<sup>1169</sup> Paul. R. Brass, *Language Religion*, 140.

<sup>1170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1172</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

If the first chapter, based on the explanations of Smith and Gilbert is considered, where the corollaries of nationalist view is expressed, it can be deduced that from the nationalist perspective, a certain way of life which has its authenticity, continuity, dignity in a homeland with a long past can procure a set of convincing reasons for a community to acclaim its nationhood. Culture provides an environment for such claims for a separate identity. The endeavor of Ahmed Ali felt in the pages of *Twilight* is basically to underline the importance of the Muslim culture and way of life in Delhi and highlight the characteristics of this culture shown as under the threat of annihilation as a result of colonial subjugation. The existence of such old and valuable way of life paves the way for the justification of a national movement claiming a separate country that guarantees the continuation of it.

This can also correspond to what Paul Gilbert calls as cultural voluntarism or contextualism. These are types of nationalism that place culture at the center of the movement. “What is common to cultural voluntarisms is that they view a culture, rather than a polity or civil society, as the nexus of voluntary association.”<sup>1173</sup> However, as Gilbert puts forward, these cultural belongings in the context of constitutive principle, that is, the right for a separate statehood, make up the basis for the causes that lie behind the claims of cultural voluntarists: “What makes cultural voluntarism a form of nationalism is that it holds that such an association may require the protection of a separate statehood.”<sup>1174</sup> This condition, as he further elaborates, will most probably require a separate statehood which demarcates the ones who belong to that specific culture from those who are not. “They, therefore claim a right to statehood even if alternative forms of government may avert their need to exercise the right to state through protecting their cultural association adequately without it.”<sup>1175</sup>

Apart from cultural voluntarism, cultural contextualism also concurs with what we encounter in *Twilight in Delhi*. Cultural contextualism is a term coined again by Gilbert in his book *The Philosophy of Nationalism*. The difference between cultural voluntarism and contextualism is actually nothing more than the choice factor: “culture is not something we can choose, and that is because it forms our ‘context of

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<sup>1173</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 122.

<sup>1174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1175</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

choice’.”<sup>1176</sup> The context or the culture of the society that a person is born into plays an important role in determining his choices, which also include the political ones.

People are brought together through the sharing of a culture into a group whose members share the same context of choice. They are thus able to pursue a common life since they decide how to live together within a shared understanding of what is possible for them. What indicates the existence of a national culture is therefore the successful functioning of a national community, a group in which people find that they can live together rather than an association in which they deliberately set out to do so.<sup>1177</sup>

In *Twilight in Delhi*, one of the main reasons for the existence of apparent decay and the irretrievable loss enwrapped with nostalgia stems from the absence of a successful functioning of the Muslim community which leads up to the corruption of both individuals and the community (or the nation).

As for the purpose of such nationalism, it is apparent that it has strong connections with the communalist and separatist movements of 30s and 40s in North India. Gilbert explains the purpose of cultural contextualism underlining the fact that “cultural contextualism locates nation’s right to statehood in the need to protect a culture.”<sup>1178</sup> It is apparent that such a stance appears to be in line with the arguments of the Muslim elite of the North India before partition and Ahmed Ali’s passionate emphasis on the dying culture of Delhi and Lucknow is totally compatible with the interests of the Muslim elites of the period.

Another question that comes to mind is what happens when the culture is not protected? Or why is the culture so valuable to be protected? A possible and plausible answer to these questions suggests that: “For the loss of a culture is the loss of the background necessary for meaningful choice, and it plunges people into an aimless and anomic existence in which a good life is impossible.”<sup>1179</sup> Therefore, the absence of this culture creates a black hole that can drag an individual and a society into void and corruption.

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<sup>1176</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>1177</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 125.

<sup>1178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1179</sup> *Ibid.*

Hence, as Gilbert puts forward “[t]heir obligation to preserve their culture is simply an extension of their obligation to conduct their lives in a responsible and rational way - in this case by safeguarding the preconditions of such a life.”<sup>1180</sup> Therefore, what is encountered in *Twilight in Delhi* and *Ocean of Night* can be understood in this aspect since the culture the reader comes across through the pages of these novels describe an authentic and centuries old culture that encompasses the lives of the characters, the loss of which causes the eventual demise and corruption of these people.

As the inherent cultural codes are damaged more, meaning of life for Mir Nihal weakens day by day. Even when Mir Nihal’s world literally begins to die, bit by bit, he still refuses to give up his old feudal values or to adapt them to the changing environment; instead, he chooses to separate himself altogether from the world around him. “Mir Nihal stubbornly maintains his attitudes and chooses to break with the present instead.”<sup>1181</sup> As a consequence, Mir Nihal’s stubbornness to protect his own culture is not merely a resistance or a desperate clinging to a nostalgic past, but also a vivid portrait of a pending danger that justifies the existence of Muslim separatist (nationalist) movement and a separate country for the Muslim community in the Subcontinent.

While at the opening of the novel Ahmed Ali draws a hybrid past for Delhi, including the old kingdoms to the list, from the first pages of *Twilight* to the end, we come across with a nationalist perspective that stresses on a certain code of living which is meaningful and indispensable for a certain group of people. Using certain elements and symbols that are meaningful for the Muslim community, Ahmed Ali not only creates an atmosphere that expresses the sensitivities of the Muslim community, but at the same time refrains from creating a Delhi/India where Indians and Muslims share a common destiny. The colonial intrusion and infiltration of modernity under foreign rule is an intolerable threat that could destroy the authenticity and merits of a culture making up the pillars of the life of Muslim community that makes life meaningful and valuable, if not possible for them. As a consequence of evaluation of the city with a nationalist (or sometimes communalist)

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<sup>1180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1181</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 215.

perspective<sup>1182</sup> that considers it as a locus for the life of South Asian Muslims, at the beginning of the novel, two totally different depictions of Delhi is *tout de suite*.

The novel begins with the description of the city, mentioning its bygone glorious past. As Snehal Shengavi points out, although the novel starts with Delhi's resilience and endurance, the narrative alters quickly, revealing the miserable condition of the city.<sup>1183</sup> There is an apparent decay and deterioration in the streets of the city, a capital once governed by monarchs and kings; Old Delhi symbolizes grandeur, a civilized and developed city while its present condition is expressed with words connoting the opposite: *silence, death, apathy, dust* and *ruin*. It even lost its "chastity", implying the corruption of Delhi if not Delhiites. Once an epic and fabulous city, Delhi now appears like "a beaten dog" whose "nymphs" have long left its streets.<sup>1184</sup>

As Joshi explains, "In *Twilight*, the assault on Delhi is made not simply by the colonial presence but also by the modernity it brings with it, and Ali's novel makes clear that the two are not always easy to keep apart."<sup>1185</sup> The twilight of Mir Nihal and Delhi coincides as the reconstruction of the old Delhi by the British Raj destroys the unique history of the city. "The suddenness with which twilight comes in the subcontinent parallels both the decline of the old city as it is deprived of its traditional identity and the decline of Mir Nihal as circumstances alters his life[...]."<sup>1186</sup>

To put it differently, as a necessary corollary to Ahmed Ali's anthropological endeavor, Islamic art, literature and history constitutes a vital part of Muslim identity in the novel. Mughal period and the legacy of the Muslim empire including poetry,

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<sup>1182</sup> Ayesha Jalal explains the tender situation at the beginning of the twentieth century in Indian nation with regard to the attendance of the masses to the emerging Indian nationalism and Muslim reaction to the changing political atmosphere: "There were many competing narratives drawing on affiliations of linguistic and religious community that tried contributing to the discourse on the Indian nation. Far from reflecting a neat Hindu-Muslim divide, the nationalist narratives authored by Hindus and Muslims of different regions and classes displayed considerable variety and evoked multiple visions of nationhood. Muslim voices sought location within that emerging discourse on the Indian nation while trying to find accommodation for their sense of cultural difference. What has been branded 'separatism' may well have been something more akin to exclusion on the part of that variant of the Indian nationalist discourse, which rose to a position of dominance." Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, xiv.

<sup>1183</sup> Shengavi, "Lavish Weddings," 168.

<sup>1184</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 4.

<sup>1185</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 217.

<sup>1186</sup> Anderson, "Ahmed Ali and the Growth," 440.



arts and architecture make up the backbone of the identity of the Muslim community, the destruction of which jeopardizes the existence of this distinctive indigenous culture. “The only way that the past can be smuggled into the present, the only redeemable aspects of tradition that can be preserved are art and architecture.”<sup>1187</sup>

As a consequence of some basic properties of the Islamic arts which have been shaped by the dominant philosophy behind the Islamic understanding, Muslim identity is expressed as a part of an ideal realm (moral community) the annihilation of which means the destruction of the ideal/moral world which concomitantly appears as a corruption of the values that turns into the corruption of the individual and the society. In this context, poetry bears an irreplaceable place in the novel. Being one of the primary corollaries of both daily life and the court culture, poetry—here classical Urdu poetry—constitutes one of the pillars of Muslim identity/national identity in the novel. Ahmed Ali equalizes poetry directly with the (national) culture itself: “But gone are the poets too, and gone is its culture.”<sup>1188</sup>

It goes without saying that poetry has a unique place in the Muslim world. In both Turkey and Pakistan poetry has been a part of intellectual life and court culture, which has been written as a product of Islamic civilization. According to Aziz Ahmad, poetry also played an important role in politics which saw the climax with the works of Muhammad Iqbal. “For it was the crystallization of Iqbal’s essentially poetic genius in terms of political philosophy that provided Muslim India with the criteria of self-identification and national-definition which created the nation and state of Pakistan.”<sup>1189</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Muslims were spread over a continent with only a loose link through Islam. They had no common language, dress, political organization or territory; even their Islam was divided into sects. When Jinnah began to lead the movement in the late 1930s, there was no popular radio or television and the newspapers were not widely read. Indeed, Muslims did not have their own press until Jinnah helped to start Dawn in Delhi in the early 1940s.<sup>1190</sup>

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<sup>1187</sup> Shingavi, “The Mahatma Misunderstood.” 304.

<sup>1188</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 3.

<sup>1189</sup> Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 102.

<sup>1190</sup> Ahmed. *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 98.

In this unnerving atmosphere with the absence of a unified identity and political representation, Urdu poetry's contribution to create such an identity is undeniable: "What gave the discourse on identity a powerful inspirational quality and also a much wider audience was the recourse made to Urdu poetry, by far the most popular form of expression in northern India."<sup>1191</sup>

According to Ayesha Jalal, as opposed to Anderson's emphasis on newspaper and the novel, what was effective for the national identity in colonial North India was press and poetry. "The poetic dimension interwoven with the outpourings of a burgeoning press lends both special texture and greater social depth to the stirrings that animated notions of a distinctive Muslim identity."<sup>1192</sup> When popularity and memorability of the poems are taken into account, the importance of poetry in constructing Muslim identity becomes more apparent. "Both entertaining and evocative, Urdu poetry's capacity to influence a predominantly unlettered population cannot be overemphasized."<sup>1193</sup>

In this atmosphere, both the poem and poets had a great contribution to the Muslims' struggle for independence and the creation of a separate Muslim identity in the Subcontinent. Poetry also served as a basis for anti-colonial and pan-Islamic movements that sometimes united Turkey and North Indian Muslims under the same roof. As Aziz states:

In less personal and more balanced political verse, literary or journalistic, the theme of numerous poets between 1900 and 1918 is the pan-Islamic anguish at the proposed partition of Persia, the extension and consolidation of French control in North Africa, and especially Italy's occupation of Tripoli and the Balkan War of 1912-13. Between 1911 and 1919 Enver Pasha emerges in Urdu verse as a hero and the symbol of the cult of Turkey. During the First World War this theme was driven underground; it became oblique, ironical and surreptitious; nevertheless it re-emerged with more intensive fury in 1919.<sup>1194</sup>

Although the classical Muslim poetry, which had been developed in accordance with the idealization of Islamic philosophy and Sufi approach to personal maturity, was not involved in political issues directly, it went through a transformation and blended political with traditional discourse. As Aziz Ahmed points out,

Out of the bric-a-brac of the conventional material of the ghazal, an experience of personal suffering, a political maxim, a formulated ideal comes to the surface and is crystallized in

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<sup>1191</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 46-7.

<sup>1192</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-8.

<sup>1193</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>1194</sup> Aziz, *Islamic Modernism*, 101.

poetic diction. Political suffering is transformed through the imagery of resurgence that follows all repression into an optimism which has its roots in conviction rather than emotion.<sup>1195</sup>

Following this pattern, in the novel, Ahmed Ali uses *ghazal* and classical Urdu poetry within a political context. According to Khurram N. Khurshid, *ghazal* gains a political tone in the novel and “Ahmed Ali’s text uses this emotional energy of the *ghazal* to attack British imperialism and articulate its anti-colonial ideology.”<sup>1196</sup> In fact, Ahmed Ali was well aware of the transformation the classical poetry went through in the last two centuries. While mentioning the nineteenth century, Ahmed Ali states that poets like Ghalib were well aware of the deteriorating situation and they adjusted the classical notions in accordance with the deteriorating political situation, which resulted with “utter disruption of values.” After 1857 Mutiny,

[t]he poets began to use old symbols in new context and contemporary meaning. The ‘executioner’ came to refer to the British, as did the word ‘rival’. Christ became symbolic of the followers of Jesus, the Christian British. The Kaleesa or church, and Kaba, were charged with new meaning. The candle became associated with the pious but weak person of Bahadur Shah, the last Mughal King.<sup>1197</sup>

According to Ahmed Ali, When the Mughal structure finally collapsed, traditional values disintegrated. In Urdu poetry, there developed a certain form of *ghazal* to express the feeling of destruction. Parallel to Ahmed Ali’s explanation, recent studies point that, along with *ghazal* and classical Urdu poetry, *Twilight in Delhi* also bears the impact of another poetic tradition called *shehrashoub*. Priya Joshi observes that Ahmed Ali incorporates *shehrashoub* into the novel not to express despair and nostalgia only; using English, he creates an alternative way to deal with the present problems:

Yet we also realize that Ali’s description of historicide is also his way of reclaiming history, even though it be in these newer, hybrid forms combining verse *shehrashob* with the English novel. The narrative *Twilight* deploys, seeped in nostalgia and despair, nevertheless posits an alternate way of apprehending historical rhythms and preserving them within the once alien forms of Macaulay’s literary legacy that serves this time to connect Ali’s world with the British rather than to alienate one from the other.<sup>1198</sup>

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<sup>1195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1196</sup> Khurshid, “Discourse of Difference.” 90.

<sup>1197</sup> Ahmed Ali, *The Golden Tradition*, 20. “Ghalib in an often quoted verse, perhaps one of the first political poems in Urdu literature, uses the Mughal king as a symbol of Muslim power: ‘One candle left and that too is flickering and quiet’ stunned at the scale of loss, Ghalib vividly reveals the darkness of the Muslim mind confronting the disintegration: ‘There is no hope in the future/ once I could laugh at the human condition/ now there is no laughter.’ In this darkness Ghalib even challenges creation itself: ‘If I did not exist it would not have mattered/ I am sunk because of my creation’.” Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 48.

<sup>1198</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 227.

As Shingavi explains, *shehrashob* is a “specific genre for the occasion of the decline of the city and its empire.”<sup>1199</sup> They are written to express certain feelings related to the city:

*Shehrashobs* are poems occasioned by the sacking of a city; they tend to be formally varied (the *musaddas* – six line stanza – and the *ghazal* –the two-line stanza– being the two most common metrical and rhyme schemes) but common in their content. *Shehrashobs* describe the decline of a city, either before or after conquest depending on the political orientation, through a cataloging of the features of the city: its marketplaces, its artisans, its structures, and most of all, its poetry. Either because of the depravity of the conquerors or the *corruption of the residents*, cities that were once grand have now come upon ruin, and so the elegiac structure and tone of the *shehrashob* simultaneously reproduces past greatness even as it contends that that greatness is completely irretrievable.<sup>1200</sup> (emphasis added)

The miserable condition of Delhi expressed in the opening pages of *Twilight* and its handover by a foreign empire that initiates a set of changes in the structure of the city, which is seen as a threat by the author who regards transformation of a once Muslim capital with its authentic culture as the destruction of the national culture, naturally politicizes the novel.<sup>1201</sup> As Shingavi points out, “The *shehrashob* structure of the novel moves it in the direction of generalizing the experiences of a family, of a city, to stand in for the whole of the nation.”<sup>1202</sup>

Two aspects support this view, revealing the relationship between *shehrashoub* poetry and the growing nationalist and communalist sentiments in North India. Firstly, *shehrashoub* poetry was a style used by the *ashraf* classes that contributed mostly to the Muslim separatist (national) movement.<sup>1203</sup> Second aspect that

<sup>1199</sup> Shingavi, “The Mahatma Misunderstood.” 286.

<sup>1200</sup> *Ibid.*, 287.

<sup>1201</sup> Francis Robinson, in his book *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia*, discusses the mutual impacts of both Muslim and Christian worlds on each other, stressing on the continuation of the Muslim impact on Europe. Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 41. While mentioning the European impact on Muslim environment, he describes the transformation Muslim cities went through (especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries). For Robinson, “The physical environment of Muslim societies was, of course, moulded by European economic and political power. Nowhere is the process more dramatically seen than in great cities. Here a new European city built on a grid pattern might be set beside the old Muslim city with its arabesques of closed quarters, blind alleys and infinite numbers of seemingly unattainable private spaces, as in Fez or Tunis. Or, alternatively, grand Haussmanlike boulevards and wide open spaces were bulldozed through the old jungle of alleyways, as in Cairo, Delhi or Lucknow. This, moreover, was just of a broader process of imposing Western forms of order [.]” *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>1202</sup> Shingavi, “The Mahatma Misunderstood.” 296.

<sup>1203</sup> “Yet Urdu was mainly, though by no means exclusively, the language of the *shurfa* or the respectable classes concentrated around urban centres like Delhi and Lucknow in the north and Hyderabad in the Deccan. The themes treated in the poetry, to say nothing of its stylistic formalizations, owed a great deal to the prevailing tastes of the *umara* or nobility which also held the purse strings sustaining many poetic livelihoods.” Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 15.

manifests Ahmed Ali's use of *shehrashoub* in a nationalist context is the transformation of the genre into a more communitarian and nationalist context. In Jalal's words:

The uprootedness and lack of direction among the Muslims following the attenuation of centralized Mughal power is a theme which pervades the *ashoobia* poetry of this period. But it is by no means restricted to this genre. It is communitarian to the extent that it bemoans the fate of the Muslims as a whole, but the expression remains that of the individual poet paying homage to the city of his birth or subsequent abode.<sup>1204</sup>

Another famous poem related with *Twilight in Delhi* is *Mussadas-i Hali*.<sup>1205</sup> Upon the request of his close friend Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Altaf Husayn Hali wrote a famous poem in 1879 named *Musaddas Madd-o Jazr-i Islam*, which is known to be *Musaddas-i Hali*. "This was the first Urdu poem to depart from the tradition of conventionalized classicism, and it inaugurated a cultural renaissance and a vogue for political romanticism."<sup>1206</sup> Mutiny signifies a sharp turn in the tradition of Urdu poetry which began to bear "political overtones." There appeared a body of poems "lamenting the fate of Delhi" the most popular of which are the poems of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last emperor of the Mughals (reg. 1837-1858) who had been dragged into the Mutiny as a figurehead almost against his will by the mutineers and the rabble of Delhi. The ruins of Delhi became the symbol and epitome of the ruin of *dar-al Islam*, helpless against external encroachment through internal decadence.<sup>1207</sup>

As Aziz Ahmed notes, Hali's glorification of the past is a new and different attitude than that of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the nostalgia felt in the poem was so effective that "the proud reconstruction of the Islamic past [...] and his appeal to the Muslims' own glorious history [...] forms the basis for the whole next period in religious development."<sup>1208</sup> Moreover, the huge impact of the poem meant that Urdu poetry was under the influence of "revivalism and political romanticism generated" by it. It was so extravagantly used as a means of propaganda that even the poet himself was complaining about this overuse.<sup>1209</sup>

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<sup>1204</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>1205</sup> Hali's *Musaddas*, first published in 1879, was so effective in the literary cycle that it almost became a national anthem for Muslims. "[T]he poem was in harmony with the indo-Muslim tradition which saw the history of Islam in India as a continuation of universal Islamic history, and suggested too that only history fit for study was that of Muslims." Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 191.

<sup>1206</sup> Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 97.

<sup>1207</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>1208</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1209</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-99.

Alex Padamsee finds parallelisms between Hali's *Musaddas* and *Twilight in Delhi* with regard to their understanding of history as cycle. He claims that Ahmed Ali contracts the two century-old decay in Azad's *Musaddas* into a decade between 1910 and 20. This contraction "repositions Indo-Muslim culture as a transitional moment between the colony and the nation, a temporality defined by its elusive 'passing', dead and gone already right before our eyes."<sup>1210</sup> The coexistence of absence and presence in the novel makes it impossible to read the novel in binary oppositions and the transformation of *shehrashoub*, which is believed to have been incorporated by Ali into his own text into a novel narrative and the resistance of "inviolable inner domain" in which Indo-Muslim culture is situated to "any kind of stability" and finds links between the Muslim separatist movements and homelessness in the novel.<sup>1211</sup> With this instable condition (or "oscillation" and "flickering") Ali's textual mourning also promises "vulnerability and change."<sup>1212</sup>

And it is in this sense that Ali moves beyond the politics of communal grievance and political isolation that characterized Indian nationalist politics of the 1930s. Grievance turns into mourning in *Twilight in Delhi* and the vulnerable Indo-Muslim self moves towards the possibility of a post-independence, post-communalized future. The absence that Ali locates throughout the text is, in this sense, only the first steps to recognize the others within and to cast an Indo-Muslim historical identity, as Abul Kalam Azad hoped, "in a new mould."<sup>1213</sup>

### **5.3.2.1 Islamic arts as moral signifiers**

As Snehal Shingavi puts forward, "[w]hat Ahmed Ali attempts to do in *Twilight in Delhi*, [...] is to reorganize the connections between the emotional resources which culture provides and the customary ways those cultural practices are understood and lived."<sup>1214</sup> Since those customs, culture and the cultural practices have been formed under Islamic understanding, Ahmed Ali not only inevitably incorporates Islamic art, literature and architecture into the "national life" he depicts but also benefits from certain corollaries of Islamic art that forms the basis for Islamic (Mughal) civilization. In a novel where aesthetics play a principal role and Islamic works of art

<sup>1210</sup> Alex Padamsee, "Postnational Aesthetics," 34.

<sup>1211</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>1212</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>1213</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>1214</sup> Shingavi, "Lavish Weddings," 166.

also come to stand for national symbols, it is possible to claim that the principle behind these works form the moral buttress of the nation depicted in the novel.

The strong relation between Islam and works of art in Muslim countries has been stressed by many critics so far. While mentioning the significance of Islamic works of art, it is inevitable to overlook the philosophy and morals behind these works. According to Turan Koç, “[s]ince in Islam there does not exist an understanding of two separate spaces as worldly-mundane and Religion (or religious), Islamic arts, being loyal to principles it always takes into consideration (bears in mind), have resorted to embellish every corner of life, every place and any kind of material.”<sup>1215</sup>

Is it possible to make generalizations? Or to put it another way, to what extent can we generalize about the common characteristics of Islamic art? Turan Koç states that, “[d]espite the divergence of period and area as well as the difference of the artists, Islamic work of arts present (display) a unity with regard to topic and machinery / modus operandi.”<sup>1216</sup> Also similarly, Seyyed Hossein Nasr asserts that “whether in the great courtyard of Delhi Mosque or the Qarawiyyin in Fez, one feels oneself within the same artistic and spiritual universe despite all the local variations in material, structural techniques, and the like.”<sup>1217</sup> Therefore, when considering the meaning and the value of reference of the works of art and literature in the novel, the common moral framework behind these works cannot be overlooked.

Poetry, one of the pillars of Islamic literature, has also a similar moral reference which can be directly related with the Islamic philosophy behind it. According to Nasr, “[b]ecause the Islamic revelation is based upon the Word that has been revealed as a sacred book, literature occupies an eminent and privileged position among the arts of nearly all the Islamic peoples.”<sup>1218</sup> And it is a medium to comprehend the universal concord: “[...] poetry deals with human language as moulded by the principles of harmony and rhythm, which also govern the cosmos.”<sup>1219</sup> As is obvious, poetry is not seen as a form of art or the expression of individual feelings and inspirations only; rather, “[a]ccording to Oriental doctrines,

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<sup>1215</sup> Turan Koç, *İslam Estetiği* (İstanbul: İsam Yayınları, 2009), 18.

<sup>1216</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>1217</sup> Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987), 3.

<sup>1218</sup> Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality*, 87.

<sup>1219</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

then, poetry is the result of the imposition of the Spiritual and the Intellectual Principle upon the matter of substance of language.”<sup>1220</sup>

In this respect, a good poem is not considered as an imaginative, elaborate work of a person but a medium inevitably revealing the poet’s relationship with the divine. “Poem is seen not as an anthology made up of sole music or expressions that reflect personal sensations but [...] as a guide, as one of the most beautiful and reliable ways of making things permanent.”<sup>1221</sup> And the role of the poet as an artist is not an ordinary one here; “[...] [T]he poet is the one who can go beyond what is seen, be aware of the absolute and permanent beauty; someone who has an endeavor to express this.”<sup>1222</sup>

When the poet comes out as an intermediary between the spiritual/divine and people, his social function changes accordingly. In Koç’s words, “The poets’ general social function- when Muslim poets are taken into consideration- is a much more apparent issue. These poets have been the spokesmen, defender, annotator and when needed leader of their nations in private and the ummah in general.”<sup>1223</sup> And the death of a poet or a tradition leads up to catastrophic results. Bahadur Shah as a poet-king perfectly reinforces this image of the poet and appears as the last defender of the Muslim community or India in general. His poetry looms over in the pages of *Twilight* reminding the loss of power, wisdom and tradition and (national) identity at the same time. In his introduction to his book *The Golden Tradition: an Anthology of Urdu poetry* (1992), Ahmed Ali mentions the leading role of the poets in their society:

The poet is [...] not merely *vates*, a creator building things out of nothing, but one who is representative of his age, who has an awareness of the age, like Mir and Ghalib, for his vision takes everything in its purview, looking at the same time below and beyond the perceptual reality into the eternal source of being, and all that which lies within the experience of man. Shelley’s conception of the poets as the “unacknowledged legislators of mankind” is nearer the Arabic conception of the poet.<sup>1224</sup>

While explaining the role of the poets according to the understanding of Arabs, Ahmed Ali asserts his agreement with the classical notion of the poet by giving examples from Mir and Ghalib. Therefore, when Ahmed Ali’s equation that “[b]ut

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<sup>1220</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>1221</sup> Koç, *İslam Estetiği*, 170.

<sup>1222</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>1223</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>1224</sup> Ali, *The Golden Tradition*, 12.



gone are the poets too, and gone is its culture”<sup>1225</sup> is considered again, poets’ general function as the defenders of the community becomes evident; since the last emperor was a poet king, it becomes as a national symbol as well. The juxtaposition of the ideal/spiritual and the national reveals itself when we contextualize poem as the mediation between the divine and the world. A society cut off from its spiritual resources and void of its defenders, who are the warrantors of its culture and identity, deteriorates and falls into a total corruption.

In Ahmed Ali’s novels, it is possible to trace this line of thought and observe the special place poetry bears as a symbol of culture and the representative of society. To illustrate, Ahmed Ali utilizes one of the most common phrases used by classical Urdu poetry, namely “fate and time”, in a way that the meaning is blended with nationalism and the nationalist perspective is reinforced by the Islamic philosophy behind Urdu poetry.

As Padamsee observes, the act of doing and undoing moves the narrative beyond the restrictive walls of nostalgia and shows the possible solution within the universal law of cyclical change. While Ahmed Ali provides a cyclical scheme that warrants the demise of the colonizer’s sovereignty (since the world is made up of ups and downs, like the Mughal Empire, the British Empire has also an end), he also utilizes classical poetry and the Islamic philosophy to criticize and resist the invaders. This is in fact the rewriting of the classical Sufi approach to the world in the form of a novel; while reflecting these Sufi sentiments to the narrative, Ahmed Ali evaluates Indian Muslim society through a nationalist perspective and the philosophy behind Islamic art and literature intensifies the meaning in a way that the pathetic situation of the nation and the corruption of the society becomes more evident.<sup>1226</sup> The cultural, traditional, Islamic, national converge into one pot and the aesthetic works of art support the nationalist perspective of the writer, who inevitably judges the community he lives in.

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<sup>1225</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 3.

<sup>1226</sup> Askari observes the importance of time in the novel and states that it gives a unity and intensity to the novel. For him, “[t]he reason for the depth and universality of this feeling is that this sense is not born in Ahmed Ali from personal experiences of life, but from his attachment to and love of a whole civilization.” Muhammed Hasan Askari, “A Novel by Ahmed Ali,” 19.

The fate and time is often mentioned in the novel and mostly used in the classical meaning to express the inescapability of death and the ups and downs of the worldly life; but meanwhile the ravages of time, in parallel with Bahadur Shah's poetry, gain a different meaning and move towards a more political and national context. Ali interprets fate and time as follows: "We have been rendered poor by Fate. But *they* usurped our throne, banished the king, killed hundreds of princes before these unfortunate eyes which could not even go blind, drank their blood, and we could do nothing. They are happy for they are dead; but I am still alive to suffer the bludgeon blows of *Time*."<sup>1227</sup>

As seen here, "the bludgeon blows of Time" are not the usual problems that appear as time takes its toll, such as the old age and loss of physical abilities; rather, it is an unexpressed cruelty applied by *they* who celebrate their sovereignty in the heart of the Muslim empire. Those who usurped the throne, the British or the colonial administration, is poetically expressed as Time. Here, the classical Urdu poetry provides the words that are utilized to express the political and national demise. *They* whom Gul Bano mentions is nothing other than what Bahadur Shah expresses in his poem cited by her:

Delhi was once a Paradise  
And great the Joys residing here.  
But *they* have ravished this bride of peace,  
Remain now ruins and care.<sup>1228</sup>

And in the other poem, The British are criticized:

But not content with this alone  
*They* suspect each Muslim who says  
A single word against them, and  
With life penalty pays...<sup>1229</sup>

But further than this, Ahmed Ali utilizes classical terms of Urdu poetry (including *shehrashob*) to give a moral lesson which is general characteristics of Islamic art and storytelling; as Ayvazoğlu states,

the world that the naked eye sees, or to speak with Sufi terminology, *kesret*, is a (continuous) creation and destruction (*alem-i kevn-ü fesad*) —a world of continuous doing and undoing—. What is most essential is going beyond this temporariness and confusion and to understand the

<sup>1227</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 143. Emphasis added

<sup>1228</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.

<sup>1229</sup> Ali, *Twilight*. Emphasis added.

absolute lawfulness (rule). It is true that temporality, and confusion creates unrest in the souls.<sup>1230</sup>

Another example where Ahmed Ali intermingles nationalist perspective with the ideal represented by Islamic arts can be seen in the coronation scene. According to Turan Koç, Islamic arts cannot be thought without contemplation. Since Islamic works of art including poetry, architecture and painting have developed in accordance with the Islamic philosophy, they end up depicting the ideal/spiritual or divine, observation of which culminates in contemplation; and such experience results in the remembrance of the divine.

In classical Muslim understanding, for those who observed things with a Sufi sentience, every kind of beauty, created a kind of mystical union, a joy of coalescence with God; or to put it in a different way, to figure out the supernatural relation between things and cosmos and to realize the reflection of absolute beauty on concrete things used to constitute the basis for aesthetic pleasure.<sup>1231</sup>

As a consequence of the Sufi spirituality behind the Islamic works, any work of art serves for the maturation of the soul. Turan Koç claims that Islamic arts possess a most important aspect that puts special emphasis on evocation of the truth to man and by leaning on consideration, the aesthetic of these works prepares the individual for the act of contemplation.<sup>1232</sup> “The powerful support that Islamic art provides for the soul’s quest for the world of the spirit could not exist save through the inner link between this art and Islamic spirituality.”<sup>1233</sup>

For this reason, art and architecture have been shaped in a way to perform this task of being a representative of divine and eternal. “Since Islamic art and aesthetics are ultimately related to metaphysics, symbolism at some point has been a significant means of indirect expression with respect to adumbration of the truth that goes beyond (our) senses.”<sup>1234</sup>

In this respect, works belonging to Islamic civilization encourage observers to ponder about the eternal world, which should always and under all conditions be kept

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<sup>1230</sup> Beşir Ayvazoğlu, *Aşk Estetiği: İslam Sanatlarının Estetiği Üzerine Bir Deneme* (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2013), 35.

<sup>1231</sup> Koç, *İslam Estetiği*, 72.

<sup>1232</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>1233</sup> Nasr, *Islamic Art*, 11.

<sup>1234</sup> Koç, *İslam Estetiği*, 24.

in mind. “The greatness and glamour of the big mosques, expresses the manifestation of this greatness, reverence and peace on the level of art.”<sup>1235</sup>

Jama Masjid, which had been transformed into a national symbol for the Muslim community after 1857, has a central position in the novel and is utilized by Ahmed Ali as a symbol expressing national unity. While he is watching the Coronation Durbar, Jama Masjid catches Mir Nihal’s eye: “The procession passed by the Jama Masjid whose *façade had been vulgarly decorated with a garland of golden writing containing slavish greetings from the Indian Mussalmans to the English King, displaying the treachery of the priestly class to their people and Islam.*”<sup>1236</sup>

The “garland of golden writing” that Mir Nihal despises marks a stark contrast with the Arabesque writing, a common characteristics of Islamic architecture, which is also present in Jama Masjid. As Ayvazoğlu states, the Muslim artist does not deal with the mimesis which means the depiction of the worldly, faulty, but focuses on the transcendental and leans toward abstraction.<sup>1237</sup> “Arabesque” (“or interlaced writing”) is the art where the artist releasing from the spatial values reaches to the most abstract thought, that is to mathematics.”<sup>1238</sup> As Ayvazoğlu points out, Arabesque is like an eternal spring flowing continuously, symbolizing the harmony in the Universe.<sup>1239</sup>

Similarly, after mentioning the relation between Quran and Islamic arts such as calligraphy, architecture and poetry, Ayesha Jalal expresses the importance of calligraphy in Islamic arts, which is in fact accepted to be the noblest of all other arts. As a Sufi saying expresses, “there is no letter in any language which does not worship God. The calligrapher with the calamus, symbolizing the letter *alif* for Allah, knows something of the complex mythology of writing the sacred script. As is the wont of an *abd* or slave of Allah, the calligrapher invariably pleads forgiveness for daring to imitate the word of God.”<sup>1240</sup>

Calligraphy in Jama Masjid, the symbol of the universal harmony, reminder of the absolute good and divinity, has been transformed into an expression of slavishness,

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<sup>1235</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>1236</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 150. Emphasis added.

<sup>1237</sup> Ayvazoğlu, *Aşk Estetiği*, 106.

<sup>1238</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>1239</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1240</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 6.

subjugation to the colonial rule. Seeing this situation of the mosque, as a corollary to Islamic aesthetics, Mir Nihal falls into contemplation, but this contemplation does not remind him of the transcendental truth nor the divine revelation; it takes place as the remembrance of Muslim struggle (and loss) against the British occupation and directly related to national autonomy and struggle. “It was this very mosque, Mir Nihal remembered with blood in his eyes, which the English had insisted on demolishing or turning into a church during 1857.”<sup>1241</sup> This revelation bears two different functions at the same time: Firstly, national autonomy, or the days when Muslims had not yet lost their independence (at least formally), is related to the eternal goodness evoked by the Mosque and sovereignty of the “nation” is directly shown in the realm of eternal goodness. And secondly, the loss of this goodness is expressed through the destruction of the classical format. “*Garland of golden writing containing slavish greetings from the Indian Mussalmans to the English King*” can be regarded as the invention of the “mock arabesque” form. The transformation of the writing from the expression of the transcendental and Islamic to slavishness and un-Islamic reveals the degradation and corruption of the Muslim community (or the nation in general).<sup>1242</sup>

While Ahmed Ali narrates the complaints and sorrows of Mir Nihal, the narrative voice and Mir Nihal coalesce into each other. The primary articles for a nation are at stake here: hereditary culture, language, as well as the purity of the land. It is hinted that in the future, under the colonial subjugation, the last corollaries of the nation will be destroyed and this will lead to a replacement with a senseless generation. Once love and associations with history which enable the continuation of the nation, have been annihilated, a physical decay and corruption seems inevitable as Ali writes in *Twilight*: “She would become the city of the *dead*, inhabited by people who would have no love for her nor any associations with her *history* and ancient splendour. But

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<sup>1241</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 150.

<sup>1242</sup> The narrative voice of *Twilight* is not much different from the position of the characters in the novel. The advent of colonial rule and the scission it caused is depicted as the main tragedy. Mir Nihal’s disgust against the “foreign empire” is supported by Ahmed Ali. The narration of the tragedies of 1857 postponed at the beginning of the novel is done by Mir Nihal’s observation of the Coronation. During the preparations for the Coronation, Ali gives a brief description of the new appearance of the city, which goes through a degradation warding off Delhi from its glorious past: “In front of the Town Hall and around the statue of the English Queen one enormous stand was erected; and the ugliness of the Clock Tower had been concealed. The stands continues through the Fatehpuri Bazaar with its majestic mosque and grateful shadows, and continued to the Mori Gate and beyond. *All this made Delhi look more like an exhibition ground than the city which was once the greatest of Hindustan.*” Ali, *Twilight*, 138. Emphasis added .

who could cry against the ravages of Time which has destroyed Nineveh and Babylon as well as Rome?”<sup>1243</sup>

Here, again Ahmed Ali combines the philosophy behind the Islamic arts with the corollaries of the nationalist perspective. He deals with the impasse felt by the Muslim community during the formation of his novel. He treats time as a circular pattern, which will inevitably change in the future. When we focus on this understanding of time as a circular pattern, we find the classical Islamic philosophy’s approach to the universe that has also a great impact on the creation of Islamic art and architecture.

According to Ibnul Arabi, who is accepted to be one of the most influential Sufi thinkers in the history of Islam, “[e]xistence is a circle. The beginning of this circle is the presence of First Reason (*akl-ı evvel*). Kinds have come to an end with the humankind and the circle has been completed and man has joined to the First Reason. Just as the end of a circle combines with its beginning.”<sup>1244</sup>

The idea of a circle does not only make emphasis on continuation but also reveal the deep connection between God and human beings in a complete universal harmony. The order of things as well as the formation of occurrences in this world happens in circular time modes.<sup>1245</sup> By referring to Nineveh and Babylon, Ahmed Ali contextualizes his novel in the Quranic and Biblical narrative style. It is interesting that his references to the holy book are chosen from the common stories, which have relevance for both the Western reader and the Muslims. Here, Ahmed Ali attaches the fate of Delhi to the old cities mentioned in Quran and ties the theme of the novel to Islamic philosophy, or to put it rightly, to the logic behind Islamic storytelling, the development of which cannot be thought without the impact of Quranic stories. Ayvazoğlu, stressing the importance of Islamic thinking on the formation of the story in Islamic civilization, states that “in the story format, unlike the Western storytelling, there is not a development but the surprise; this stance is the result of the endeavor to depict a world totally different from the world we live in.”<sup>1246</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>1243</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 206.

<sup>1244</sup> Ayvazoğlu, *Aşk Estetiği*, 110.

<sup>1252</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1246</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

we can say that it is rather a world where the Divine is remembered and the profundity behind the daily events is understood.<sup>1247</sup>

Explaining the tragic fall in Western literature, Ayvazoğlu states that the tragedy is different for Muslims in that it appears from the conflict between the divine responsibility of man and the weakness of living in a temporary world. The characters' situation is very similar to the puppets in the hands of a puppeteer. The position of the audience is akin to that of puppets; although it is comic, the comedy itself bears a lesson, reminding the spectators that their freedom in this world is not more than those of the puppets. Muslim artist, as a result of his stance before nature, avoids reflecting the tragic events in this world in detail but goes directly to the epic; in which unpleasant events are superseded and instead, miraculous or fantabulous becomes a natural phenomenon.<sup>1248</sup> (Delhi with its Islamic culture and magnanimous architectural feats, symbolizes the city where the tragedy has not yet fully arrived. What Mir Nihal and other Muslims go through is to experience the tragic fall as the imperial intrusion destroys their traditional way of life which is interwoven with the epic.)<sup>1249</sup>

Reaching the essence and going beyond the real towards the unseen is the objective of Sufi thinking and the art created under the impact of this tradition.<sup>1250</sup> Ayvazoğlu states that the Muslim artist does not put his heroes in a situation where he reaches to a high value by sacrificing another one. "Although sometimes the destruction of a high value is shown, in Muslim story generally realization of a high values takes place."<sup>1251</sup> "Therefore, heroes are those who can say no to the temporal beauties of this life; an epic hero who can take the risk of being destroyed as a result of his answer."<sup>1252</sup> Love is the main theme in these stories and it means "the realization of a

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<sup>1247</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>1248</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>1249</sup> In his second novel, *Ocean of Night* (1964), Ahmed Ali uses the puppet metaphor in the opening of the novel to express the mystery of love and the secret meaning under the cover of Night: "Men dance moved by the invisible strings behind the curtain, dance until they cannot say who are the puppets and who the spectators, enact the stories of their lives and laugh or cry as the plot unravels. Ecstasy and sadness, the mystic joy and material fact of living mingle with each other in its darkness until they become indistinguishable one from the other. From corner to corner of the earth it hovers, peeping into the private lives of men, staging its puppet shows wherever it goes." Ali, *Twilight*, 7.

<sup>1250</sup> Ayvazoğlu, *Aşk Estetiği*, 154.

<sup>1251</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>1252</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

high value without destroying another high value. The hero is always in love and his story is always epic.”<sup>1253</sup>

This peculiarity of Islamic thought that leaves an important mark on literature and storytelling provides an explanation for the tragedy of the Mir Nihal Family as well. Devoid of the intrusion of the supernatural that saves the heroes from their present tragic situations, the hero of the novel submerges into the worldly and is not able to find any way to escape from the tragic end that awaits for him.

Ali blends this tradition with his nationalist perspective and expresses the impasse felt by South Asian Muslims. When this situation is tried to be expressed with a nationalist perspective, the advent of modernity and the destruction of the indigenous culture is unstoppable since the native people are deprived of the normal social and political power. Colonial subjugation opens a risk for the total annihilation of the native culture and for the nationalists to save the culture and guarantee the national identity is more primary than anything else. However, it should never be forgotten that neither Mir Nihal nor his friends are capable of such action: “But they were masters of their land no longer. They were in the hands of the foreigners who did as they pleased, and they had no command over their own destiny.”<sup>1254</sup> However, Ahmed Ali’s formula is never so easy and clear cut. Unable to withstand the colonial intrusion to the traditional, which is also Islamic, Mir Nihal faces the destructive face of the worldly, which appears as modernity here, and looks for a remedy for this non-healing spiritual disease that ends up with the corruption of the soul. Here begins Mir Nihal’s seclusion and although he teaches his grand children how to write and read Urdu,<sup>1255</sup> he symbolizes the dying culture of the nation, a slow transformation into a sickness that precludes his final death. “That is why Mir Nihal began to live more and more at home, in his own world, and in the atmosphere of alchemy and medicine, a world which was still his own where no one could disturb him or order him about.”<sup>1256</sup>

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is critical about the tendency of Muslim writers towards supernatural (miraculous), stating that, “hero, who cannot face his fate, can elude

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<sup>1253</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>1254</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 206.

<sup>1255</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

<sup>1256</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.



from a difficult situation through miraculous coincidences, with the help of *djinns* and *afrits*, *alchemy*... [.]”<sup>1257</sup> Through depicting Mir Nihal’s seclusion, Ahmed Ali, in fact, kills two birds with one stone: he finds an opportunity to show the continuation of a deep-rooted tradition while expressing the desperation of the Muslim community at the time. Mir Nihal or the Muslim community in India, torn apart from his traditions which are also the symbols of the transcendental, Islamic and eternal is desperately in search for the supernatural that can save them from the inevitable end waiting for him/them. Neither supernatural nor *deux ex machina* nor alchemy works any more. Now we face the new Delhi where even songs are of no avail.<sup>1258</sup>

### 5.3.2.2 History

Apart from poetry, architecture and calligraphy, history, or the legacy of a great history, plays an important role in the novel. It is one of the other main pivots of national identity. The importance of history to nationalism is a well-known fact. However, it does not have the same function in every culture. What is the function of history for nationalism? Is it only a past that should be acknowledged or does it play an important role in the formation of the ongoing nationalism if not the state? According to Gilbert, “[t]he most important role for history is to help individuate nations. [...] It is to be discovered as evidence of nationhood[.]”<sup>1259</sup> History and descent are important for some nations (nonsocietal ones) since it functions as a guarantee for the existence of nationalisms.<sup>1260</sup> Gilbert narrates the views of Otto Bauer on the importance of history in the last chapter of his book dealing with the importance of history and destiny on different nationalisms. One requirement he gives for the creation or existence of nationalism is: “only a group that can respond collectively has a history, and only a group whose members are subjected to the same sequence of experiences can respond collectively to it.”<sup>1261</sup>

In *Twilight in Delhi*, legacy and impact of Mutiny is used to express the negative effects of imperialism that has been destroying the indigenous culture every passing day. According to Prija Joshi, city’s destruction at the end of the novel propounds a historicide and the proprietor of this is not only modernity but the Empire itself.

<sup>1257</sup> Ayvazoğlu, *Aşk Estetiği*, 161.

<sup>1258</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 244.

<sup>1259</sup> Gilbert, *The Philosophy*, 154.

<sup>1260</sup> *Ibid.*, 154-55.

<sup>1261</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

Ahmed Ali, while depicting the historicide, also reclaims it, though it is “in these newer, hybrid forms combining verse *shehrashob* with the English novel.”<sup>1262</sup> It is for this reason that colonialism, the primary reason behind the historicide, which appears as a consequence of the destruction of 7<sup>th</sup> Delhi and the traditional way of life with the collaboration of imperialism and modernity at the end of the novel, is virulently denounced and due to the necessity of the preservation of this culture, history is again reclaimed by the same narrative and made known to the readers in English which locates the narrative into a more global context.

However, besides this, the longevity and the indispensable authentic value of Muslim culture (Mughal culture) is vigorously stressed. As Snehal Shingavi points, what is seen as nostalgia has an important function in Ali’s fiction, being not solely a “recollection” but “aesthetic revaluation”: “the past had been written off as irrelevant; in order to be recuperated, the past had to be carefully reimagined as not only important but also as beautiful.”<sup>1263</sup> In the opening of the novel, the centrality (uniqueness) of Delhi and life in Delhi is given through many references to the past empires and shown as a long-established culture entrenched in the history of India.<sup>1264</sup>

Ahmed Ali follows this version of history accepted by Delhi elites (*ashraf* classes) of the time. Although he claims that he reflects the life of people he knows best, Ahmed Ali appears to have esteem for their respect for the glories of the Mughal period and the significance of Delhi-based Muslim culture. According to Rahman, based on the figures indicating education and employment, Muslims in U.P. were not a suppressed community but it was their own perception of themselves that was different. “They had been privileged elite and nostalgia rather than realism dominated their

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<sup>1262</sup> Joshi, *Another Country*, 227.

<sup>1263</sup> Shingavi, “Lavish Weddings and Nostalgic Delhis,” 167.

<sup>1264</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 2. The danger faced by the Muslims of the present Delhi is neither about losing their land nor a massacre nor an expulsion: it is a danger related with languishment of an innate, long-lasting culture which means the eradication of what makes Delhi the “jewel of the eye of the world”. Ali, *Twilight*, 2. For Ahmed Ali, the perilous situation stems from the incapability of the Muslims to protect their innate culture from the invasion of foreign forces. Mir Nihal, after remembering the heroic but unsuccessful defense of the Jama Masjid, thinks about the next generation of Muslims: “soon when they have grown up Time will show them a new but quite different sight, peep into the mysteries of life, and give them a full glimpse of the sorrows of the subjection” *Ibid.*, 152. Culture is given as the “guarantee for the existence of” Muslims of India and since it seems to be under great threat, this constitutes a great danger for the Muslims.

worldview. They were convinced that their religion, culture, language, literature etc. were intrinsically superior to those of other Indians.”<sup>1265</sup>

Rahman thinks that Ahmed Ali shares the “emotional attitudes” of the Muslim middle class in Delhi and recognition of the past as glorious stems from the acceptance that the domination of this middle class was in the past. He thinks that:

[t]his falsifies reality because this Muslim grandeur was based on the exploited labour of Hindu peasants in the final analysis and, to go further into the past, in conquest and colonialism by the Muslims, the very thing for which the British are being blamed. There is no justification for this rhetoric as one finds towards the end of many chapters of *Twilight*.<sup>1266</sup>

However, the aestheticized Muslim past and the rewriting of pre-1857 era as a glorious time or as a period when Muslims or peoples of India were sovereign is not basically a distortion of the “real history” but serves for a special purpose like valorizing national history as well. In fact, Ahmed Ali’s treatment of pre-1857 era as a glorious time is not totally groundless. Frances W. Pritchett, in his book *Nets of Awareness: Poetry and Its Critics* (1994), points out that although the Mughal rulers went through a calamitous period politically, this was not true for every aspect of life.<sup>1267</sup>

As Hali, in a review for his book *Water of Life*, points out, “[I]t is a strange coincidence that the beginning of Urdu poetry and the decline of the Mughal empire start from just the same time as though its seed had been sown in ground that could no longer sustain growth.”<sup>1268</sup> It is an even more interesting fact that the proliferation seen in the literary realm takes precedence over the political decline and due to the power of the word, the era between Shah Alam the Second and Bahadur Shah has come to be regarded as a glorious time by some Muslim scholars. As Pritchett states, although Shah Alam the Second (1759-1806) experienced both humiliation and poverty, his reign was remembered as a glorious time. As Pritchett notes:

Despite Shah 'Alam's legal sovereignty, his throne rested uncertainly on layers of nostalgia and remembered glory. He himself as an "emperor" was hopelessly vulnerable. But he had another calling as well: he was a serious poet, as well as a notable connoisseur and patron of poetry. Toward the end of his life, poetry became his chief pursuit. And as a poet, he could feel an unchallengeable pride and confidence. He came from a tradition that knew itself as

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<sup>1265</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 69.

<sup>1266</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History of Pakistani Literature*, 48.

<sup>1267</sup> Frances W. Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness: Urdu Poetry and Its Critics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>1268</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

the center of its cultural world and knew that its cultural world was the only one that counted.<sup>1269</sup>

Pritchett points out to an important detail in Mughal history, namely, an era of cultural renaissance that took place after the British took control of Delhi in 1801.<sup>1270</sup>

Spear calls it “English Peace” when the cultural harmony, urban growth and prosperity was established. In Pritchett’s words:

This Delhi Renaissance was rich in the arts, and extraordinarily influential. Lucknow, untouched by the kind of repeated plundering that Delhi had endured, was a great magnet and center of patronage; but Delhi, as the last Mughal capital, had a special nostalgic appeal. The court was “the school of manners for India” and “a cultural influence of great value”; its prestige and patronage made it “the natural centre of all the arts and crafts”. Urdu poetry was widely and seriously cultivated: there were not only frequent *mushairahs* at the Red Fort, but also weekly ones held on the Delhi College premises, as well as numerous privately sponsored ones.<sup>1271</sup>

Delhi became the symbol of this cultural rejuvenation, and [a]n interest in Urdu Language and literature had even come to be considered a hallmark of the city itself: “Anyone who had not lived in Delhi could never be considered a real knower of Urdu, as if the steps of the Jama’ Masjid were a school of language.”<sup>1272</sup> However, following the 1857 Mutiny, this world came to an end. “The Rebellion of 1857, together with its brutal, destructive, and long-lasting aftermath, marked the real end of aristocratic Muslim culture in North India.”<sup>1273</sup>

The deposition of the Mughal king and the ruthless treatment by the British to the Mughal dynasty, which was abolished after 1857, the Mutiny was a deathly blow for Indians, but especially for the Muslims. The end of the Mughal dynasty was at the same time a harbinger of the end of Mughal cultural life as well. As Pritchett states,

Whatever the actual political facts, the medieval Mughal vision of kingship as absolute universal sovereignty was still widespread and powerful. When such a symbolically awesome king, the center and embodiment of a whole cultural world, falls in some irrevocable way, a great deal may fall with him. His people may well fear for their culture. Thus could Ghalib write of the lost glories of Delhi, “All these things lasted only so long as the king reigned.” Since the king Bahadur Shah was also the poet Zafar, and preeminently the patron of Urdu and Persian poets, it is not surprising that his fall tended to drag the classical poetry down with him. Azad later expressed surprise that even the Urdu language itself had survived the debacle: “Urdu emerged from Delhi and its lamp ought to have been extinguished with the kingship of Delhi” (61). But survival meant living through a time of devastation and disaster. So many poems in various genres lamented the ruin of the city that a number of them were ultimately gathered into a melancholy anthology, *The Sigh of Delhi* (1863).<sup>1274</sup>

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<sup>1269</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>1270</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>1271</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>1272</sup> Pritchett, *Nets of Awareness*, 10.

<sup>1273</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>1274</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

Francis Robinson construes this attitude of the North Indian elites within the general frame of the Muslim world. Robinson states that after facing the Western development and domination, certain changes took place in the life of Muslims and old methods were changed with new (Western) ways. Knowledge was one of them. Especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a revolutionary change took place. After being exposed to these rapid transformations, “Muslims have been obsessed by a sense of lost glory, what Akbar S. Ahmed calls the Al-Andalus syndrome.”<sup>1275</sup> He exemplifies this with verses from Hali’s *Musaddas*:

Why speak of the springtime of flowers?  
When shadows of adversity hang over the present,  
Why harp on the pomp and glory of the past?  
Yes, these are things to forget; but how can you with  
The dawn forget the scene of the night before?  
The assembly has just dispersed;  
The smoke is still rising from the burnt candle;  
The footprints on the sands of India still say  
A graceful caravan has passed this way. (39)<sup>1276</sup>

Robinson also expresses that feeling of superiority is a common sentiment among Muslims, which “was further boosted by the consciousness that Islam was historically final amongst the religions.”<sup>1277</sup> And this feeling of superiority determined the community’s relationship with political power.<sup>1278</sup> Being a minority in India created a serious problem with the community’s relations with power.<sup>1279</sup> Robinson observes that “Where Muslims form a minority, there frequently springs up a demand that Muslims should be organized as a separate political community, either as a separate nation state or as a state within a state.”<sup>1280</sup> For Robinson, it is Islam’s emphasis on community that brings about a great tendency among Muslims to form political groups based on their faith. “‘Everywhere Islam went’, writes Marshall Hodgson, ‘there has been a continuous pressure toward persuading all Muslims to adopt like standards, like ways of living based on the Islamic ideals prevailing at a given time’...[.]”<sup>1281</sup> Ayesha Jalal prefers to explain this situation as exclusiveness of Muslim identity:

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<sup>1275</sup> Francis Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 39.

<sup>1276</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1277</sup> *Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>1278</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1279</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>1280</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>1281</sup> *Ibid.*, 182-183.

But Islamic universalism, inextricably associated as it has been with the community of believers, could hardly avoid the strains of exclusivism. Submission to Allah, the ultimate law-giver whose authority is absolute, all-pervasive and inalienable, sets the Muslim apart from all others. Releasing the individual from all forms of human bondage except the community of the faithful, the message of Islam prompts Muslims towards an implicit exclusivism even while lauding the virtues of common humanity and universal fellowship.<sup>1282</sup>

This ideal to create a religio-political community or, to put it differently, an ideal Muslim state has gradually and continuously taken Muslims in North India under its effect. “Moreover, as a minority in the midst of idolaters, abiding concerns were both to draw sharp distinctions between the idolaters and themselves and to ensure that Islam lived hand in hand with power.”<sup>1283</sup> Also in the U.P. Muslims’ thinking, “uneasiness about culture, jobs and influence in a Hindu dominated India was an important strand.”<sup>1284</sup>

### 5.3.3 *Twilight in Delhi* and corruption

National consciousness is utilized as the expression of the awareness of the historical, cultural and territorial uniqueness of the nation that provides the necessary inspiration to fight against the invading foreign forces and as a moral prerequisite that guarantees the purity of the mind. In the novel, based on the importance of the state through which the protection of the community is guaranteed, people of Delhi remember the days of sovereignty with deep sighs in their bosom and explain this with the half-politic poetry of Bahadur Shah. An important difference lies between those who did not witness the Mughal period and “the older residents, who had seen a glimpse of the glamour of the Mughals and had many relations killed during the great destruction and plunder of Delhi in 1857, [who] stricken dumb, or cursed the Farangis at home... [.]”<sup>1285</sup> Therefore, the national past (expressed as the Muslim/Mughal sovereignty) and the glory are still alive in the minds of some people who now come to constitute a minority. As Ali puts it in *Twilight in Delhi*,

[A] new Delhi meant new people, new ways and a new world altogether. That may be all right for the new comers: for the old residents it was a little too much. [ ...] The *old culture*, which had been preserved within the walls of the ancient town, was in danger of annihilation.

<sup>1282</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 188.

<sup>1283</sup> *Ibid.*, 202. Robinson states that not only the *ulama* but also the Western-educated Muslims whose first ideal were by no means to create an ideal Islamic state were very effective in the creation of Pakistan. From 1937, “till the emergence of Pakistan they were at the heart of the League’s activities, dominating many of its committees and holding many of its top offices.” among these were Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Ismail Khan and Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>1284</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>1285</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 141.

Her *language*, on which Delhi had prided herself, would become adulterated and impure [...].<sup>1286</sup>

Here, it is possible to observe Ahmed Ali's espousal and adoption of the understandings of the Muslim elites of Delhi and the elites of North India and their version of history. Due to the sultan cult in the Muslim Indian society, though it was merely symbolic, the era of Bahadur Shah is reflected as an era of glamour. However, the majority is void of such conscience and the demise of the Muslim society can be attached to the indifference of the Delhiites or Muslim people.<sup>1287</sup>

They were dying to see a big fair. For the residents of Delhi never miss an opportunity of enjoying themselves, and this quality is peculiar to Delhiites alone of all the peoples of India. Even during the terrible days of 1857, when the guns were spitting fire, they used to climb up on the roofs to watch the fun of cannon balls shooting red hot out of the cannons' mouths, and compared the firing to fireworks during the festival of Shab-barat.<sup>1288</sup>

This stark contrast, this unconsciousness reveals itself as great irony; the war which gave an end to the sovereignty of the Muslim empire is seen as a mere celebration by the ignorant people who are blind to the historical moment they are watching. The lack of national consciousness is not only peculiar to the people, but has also shown its reverberations within the family. Kabiruddin becomes silent when the British is criticized at home "out of his loyalty to those from whom he got his salt."<sup>1289</sup> After this scene, Begam Nihal reminds her family how the fate of the family and Muslims or India are tied to each other:

And she began to relate how ruthlessly Delhi had been looted by them at the time of the 'Mutiny', and the Mussalmans had been turned out of the city, their houses demolished and destroyed and their property looted and usurped by the 'Prize Agency'; and the city dyed with blood or princes and nobles, poor and rich alike who had happened to be Mussalmans.<sup>1290</sup>

Then the fate of Gul Bano comes to fore and the reader is presented the real background and the meaning of the Coronation and the British sovereignty. The contrast between the great times of the nation and their present helplessness is used to express the miserable situation they are suffering at that moment. Once the national sovereignty is lost, corruption -both material and spiritual- is inevitable: "Many of them had become beggars and went about begging in the streets. Some

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<sup>1286</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 206.

<sup>1287</sup> In his interview with Carlo Coppola, Ahmed Ali mentions about this lack of consciousness in the Delhi Muslims. "[I]n all the months of my study of the people in Delhi, no one, not one single person, was conscious of or had any awareness of what things were the way they were- why the Muslims lost their power over India, why the British were there, and so on." ... Coppola, "Highlights," 67.

<sup>1288</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 141.

<sup>1289</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1290</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

were given five or ten rupees as pension by those who had usurped their kingdom.”<sup>1291</sup>

One point that should be stressed here is that Islamic tradition/aesthetics is again utilized to elevate the sense of destruction and loss, which at the same time reveals the extent of corruption in the novel.

Francis Robinson mentions the importance of print in South Asian Muslims’ reform movements in colonial India. At the same time he addresses to the famous issue about why printing came to Islamic world much later. The answer, for him, lies in the traditional way of transmission of knowledge. For Robinson oral tradition developed as a consequence of the tradition or “methods of learning or transmitting the Quran [which] laid their impresses on the transmission of all other knowledge.”<sup>1292</sup> “Knowledge was being transmitted from man to man [...] Person to person transmission through time was the most reliable way of making up for the absence of the original author in the text. It enabled the student to read the white lines on the page, as the Muslim teachers used to say, as well the black lines.”<sup>1293</sup>

According to Robinson, the reason behind this way of transmission was the method and form of Islamic scholarship since it “was designed to compensate for the absence of the author in the text.”<sup>1294</sup> The teacher represented the knowledge itself and was respected equally. Not only religious knowledge but all forms of knowledge were being transformed in this way. From Sufi teachings to calligraphy, transmission of knowledge was made from person to person.<sup>1295</sup>

Ahmed Ali reflects the function and impact of this tradition through introducing three beggars just before and after the Coronation Durbar. Firstly Bahadur Shah, a beggar who only sings Bahadur Shah’s poems “brought back the memory of the olden days when Hindustan had not been shackled in its new sorrows. His voice did not merely convey the grief of Bahadur Shah but in it was heard the plaint of India’s slavery.”<sup>1296</sup> Secondly, Gul Bano, this time the real descendant of Bahadur Shah (his granddaughter who witnessed the Mutiny when she was seven years old) “who was

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<sup>1291</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 142.

<sup>1292</sup> Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 70.

<sup>1293</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>1294</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1295</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1296</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 136.



reduced to begging from house to house”<sup>1297</sup> increases the dramatic scene in the novel, presenting a direct contrast with the glamour of the British Coronation. Mehro’s question to Gul Bano whether the coronation was better in her time<sup>1298</sup> clearly manifests the function of the Islamic tradition that valorizes the author. The Delhiites are in an endeavor to compensate for the absence of Bahadur Shah or the Mughal Sultan, and she becomes one of the last conveyors of the Delhi-based Mughal culture, which had been associated with the culture of South Asian Muslims in general. When she delivers poems that lament the fall of Mughal Empire, not only the audience but also the reader experiences the lamentation of Bahadur Shah himself.

The transfer of the poetry, written in a palace by a king, to beggars –some of whom are the real inheritors of both the kingship and the tradition– reveal not only the wretchedness of the family but also the country as well. As Amin Malak observes,

[t]he three novels by Ali are permeated by a certain view of history that is quintessentially Sophoclean: tragic and fatalistic. On the one hand, individuals and communities bear a clear responsibility for their own decline. Their lack of profound understanding of themselves and their surroundings their inalertness to sociohistorical transformations, and their imperviousness to an ever-changing reality all contribute to their self-induced malaise.<sup>1299</sup>

Following Gul Bano’s citation, which re-enacts the tragedy of the Mutiny, in the women’s side of the house the audience falls into sobs, making the best of *catharsis* expected from such a session. On the other hand, men are in a deep conversation, searching for the real reason behind the fall of Bahadur Shah. Everybody tries to prescribe a possible reason in their own understanding. For Mir Nihal it was due to the treachery of Bahadur Shah’s second wife; for Habibuddin, the loss of the war was the result of a tactical mistake, which would not have happened if Bahadur Shah had listened to Bakht Khan. Kambal Shah does not agree with them, saying that these are the minor points. The real reason behind the fall of the Empire is separating the lover and the beloved and burying Mohammad Shah between Hazrat Mahboob Elahi and Hazrat Amir Khurso.<sup>1300</sup>

Here, Ahmed Ali skillfully sketches what he critically observes in his arrival in Delhi to write his novel. The absence of consciousness present among the people of Delhi,

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<sup>1297</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>1298</sup> *Ibid.*, 143

<sup>1299</sup> Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 25.

<sup>1300</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 146.

their indifference towards the deteriorating political situation and the cultural erosion of their nation or community struck the author. In his interview with Carlo Coppola, Ali explains this situation as follows:

You see, in all the months and months of my study of the people in Delhi, no one, not one single person, was conscious of or had any awareness of why things were the way they were — why the Muslims lost their power over India, why the British were there, etc. No one knew why, so how could I go beyond my characters? How could I go beyond the consciousness of my characters without spoiling what I had built up in the novel, the unity of my characters and the story? I would have impinged on their consciousness, on their awareness, if I had done so. Since they did not have this awareness, I could not mention it. If this awareness had come through me, it would have been extraneous. But I did show it through my symbols. What happened, after all? A society was dying. I did not show that a society was coming to life. I showed that it was moving towards death, yet living, marching on, for it did continue to live right down until 1947-48.<sup>1301</sup>

Ahmed Ali's association of history of India with the Mughal Empire and his consciousness about the past glory which was lost, as well as his abstention from Hindu national movement, perfectly concurs with the tendencies of the North Indian elites of 30s and 40s. When transformed into certain inclinations and developments of its time, the lack of consciousness present in the novel is an expression of the lack of national consciousness when the national movement is in the communal phase, during which an attachment to certain symbols is expected. Therefore, the Sophoclean tragedy that awaits Mir Nihal household and the Muslim community of Delhi, if not North India, is that they are coming closer to their end day by day and except for a few characters such as Mir Nihal and Mirza, the milk seller, ("older residents [of Delhi] who had seen the glimpse of the glamour of the Mughals,")<sup>1302</sup> no one seems to have gone through an *anagnorisis*, or the awareness of their end.

After the Coronation scene, by positioning himself in a naïve reactionary nationalism that lives up with the glories of the past only, Mir Nihal, who gains the sympathy of the writer as one of the last surviving witnesses of a "glamorous era"(!), becomes a senseless patriarch incapable of feeling sympathy for the present and future problems of the nation. In the novel, more than few times, inability of Mir Nihal to alter the catastrophic trajectory of events is stressed. In the earlier pages, the inability of Delhiites to do anything for the British intrusion of India is visible. More than few times, the hopeless situation of Mir Nihal and other few residents who are aware of their tragic fall is expressed: "and they burned with rage and impotent anger, for they

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<sup>1301</sup> Carlo Coppola, "Ahmed Ali in Conversation," 14.

<sup>1302</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 141.

could do nothing... [.]”<sup>1303</sup> “But what was done was done, and could not now be undone... [.]”<sup>1304</sup> “But happy are they who feel not, for they do not know, and miserable are those who see and suffer and can do nothing.”<sup>1305</sup>

The connection between the tragic end of Mir Nihal and Delhi and nationalism comes from Ahmed Ali’s inclination to reinterpret Mughal rule through nationalist trajectory. When Mir Nihal remembers the defense of Jama Masjid, he reinterprets this scene of his childhood through rewriting it via nationalist genre: “Hundreds fell down dead on the steps of the mosque and inside, colouring the stones a deeper red with their blood. But with a resolution to embrace death in the cause of the Motherland, the Mussalmans made a sudden rally...[.]”<sup>1306</sup> As Douglas E. Streusand explains in his book *Islamic Gunpowder Empires: Ottomans, Safawids and Mughals* (2011), these three empires “did not develop a national or linguistic identity”, however, their implementation of ideological programs that were religious in essence had a similar effect.<sup>1307</sup> In some periods, these policies have had an important impact on the religious life and identities of the population living under the rule of these empires.<sup>1308</sup> Nevertheless, it would be totally wrong to assume that those Muslim monarchs exerted—a fully religious—pressure on their subjects.<sup>1309</sup> In two aspects, there remains an important distinction between the European empires that dominated the world in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Islamic empires that saw their peak in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. One of the differences is surely capitalism and the other one is nationalism. What Ahmed Ali does here is similar to “nationalist historians [who] looked back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to explain their loss of independence and find lessons for future.”<sup>1310</sup> As a student of Aligarh School, which combined Western education with Islam, Ahmed Ali uses nationalist jargons (terms) that exactly came from his Western education; the defense of the mosque, which can be explained through religious sensitivity, becomes the defense of India, or Motherland. The attachment of the history of India to Mughal history or the history of Muslim community in general does not amount to a united history with the Indian

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<sup>1303</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 142.

<sup>1304</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>1305</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

<sup>1306</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1307</sup> Douglas E. Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires*, 4.

<sup>1308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1309</sup> Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, 3.

<sup>1310</sup> Streusand, *Islamic Gunpowder Empires*, 5.

community; rather, it signalizes a nationalist reinterpretation of the Mughal inheritance that explains the impasse felt by the Muslims “who had no empire to turn to [and who] developed a variety of responses to the depressed state of a community ruled in the nineteenth and twentieth century by Christians and economically subordinate to Hindus.”<sup>1311</sup>

Also Jalal warns that nationalist narratives dealing with 1857 revolt should be taken cautiously. “Discussions on the issue of rebellion and collaboration in 1857 have not allowed sufficient room for individual pragmatism when it has fallen short of the grander ideals of the ‘nation’.”<sup>1312</sup> Besides Ghalib’s reluctance to support the Mutiny, a more important point that should be considered is the disinclination of Bahadur Shah Zafar to support the rebels.

Sovereignty in any case had been lost a hundred years ago. Bahadur Shah Zafar recounted the circumstances which had led the Mughal court to hand over the administration of his empire to the English East India Company. Even while retaining its autonomy under the Maratha protectorate, the Mughal court found it impossible to run the royal kitchen, much less concern itself with the administration of an empire that was by now more a figment of the imagination.<sup>1313</sup>

Since the defense of Jama Masjid is nationalized, collaboration with the British automatically amounts to treachery.<sup>1314</sup> The moral sharpness of *Twilight* lies in its attachment to the miserable condition it depicts with the nationalist sentiments, which inevitably creates a moral stance the absence or degradation of which creates moral, if not physical, corruption.

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<sup>1311</sup> Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, 269. David Lelyveld states that the small ruling class of the Mughal Empire did not necessarily identify themselves with Islam but lineages, although there were always *ulama* acting as a part of force and power. The general Muslim population, though they identified themselves with the Empire, and called themselves as the former ruling class before the English became dominant in India, their participation to such a rule was minimal. For this reason, Lelyveld claims that “India was ruled by Muslims, but ‘the Muslims’ did not rule India.” Lelyveld, *Aligarh’s First Generation*, 32.

<sup>1312</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 27-9.

<sup>1313</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>1314</sup> Despite his mistakes and inadequacy, which chains him to bed at the end of the novel, Mir Nihal’s resistance to imperialism for the sake of his culture is the main feature that makes him deserve sympathy from the reader. His bequeath to his grandson during the Coronation not only reveals his inadequacy but his national consciousness as well. As Özkırımlı states: “All forms of nationalism put great weight on the distinction between insiders and outsiders, members and nonmembers. Members have particularistic responsibilities towards each other. Moreover, they are commonly seen as passing these responsibilities on to their children.” Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates*, 89.

Therefore, what Mir Nihal considers as glorious or glamorous is not obvious but the priority of culture in this imagining stems from the tendency of the nationalist movement to protect the native culture and the endeavor to ground the national identity of the new country on the Urdu-based footing. Mir Nihal's reactionary stance impinges him to have a son who is educated in a modern Muslim school that is the locus of Pakistan and Muslim separatist movement. Asghar's denial (deprivation) of a more modern and national education can also be seen as the reason of his downfall and corruption at the end of the novel.

Before the Mutiny, traditional education which started with learning the Quran and then continued with Persian in *Maktab* (school) —if he is not intended to continue his education with an *ustad* (master) — was effective in finding posts in the government.<sup>1315</sup> Sending one or two of the children to the governmental posts was important for the reputation of the family. Those who intended for such a career experienced *kacahri*, a career of “the complex courts and government offices that marked any administrative center.”<sup>1316</sup> Yet, such a career was not the only way; having large estates, a good lineage or a religious career could be the other sources of power. However, following 1857, the only way to be effective and a participant of political decisions was to be closer to the government, which tightened its grips in many areas from tax collection to commerce.<sup>1317</sup> Moreover, after 1857, though not immediately but gradually, English education became more and more important. Muslims were in a backward situation with regard to English education.<sup>1318</sup> For many years, Muslim families were not convinced enough about the necessity and advantages of English education.<sup>1319</sup>

From the point of view of a man like Sayyid Ahmad in about 1870, there was good reason to believe that the day was coming when the established forms of a *sharif* upbringing would no longer qualify a man for participation in the life and benefits of *kacahri* society.<sup>1320</sup>

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<sup>1315</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 50-53.

<sup>1316</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>1317</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>1318</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-5.

<sup>1319</sup> Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 89-99.

<sup>1320</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

Sayyid Ahmed Khan's attitude towards politics in India can be an example of the uneasiness and ambivalence seen in *Twilight in Delhi*. "Drawing from his Mughal roots, he had always conceived of India as a combination of unequal and mutually antagonistic ancestral groups brought to peace only by their relationship to an overarching power."<sup>1321</sup>

For Sayyid Ahmad, being Muslim was defined in terms of membership in a *qaum*, a people of common descent, not the *ummah* of common belief. He did not base his appeal on Islamic revelation and its implications for the political order; high status for Muslims was their right by virtue of ancestral heritage as descendants of a ruling race. He realized that, in fact, not all Muslims descended from the same progenitor, but kinship served as a living metaphor for forging Muslim solidarity in the midst of India's non-Muslim majority; Muslims were conceived of an ethnic community.<sup>1322</sup>

Therefore he could not accept a fully democratic India, based on individual citizenship, taking its decisions according to majority. In case of such a possibility for India, he sought for the guarantee of extra seats for the Muslims more than their numbers.<sup>1323</sup>

The importance of Aligarh in creating consciousness among the Muslim population in India cannot be denied. In the beginning, the rationale for the creation of Aligarh was due to the relationship between power and Muslim identity in India. For Sayyid Ahmad, "Muslims were a former ruling class now fallen on evil days. To recover their rightful position they had to cultivate new areas of knowledge and skill; they also had to develop a new level of consolidation as a *qaum*."<sup>1324</sup>

Therefore, the mission of Aligarh was to serve as a basis for the Muslim nationalism that was yet to grow. To this end, the first step was to recover the position of the Muslims in India by having them gain the necessary skills and values for the "public leadership."<sup>1325</sup> Muslim solidarity<sup>1326</sup> should have been increased, without losing loyalty to the British, who were the leaders of India.<sup>1327</sup>

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<sup>1321</sup> *Ibid.*, 311.

<sup>1322</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1323</sup> *Ibid.*, 311-12.

<sup>1324</sup> Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 317.

<sup>1325</sup> *Ibid.*, 318.

Ever since Sayyid Ahmad started his movement to found a special educational establishment for Indian Muslims, Aligarh has summoned up in both friend and foe and image of Muslim participation —as Muslims— in India's new political institutions.<sup>1328</sup>

However, in the novel Asghar cannot participate in such education and becomes lost due to confusion between the traditional and the modern. The father and the son, staying between the glorious tradition that should be protected and an indefinite future that should be fought for, are incapable of doing both; they become obsolete, lose their national feelings and appear as morally degenerate and corrupt at the end of the novel:

New ways and ideas had come into being. A hybrid culture which had nothing in it of the past was forcing itself upon Hindustan, a hodge-podge of Indian and Western ways which he failed to understand. The English had been beaten by the Turks at Gallipoli. Even this had not affected his heart. He had become feelingness and was not interested whether the Caravan stayed or moved on. The old had gone, and the new ways was feeble and effete. At least it had nothing with his ideals or his scheme of things.<sup>1329</sup>

The atmosphere of the country is in the same condition; “hopeless weariness” is felt everywhere and “the dust blew more often than before.” The glorious past which is very significant for a nationalist is changed into a “dreariness” and Ahmed Ali takes this situation as the result of colonialism and the modernity which appears as its corollary: “The richness of life had been looted and despoiled by the foreigners, and vulgarity and cheapness had taken its place.”<sup>1330</sup> Ahmed Ali, who regards the poetry as the fundamentals of the Muslim community shows the alteration of “the relation which existed between the society and its poets” as the reason for the destruction of

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<sup>1326</sup> “Of the direct indoctrination there was plenty. In numerous addresses to the students, Beck Morrison, and Sayyid Ahmad would reiterate the basic theme: that Indian Muslims, the former rulers of the country, had declined, and that the only hope for their regeneration was to mobilize them under the aegis of Aligarh. Selfless service to the qaum, not individual achievement, was to be the major aspiration of a rightly guided student, and student solidarity was a necessary condition for carrying out the mission of the college.”<sup>1326</sup> David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, 319.

<sup>1327</sup> *Ibid.*, 319. “In the isolated and intense environment of Aligarh college, young men developed powerful feelings of friendship and rivalry as members of student cliques. They learned how to organize themselves for group cooperation or factional competition on the basis of personal attachment rather than fixed relationships determined by birth. They also confronted the reality of British power, as Beck and his colleagues increasingly took control over every aspect of college administration.” *Ibid.*, 329.

<sup>1328</sup> *Ibid.*, 346.

<sup>1329</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 251.

<sup>1330</sup> *Ibid.*

the harmony in the society. “New modes forced them upon India” and “the unity of experience and form ... vanished.”<sup>1331</sup>

In addition, the tragedy of the Mir Nihal Family shows that the Muslims in India can neither continue the old culture imprisoned into the domestic space nor could they create a new nationalist character that could take the ship of Muslims of the Subcontinent to the safe coast. “Only a *poverty* of thought had come to stay, reflected Mir Nihal, and in place of emotion and sentiments a *vulgar sentimentality*.... No *beauty* seemed to remain anywhere and *ugliness* had *blackened* the face of Hindustan...”[.]<sup>1332</sup>

Similarly, a total corruption and decay covers the whole Hindustan and the world of the Muslims in U.P., which experiences the shocks from colonial rule the most, and the “foreign king” becomes obsolete and Mir Nihal, as a representative of this culture, corrupts and becomes senseless as well. He no longer interferes with Asghar’s clothes, who no more abstain from wearing English clothes near his father.<sup>1333</sup> Begam Nihal becomes blind; Masroor finds a work in English (foreign and imperialist) company but cannot hold on to his work; Shams, though looking very pious from outside, commits adultery with a woman who has a fiancé.<sup>1334</sup> Begam Jamal, who lived in the same house for forty years, leaves as she is believed to have opposed Asghar’s controversial attempt to marry her sister in law.<sup>1335</sup> Mir Nihal, the maimed patriarch, does not appear to be aware of the impropriety of his son’s marriage attempt. His sensitiveness, which shows the vividness of the traditional life at the beginning of the novel, has been lost. In such an atmosphere, the social order seems to have been upside down and the poetry/culture that enables the continuation of the nation seems to be cut off, leaving the members of it into a complete darkness, which also has a very significant symbolical meaning in the novel.<sup>1336</sup> As Anderson notes, “the twilight becomes night” at the end of the novel.<sup>1337</sup>

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<sup>1331</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1332</sup> *Ibid.*, 252. Emphasis added.

<sup>1333</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1334</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>1335</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

<sup>1336</sup> As Carlo Coppola observes, the theme of darkness has a very significant place in Ahmed Ali’s oeuvre, starting from his early short stories. “The setting for ‘*Mahavaton ki et Raat*’ is night, one of the most persistent features in nearly all of Ali’s short stories, a number of which not only use ‘night’ or evening’ in their titles, but the story also unfolds at night. This preoccupation with night, reflective



When the cultural, lingual, as well as the main pivots of the national identity are lost, both physical and spiritual corruption and decay follows. The unity and peace provided by a Muslim empire in accordance with Islamic principles of art, which lean towards the transcendental and absolute goodness, is socially all-encompassing; and due to the annihilation of the Empire, the tragic end does not stop following Mir Nihal at his house. When the stroke hits him, like the dying culture of Delhi, he becomes useless, wishing for death.<sup>1338</sup> After the snake that came out during the coronation, this time rats appear and he loses all his joy in his “perpetual imprisonment.”<sup>1339</sup>

A transformation from pigeons, which symbolize the continuation of the classical culture in Delhi,<sup>1340</sup> to rats, the old symbol of deterioration of the hygiene and the standard of living, is an apparent metaphor to show the corruption of Mir Nihal and the loss of his moral merits. Alistair Niven thinks that while allusion to the major events adds an epic structure to the novel, “other events such as the death of Mir Nihal’s pigeons are the symbolic expressions of foretelling the vanquish of a certain way of life.”<sup>1341</sup> If pigeons are given as the symbol for the continuation of the national life and traditions, Mir Nihal’s dealing with rats signifies the loss of national tradition, which is equated with corruption as well. It is no coincidence that Ahmed Ali’s last novel, *Of Rats and Diplomats*, in which rats appear as the symbol of total degeneration, narrates the corruption of the world politics.<sup>1342</sup> While Mir Nihal lies paralyzed, he remembers the olden days: “Memories of days and hours came swarming like flies upon him, and he thought of his life from childhood to the present day. Delhi had fallen, he reflected; India had been despoiled; all that he had stood for had been destroyed.”<sup>1343</sup>

This world is threatened and the alienation of Mir Nihal from his environment is symbolized by his physical decay. Although it can be read as an allusion to it, his

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of basically Ali’s dark worldview, also carries over to the titles of his English novels, *Twilight in Delhi* and *Ocean of Night*.” Coppola, “Highlights,” 98.

<sup>1337</sup> Anderson, Anderson, “Ahmed Ali and the Growth,” 441.

<sup>1338</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 225.

<sup>1339</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>1340</sup> “In fact, they could hardly afford to keep pigeons now. Only the more well to do among them could indulge their hobbies. And one of the most outstanding characteristics of Delhi was threatened with extinction and death.” Ali, *Twilight in Delhi*, 222.

<sup>1341</sup> Tariq Rahman, *A History*, 40.

<sup>1342</sup> Ahmed Ali, *Of Rats and Diplomats* (Karachi: Akrash Publishing, 1986), 198.

<sup>1343</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 250.

posture (perpetual imprisonment) is not like that of prophet Job in the Quran. While the prophet's passion symbolized purification and patience, Mir Nihal's sickness is the expression of his alienation from his environment that stands for the disengagement of the national culture. The bewilderment of the Muslim minority in India is expressed through Mir Nihal's reactions to new developments. Home Rule Movement and the new type of nationalism led by the Congress is something he can neither support nor grasp. "It was not for him, the martyrdom and glory in the cause of the Mother Land."<sup>1344</sup> It becomes the tragedy of Indian Muslims embattled between the nascent Indian nationalism and British imperial rule. While sympathizing the embattlement of the Muslims between the two unfamiliar powers, Ahmed Ali does not appear to be approving of their despair and causeless life. Attachment to a nostalgic past –though sometimes it looks inevitable in the novel– and submission to the imperialist rule are presented as an insubstantial stance if not corrupt. Therefore, accordingly, there is a direct proportion between Delhiites involving in the resistance against the imperialist rule, and their consciousness and realism in the novel.

Mirza, the milk seller, is in fact a character of Ahmed Ali's famous short story, *Our Lane* (1937).<sup>1345</sup> He loses his son in the Hindu nationalist movement at the end of the novel. His views on the impact of colonial rule and the results of war are much more realistic than the people around him who are gulled by the lies and the propagandas. He is among those who are aware of the destruction caused by imperialism and the war that turns up at their doors. Other people who support the British are ridiculed and easily differentiated from those who do not by their superstitious and childish reactions. Their comment on the new inventions used in the war, such as things that make thousands of soldiers invisible, poisoned razors, bullet shooter cock which also "farts out poisonous gas", are childish and ludicrous.<sup>1346</sup>

Whereas, in the middle of such an absurd discussion, Mirza intervenes and reminds them that at the end of the war there is only death awaiting them.<sup>1347</sup> In fact, what is really interesting here is the dialogue between Mirza -the milk seller- and Siddiq,

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<sup>1344</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1345</sup> Ahmed Ali, *Selected Short Stories from Pakistan - Urdu* (New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1989).

<sup>1346</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 218-9.

<sup>1347</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

who supports the Raj. After Siddiq says that George is their king whether they like it or not, both Mirza and Kallan assert that God and prophet are their kings.<sup>1348</sup> It is certain that their answer does not stem from their religiousness only (in the novel there is no extra emphasis on their piety); however, the lack of state and the colonial rule forces them to identify themselves with the corollaries of their belief, which also constitutes some of the basics of their communal and national identity. As Francis Robinson explains, “[W]henver the protective umbrella of Muslim power was lifted, or Muslim rulers obeying the exigencies of power in a largely Hindu society appeared to betray the Islamic ideal, there were Muslims who retreated to first principles.”<sup>1349</sup>

It should not be forgotten that these movements had a special relationship with power. Robinson gives examples of Shah Waliullah movement in the eighteenth century, and Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, who had an endeavor to create ideal Muslim community, combining “vision of Islam with power.”<sup>1350</sup> Although it is about power and loyalty rather than a religious one, in the discussion, they adopt (or more correctly take refuge in) a more idealistic and religious diction,<sup>1351</sup> the subtext affirming that they are better believers who do not change God and prophet for worldly benefits. In this logic, those who do not make such association appear as natural corrupts. The depiction of Siddiq is an obvious denominator of such an approach:

But Siddiq, the fat bania, with a huge and protruding paunch and small eyes that peeped from behind the fatty pounces under them[...] . Since the prices of grain and ghee had gone up he was making more profits, as he had stored up his grain in his shop. Besides, he smuggled ghee

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<sup>1348</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>1349</sup> Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 188.

<sup>1350</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>1351</sup> Ayesha Jalal mentions the quandary of the Muslim individual after the 1857 period, which strengthened the communitarian and religious-based identity over individual choices, with reference to three famous classical Urdu poets. After pointing out to the confession of a famous classical Urdu poet about lack of a Muslim consciousness (in his personal life), Ayesha Jalal, focusing on the poems of Mir, Ghalib and Momin states that: “Yet Muslimness, however defined, cannot be seen in isolation from the myriad other social relationships informing the worldview of the individual Muslim. There is nothing particularly unusual about the attachment of Muslims to the symbols of their collective religious identity. It has nevertheless fueled the misconception that the notion of the individual in Islam is either non-existent or at best weakly articulated. It is true that Muslims identify strongly and passionately with the Quran, their Holy Prophet and a range of other Islamic symbols. Yet identification with a common set of symbols and beliefs cannot be seen as grounds for the erasure of the individual in Muslim consciousness.” Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 4.

into the city without paying octroi tax. So it was not unnatural for him to support the government.<sup>1352</sup>

Going against national sentiments or not supporting the welfare of the nation is not a choice for good and pure people; in other words, those who do not support the national cause or those who collaborate with the enemy (even only mentally) become corrupt and being national is made equal to being moral or honest. Siddiq is not only a black-marketer but also a smuggler, which is also supported by his physical properties. He is forced to go away and becomes lost in the dark, which can also be associated with his inner character and his spiritual corruption.<sup>1353</sup>

The nature has a significant place in *Twilight*, as does darkness. As Askari observes, “the days and nights of Delhi, the sunsets and dawns, the summer, the rainy season and changing shades of the sky, the breezes, the hot wind, the dust storms, and sunshine. Ahmed Ali has given individual life to each of these.”<sup>1354</sup> For him, seasons also bear a significant meaning and his choice of summer is not a coincidence. “He wants to depict the decay and end of Delhi’s culture.”<sup>1355</sup> In the novel, 1911 summer is “terrible” in India or Delhi. The harshness of the weather conditions has a direct relationship with the fate of the nation as “Begam Nihal said she had never experienced such a summer ever since 1857, the Year of the ‘Mutiny’.”<sup>1356</sup> Again, the impact of Mutiny manifests itself and the national autonomy of the nation is attached to the ominous celestial events. The foreign presence in the country makes the traditional life obsolete and given as one of the traditional entertainments of the people of the old Delhi, pigeon-flying, which Mir Nihal gives up through the end of the novel receives its share from the wrath of the skies: “[S]uch a terrible loo is blowing this year that, not to talk of the poor birds, human beings are dying of it...”<sup>1357</sup>

And those who act against their nation and become instruments of imperialism commit a great sin against their nation and thus nature -not God; Ahmed Ali draws a very secular scheme here- punishes them in the novel. During the summer of 1918, when many Indians (including Muslims and Hindus) died in the World War I for the

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<sup>1352</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 220.

<sup>1353</sup> *Ibid.*, 221.

<sup>1354</sup> Askari, “A Novel by Ahmed Ali,” 19.

<sup>1355</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>1356</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 89.

<sup>1357</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 102.

imperial British army, dogs moan in the streets of Delhi. “Nature herself was rebellious and seemed angry with the people of Hindustan. Hundreds of thousands of people had been killed in the war, acting as a fodder to the German guns. But not content with this Nature wanted to demonstrate her own callousness and might.”<sup>1358</sup>

The people of Delhi (India) are so much degraded as a result of their (indirect) involvement in the war that even their dead cannot rest in peace: “In life they had had no peace, and even in death there seemed no hope of rest.”<sup>1359</sup> Since they have to bury their dead, especially the Muslims suffer from this. Thieves appear in the graves and “Hyenas and jackals thus found their task made easier for them. They could enter the newly opened graves and fill their bellies to the full.”<sup>1360</sup> All this results from the illegitimate service of the Indians/Muslims to British imperialism; whether vicariously or not, they suffer their negligence of their national duties or loyalty. For Ali “[t]his epidemic, outcome, perhaps of the gases used in the European War”.<sup>1361</sup>

The depiction of the epidemic and the role of “Nature” add a tragic tone to the narrative which contributes to the novel’s poetic form in general. The wrath of Nature contextualizes the act of fighting in the First World War as an act of sin which is punished by the skies. The plundering of the graves, which is a very sensitive issue for the Muslims, and the animalism (degradation) of the people who commit such corrupt actions indirectly remind the reader of a verse of the Quran which says that human can be *esfeli safilin*<sup>1362</sup> and announces the total corruption of a human-being or citizen who is betraying his national duty and therefore his national identity.

Even those who fulfill their duties such as *ghassals* become thieves and even the last and maybe the most important Islamic ritual for the dead turns into a mirror that shows the abominable nature of humanity; and in this atmosphere, though *azaans* are everywhere and prayers are being done, “God did not exist, perhaps; or perchance, their feeble voices did not reach the sound-proof gates of Heaven situated on the

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<sup>1358</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

<sup>1359</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.

<sup>1360</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1361</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1362</sup> “(4) That We created man of finest possibilities, (5) Then brought him down to the lowest of the low, (6) Except those who believe and do the right, for whom there is reward undiminished.” (The Fig /At-Tin) Ahmed Ali, *Sacred Writings Volume 3 Islam: The Qur’an* (Karachi: Princeton University Press/Akrash Publishing, 1992), 542.

seventh sky, fortified by the lower six. For the *azaans* and prayers were of no avail.”<sup>1363</sup> The poetic narrative which culminates here with the impact of tragic tone heralds the total fall of Delhi into the foreign yoke and shows clearly how people, devoid of their national feelings and acting against their national values, became obsolete and valueless. Even those who are attached to their past values and traditions can do nothing to change the course of events and their traditional reactions are not enough to alter the ominous course of events. They make songs that accuse the Fortune (in the classical Urdu poetic tradition) however, this time “the songs did not improve matters[.]”<sup>1364</sup>

Ahmed Ali condemns and criticizes both Asghar and Siddiq for not joining the nationalist cause and reveals their degenerate, corrupt characters through exposing them to tragic events. The sympathy Ahmed Ali feels towards Mir Nihal, who is one of the last carriers of the Mughal and Urdu culture, cannot be directed also towards Asghar, who becomes totally corrupt and senseless at the end of the novel. Apart from Mir Nihal, he is the other main character in the novel. For Askari, although Ahmed Ali gives them full development, characters are the other method of depicting collective life in *Twilight*.<sup>1365</sup> Asghar symbolizes the waning culture of Delhi. He is similar to the new type of man that appeared after the impact of imperialism and modernity: “...[A] new man whose life has neither depth nor expanse, neither balance nor uniformity, which is culturally a mongrel, and, in fact, a hybrid and somewhat contemptible, whose finest emotions are devoid of beauty and dignity.”<sup>1366</sup>

As Amin Malak observes, in *Twilight in Delhi*, “the self-indulgence of Asghar, Mir Nihal’s younger son, who seems ‘unconcerned whether the country lived or died’ (259), leads to the misery of his emotional life.”<sup>1367</sup> It is not modernity but Asghar’s ignorance of the nationalist cause (or the fate of the Muslim community in India) that leads him to his downfall. He can not be a representative of the Urdu and Delhi culture even though he is one of the inheritors of this culture. Neither his love nor the synthesis he represents is meaningful for Ahmed Ali. He does not come out as the carrier of the national culture, which is very significant for the preservation of the

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<sup>1363</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 245.

<sup>1364</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>1365</sup> Askari, “A Novel by Ahmed Ali,” 15.

<sup>1366</sup> Askari, “A Novel by Ahmed Ali,” 17.

<sup>1367</sup> Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 25.

memory of the national identity, nor can he be the future as he is devoid of a nationalist consciousness.

The critical approach to traditional views, which also shows that the nostalgia felt in the novel is not an expression of fatalism, can be found in Ashgar's fate. (While the impact of modernity is one of the causes of this decay, Ahmed Ali's criticism of the childish denial of anything that is modern forces the reader to ponder about the real reason for Mir Nihal's and Aghars's downfall.)<sup>1368</sup> Though being a modernist writer himself, Ali also accepts the past of the culture he belongs to, combining traditional elements with his modernist and nationalist perspective. As Farooqi asserts, although Ahmed Ali bears conservatism in his own thought to some extent, this was by no means bigotry and he "understood the beauty and truth in his Muslim identity, rejecting a defense based on conservatism in reaction to the colonizer's agenda."<sup>1369</sup>

As a social realist writer, Ahmed Ali clearly shows his criticism against women's subordinate situation in the society. While he manifests his criticism about the status of women openly, he also shows the traditional reaction against the novelties of modernity; although his critical stance is not felt so strongly, it is inevitable to find a "progressive" look in people's reaction to modernity. Women's reaction to Bilqeece's shoes,<sup>1370</sup> or Saeed Hasan's criticism of Asghar's clothes<sup>1371</sup> are given in a more neutral way, but it is enough to prove that the author is not fully in accordance with the traditionalist view that completely negates modernity: 'Those were the people, so constant and true to their word' Saeed Hasan concluded. 'But we are forgetting all the virtues of the past.' "As he said this he heaved a sigh; and Asghar felt ill at ease. But that was Saeed Hasan's way, and Asghar could not change himself. He said to himself that every new thing is looked upon with suspicion and ridicule. He had suffered on that account himself..."<sup>1372</sup>

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<sup>1368</sup> While Ahmed Ali focuses his prism towards the dying culture, he does not comply with the traditionalist views that negate modernity completely. As Malak observes, "Proud of his Islamic heritage and affiliation, Ali represents Islam not as a set of strict theological dogmas, but as a dynamic and legitimate source of his characters' spiritual, emotional, and ethnic identity- an identity that refuses and resists the colonial domination of the 'Farangis' over India. In this sense Ali's *Twice born fiction* [...] is at once self-representative and self-critical". Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 27.

<sup>1369</sup> Farooqi, "Language Crossings," 34.

<sup>1370</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 195.

<sup>1371</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>1372</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

Ahmed Ali criticizes the stance of Saeed Hasan in the following pages, this time directly. He feels the need for discriminating between the resistance towards colonial subjugation and the novelties of modernity which should not always be disparaged. According to the author, when his ideas about patriotism is asked, it becomes obvious that Saeed Hasan's reactions towards English clothes and the ways of modernity that penetrate into the traditional life, does not make him a true nationalist who really seeks the sovereignty of his country but a "fatalist" instead:

Saeed Hassan did not much believe in patriotism. He had completely failed to sympathize with the Movement and was disinterested. *He was one of those who accept an order of things and come to believe in it. For they did not wish to take any trouble to think for themselves. So long as a thing did not disturb the placidity of their lives they never said anything against it.* The game of politics was too difficult for Saeed Hassan to understand. Besides, British rule did not meddle with his life, although a foreign modernity and ways did go against the grain because they directly affected him. *That is why, whereas he raved against the English ways of living and thought, he never said anything against the foreign rule.* Life went on peacefully for aught he cared; and that was all he was interested in, like most Indian fatalists.<sup>1373</sup>

Therefore, it is obvious that what is at stake is not solely primarily traditional values or way of life<sup>1374</sup> but national identity itself in the novel. While the mechanics of modernity creeps into the country with the hands of colonial rule, it destroys the old way of living which in fact constitutes the locus of the whole Muslim culture in the Subcontinent, including the future national culture of Pakistan. However, without a national consciousness that resists the foreign rule, which cuts the veins of the national identity, traditional reflexes to the growing impact of modern life seems meaningless.

Here, besides his nationalistic perspective, it is possible to detect Ahmed Ali's affinity with the modernist tradition and his denouement of certain movements that limited their responses in the Islamic domain and did not opt for a separate Muslim political/territorial movement.

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<sup>1373</sup> *Ibid.*, 265. Emphasis added

<sup>1374</sup> According to Alasdair MacIntyre, tradition is "an argument extended through time in which certain fundamental agreements are defined and redefined in terms of two kinds of conflict: those with critics and enemies external to the tradition who reject all or at least key parts of those fundamental agreements, and those internal, interpretative debates through which the meaning and rationale of the fundamental agreements come to be expressed and by whose progress a tradition is constituted." Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988). Quoted in Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam*, 4. Therefore, in the Muslim community Ahmed Ali's stance appears to be the second one, while his main focus on the novel is a stance against the dangers of colonialism that may cause annihilation of tradition, which may have similar consequences that of the first conflict defined by MacIntyre.



Francis Robinson devotes a chapter in his book *Islam and Muslim History in South Asia* (2003) to explain the three different answers given by three different groups of Muslims whose leading figures witnessed and bore the brunt of the Great Mutiny in 1857. These three groups are named according to the solutions they provided after the Mutiny - Modernists (Aligarh), Reformists (Deoband) and the learned and holy man of Farangi Mahal.<sup>1375</sup> To summarize their responses briefly, Aligarh school who believed that the Mughal way was a dead end put their effort to build a bridge between Muslims and the British.<sup>1376</sup> Reformists, believing that the era of a military jihad was over, developed a more missionary strategy to teach and spread Islamic knowledge.<sup>1377</sup> Apart from the two, the last group was divided in itself and while some of them collaborated with the British, others worked for unity of Islam and supported the Khilafat Movement and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>1378</sup>

If we make an attempt to categorize Ahmed Ali among the three groups, we find him having a much more affinity with the modernists in four ways. First is the sensitive response given by the elites of the first group, some of whom are Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Khwaja Altaf Husain (1837-1914) and Muhammad Husain Azad (1830-1910). Their close affinity with Urdu poets such as Ghalib and Zauq and the closeness of their response to a genre of Urdu verse, *shehrashoub*, elegies written for the demise of a city, is a dominant theme in Ahmed Ali's first two novels. Also, Sayyid Ahmed Khan's affinity with Muslim architectural feats, most of which he recorded in his book, *Asar us Sanadid*, and the clear impact of Hali's *Musaddas* on *Twilight in Delhi* approximates Ahmed Ali's stance to that of modernists. Thirdly, a similar attitude to Ahmed Khan's skepticism towards a united India, which is considered to have carried the seeds of Muslim separatist movement, appears as the total absence of Hindus in *Twilight* and criticism towards the politics of the Congress in *Ocean of Night*. Moreover, Ahmed Ali's writing in English, and his endeavor to reach the British (or foreign) audience as much as possible, can be regarded as a parallel effort

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<sup>1375</sup> Robinson, *Islam and Muslim History*, 139.

<sup>1376</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>1377</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1378</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

to that of Sayyid Ahmed Khan's policy to interpret Islam as a modern, scientific religion<sup>1379</sup> which can also be attractive to the Western thinking.

If Asghar's situation is considered again, it can be seen that although he wants to be educated in Aligarh, Mir Nihal refuses his wish and a young educated modern Muslim cannot be raised. Rather, he is imprisoned in the traditional lines of the Muslim world in India. His reactions to the events around him express his suppressed feelings.<sup>1380</sup> In time, this helplessness, with the contribution of the destructive impact of modernity, turns into a numbness against national feelings, which makes way for Asghar's failure in his private life.

Having learned that he is going to have a son, Asghar feels very proud and considers it as an opportunity to bring up a copy of himself who could complete his unfulfilled dreams: "He would give his son a good education and bring him up according to his own ideas; and he would make good his father's failings, realize his frustrated ambitions. They talked a great deal of this son of theirs, made schemes for him together, and even gave him a name."<sup>1381</sup>

His senselessness is expressed towards the end of the novel and there is strong parallelism between his indifference towards his wife and his nation. Some of the words used for Asghar's new character are "selfish,"<sup>1382</sup> "his passion became dulled and died", "disgusted," "annoyed,"<sup>1383</sup> and "cruel."<sup>1384</sup> A moral corruption is

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<sup>1379</sup> And lastly, the line of modernist thought in Ahmed Ali's thinking can be observed clearly in his translation of the Quran which appeared first in 1984. Ahmed H. Al-Rahim, "Translation as Contemporary Qur'anic Exegesis: Ahmed Ali and Muslim Modernism in India" in *The Two-Sided Canvas: Perspectives on Ahmed Ali*, ed. Mehr Afshan Farooqi (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 136. Ahmed H. Al-Rahim finds the influence of Muslim modernist tradition in India, especially the influence of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan which particularly focuses on reconciliation of "modern science and reform with Islamic tradition[.]" *Ibid.*, 137. According to Ahmed H. Al-Rahim, Sir Sayyid's preoccupation to reconcile Islamic traditions with science directed him to an understanding of scientism in which "religious belief would either be confirmed by the discoveries of science or at the minimum not be contradicted by them [.]" *Ibid.*, 139. While reading Ahmed Ali's translation of the Qur'an it is possible to trace the impact of the modernist thinking of Sir Sayyid, his scientism and understanding of Islamic reform especially in "Quranic verses addressing the supernatural and those that, he believes, portend some form of modern scientific proof or discovery[.]" *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>1380</sup> Ahmed Ali is well aware of the impasse Asghar goes through and he can only fight against this with the help of another victim of the traditional world: his older sister Begam Nihal. Though widowed at an early age, she is doomed to continue her life as a single person. Therefore, Ahmed Ali sympathizes with what Asghar feels but this does not prevent his failure both as a father and a young Muslim.

<sup>1381</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 192.

<sup>1382</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

<sup>1383</sup> *Ibid.*, 214.

obvious and traditional values which could not be renewed in accordance with modern developments do not work anymore. Asghar, after years of indifference to his wife's sufferings, can be stolid enough to attempt to marry his wife's sister, which is openly protested by the writer (narrative voice): "Hardly six months had passed since Bilqeece's death. Yet he was thinking of marrying again. How cruel is the heart of man!"<sup>1385</sup>

The flow of events that led to the independence became faster during the First World War when people of India realized that the *Sahibs* were no longer as powerful as they had been. The Amritsar Massacre is mentioned in the last pages of the novel and the protests after the Rowlatt Bill passed. The struggle for the motherland does not stir any feeling in Asghar. His improper education and undeveloped national consciousness causes his corruption and day by day he becomes increasingly unattached with the world around him:

As Asghar walked down he saw at many places written in bold letters the popular slogan of the day:

Since the Rowlatt Bill has been passed  
The English are frightened out of their wits.

The inscription did not communicate anything deep or significant to him. He merely looked at it askance, felt a little frightened, and walked on. He had his own sorrows to think of, his own life to set right. He was unconcerned whether the country lived or died. The world might last or come to an end. He did not care. It had lived on in spite of revolutions and wars. How would it help him if he worried over these matters? They did not better his fate or make his life happier by any chance. Let those who cared bruise their fingers in attempting to pluck the rose. He lived his own world where these things did not matter. For him only one thing was lasting, one thing which kept the heart of man alive. And it was love. Men come and men die, generations pass, and centuries drag on. But love does not die.

[...]As he walked lost in thought, weaving old dreams into new garbs, a few urchins passed by him. He was wearing English clothes and they began to mock him and shouted in his face: '*Bol gai My Lord kukroo-koon.*'<sup>1386</sup>

Asghar continues his way by avoiding the tumultuous change around him, dreaming of his forbidden, inconvenient love. On his way home, he sees Mirza -the milk seller- who is crying for his son's murder due to non-cooperation.<sup>1387</sup> Here, Ahmed Ali intensifies the dramatic impact of the scene by contrasting the pity of the reader with the comments of Siddiq, who was previously shown as a degenerate, corrupt character defending the (English) King. He narrates the tragic event with senseless

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<sup>1384</sup> *Ibid.*, 258.

<sup>1385</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1386</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 260.

<sup>1387</sup> *Ibid.*, 261.

words reflecting his corrupt degenerate character: “‘He has lost his son [...] And my opinion is that it served him right to go against the Government...’.” Asghar shares his senseless, heartless comment by just walking away.<sup>1388</sup>

The dilemma Ahmed Ali gets stuck in is, besides the pain of writing about the glorious inheritance of the past with a nationalist perspective, being obliged to write this inheritance with desperateness caused by not being able to carry it to the future. The view Ahmed Ali witnesses in Delhi, Muslim community’s indifference towards their past and future, which is reflected in the novel that moves around Mir Nihal and Asghar’s lives, results in the absence of a certain way out of the dilemma that Muslims of South Asia experience at the time. People who continue their lives in Delhi, which is both the inheritor of a Muslim empire that has achieved phenomenal successes and the core of a movement that is candidate for a separate Muslim state, seem unaware of the great mission they are a part of. For this reason, being the victims of a colonial-based modernity that intrudes their lives in a compelling way, the author, with a nationalist perspective, chains the people of Delhi to bed in the person of Mir Nihal. Moreover, while Mir Nihal, the representative of the Muslim community in this novel, feels the burden of not being able to resist the colonial rule even with swords as his ancestors did, he cannot feel happy when his grandchildren sing the songs of Islamic unity either. The reason for the dilemma observed in this novel is the importance Ahmed Ali attaches to the continuation of the living culture. For this reason Urdu poetry is placed in the centre of the novel. The aversion Ahmed Ali feels toward hybridity, as Joshi observes,<sup>1389</sup> results from the necessity to preserve a clear pristine culture to build up a pure future for the next generation that nationalism promises for.

#### **5.4 *Ocean of Night: The Last Pantings of a Tradition***

Ahmed Ali’s second novel, *Ocean of Night* was published in 1964. Though it was written just after *Twilight in Delhi*, Ahmed Ali did not publish it until he put an end to his corrections. The novel is a product of Ahmed Ali’s stay in Lucknow. When he was in Lucknow University, he found the chance to observe the Muslim life in the “rival city” and with his progressive approach, he lay the lives of courtesans on the

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<sup>1388</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1389</sup> Joshi, *In Another Country*, 226.

table. Similar to what he did in *Twilight*, Ahmed Ali, with an anthropological endeavor, depicts the lives of Muslim community in Lucknow; but this time the projection of his lens turns from *ashraf* classes to a less known group of people who signify the suppressed feelings of the Muslim community: courtesans. With the accompaniment of Sufi terminology and the general gist of Urdu poetry, Ahmed Ali narrates the lives of Muslim women who maintain an old tradition.

However, in his second novel, it was difficult for Ali to repeat the same success. According to Laurence Brander, *Ocean of Night* is far from the vividness and warmth of *Twilight*, since “Muslim culture of Lucknow” in which the novel is set “was only a pale simulacrum of the Delhi culture.”<sup>1390</sup> When Ahmed Ali’s statement that he wrote only about the lives of people he knew best<sup>1391</sup> is taken into consideration, it is possible to accept Brander’s opinion that while Ahmed Ali was a part of the culture in Delhi, he remains as a mere observer in Lucknow.<sup>1392</sup>

The novel is an account of the courtesan life in Lucknow with a special focus on the life of Huma, a young and beautiful courtesan with a noble lineage. Brought up by a mother who was tarred with the same brush, she has been educated and prepared for a life of entertaining men, though under a long lasting tradition, “which was rigid in its laws.”<sup>1393</sup> Huma works as a courtesan and although this is not her choice, she leads a successful career. In the beginning of the novel, she appears as the woman of Nawwab Chakkan, a squanderer landlord, who has spent the money inherited from his family all his life. His family gained all the possessions from their collaboration with and support for the British in 1857 Mutiny. However, as a nature of her job, which is repeatedly expressed by different characters, Huma is left for another courtesan, a beautiful dancer, Kesari Bai, who takes advantage of Nawab’s weakness to the end. At the end of the novel, when he learns that he is nothing but a broke man, he kills his mistress and himself. Huma, despite their love for each other, cannot manage a relationship with a lawyer called Kabir, and after learning Nawab’s

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<sup>1390</sup> Brander, “Two Novels,” 83.

<sup>1391</sup> Ahmed Ali, in his interview with Carlo Coppola, explains this fact as a corollary of his realism. “I had always believed in a certain realistic approach to literature in my practice and otherwise. I believed that a writer writes best about that which he knows intimately and well. That’s why I haven’t written about Hindu society, for I don’t know it in the very minute and with insignificant detail.” Coppola, “Ahmed Ali: Highlights,” 62.

<sup>1392</sup> Brander, “Two Novels,” 84.

<sup>1393</sup> Ahmed Ali, *Ocean of Night*, (London: Peter Owen, 1964), 31.

disastrous end, she returns the house Nawab gave her before, to Nawab Chakkan's family.

*Ocean of Night* can be considered as the other incomplete half of *Twilight*. After his break up with his progressive friends, Ahmed Ali's first literary output was *Twilight in Delhi*, which was in fact a totally different work than his friends had expected to see. It was much more traditional, much less social realist, not enough political and no revolutionary at all. Delhi was the cultural and political capital of the old Mughal Empire but it was not the only city that bore the centuries old Mughal and Muslim tradition; with its historical monuments and poetic tradition, there was also Lucknow, the rival city.<sup>1394</sup>

Lucknow was a symbol for the perfection of Urdu poetry and thus could not be ignored by Ahmed Ali. As Akbar S. Ahmed notes, the Muslim poetry and prose was excelled by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>1395</sup> Delhi and Lucknow were the main centers of excellence for Muslim culture. However, while symbolizing the peak of Urdu poetry and a long lasting poetic tradition, the most well-known poets of classical Urdu poetry have also been remembered as the primary witnesses of disintegration and decline. As Ahmed quotes:

To understand the predicament of in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we can learn from the Urdu poets Mir and Ghalib. The intensity is never more painful, the depth of gloom never more bleak, the shafts of light never more brilliant than in their poetry. [...] In despair Mir migrated from Delhi to Lucknow, the capital of the Muslim kingdom of Avadh. It was a depressing picture of decay and disintegration. Mir, asked about Delhi when he arrived, replies: 'Delhi, its name fairest among the fair. / Fate looted it and laid it desolate, and to that ravaged city I belong.'<sup>1396</sup> [...] For Mir, Muslim culture, history and destiny was symbolized by the Mughals and the focal point of all civilization in India was Delhi. Mir yearned for the past, the golden age that had gone, lamented the fading of culture, friendship, loyalty. [...] In Mir we feel the decline, the obsession with the past glory and the beginning of fear for the future.<sup>1397</sup>

Whether deliberately or not, they are also the two cities where the narrative of Ahmed Ali's first two novels takes place. Therefore, by having a story about Lucknow, which is the other half of the medal, Ahmed Ali finishes his literary journey towards the heart of classical Urdu poetry. He does this by following one of the masters of Urdu poetry, Mir, and it is interesting that the significance of

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<sup>1394</sup> "After all, some of the best-known Urdu poetry of mid-nineteenth-century northern India was patronized by royal courts at Delhi and Lucknow." Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995, second edition), 10. Quoted in Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 15.

<sup>1395</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 47.

<sup>1396</sup> See Ralph Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal Poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1969). Quoted in Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 47.

<sup>1397</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

Lucknow is parallel to what Mir felt at the time of his own journey. In a complete agreement with “the greatest lyrical and romantic poet,”<sup>1398</sup> Ali centers love in the heart of the narrative but does this in a different way. He blends the notions and the jargon of the classical Urdu poetry with his social realist (progressive) approach and turns the focus of his narrative towards the decentered characters of the patriarchal society. However, this is not enough to express the motives behind the novel: Here, the anthropological endeavor is also at work. By bringing a dying tradition to the surface, Ahmed Ali depicts the hidden aspects of the “national life”: courtesans. Although *Ocean of Night* is hardly a political novel, the nationalist perspective of Ahmed Ali can still be observed as both an anthropological endeavor and a moral stance and the corruption seen in the novel does not only stem from the social realist approach of the writer but also appears as a result of departure from nationalist principles.

Firstly, understanding the anthropological endeavor is necessary to grasp the real motives behind criticizing the impending modernity in the novel. Ali expresses in the introduction of *Twilight* that he wanted to depict the national life; while writing a novel set in Lucknow, he continues his endeavor, though in a less ostentatious way.

The novel starts with a quotation from a Lucknow poet and this explains Ahmed Ali’s motives behind choosing the city:

May Lucknow last beyond all harm  
It is still better than many a place,  
For you can often here behold  
A lovely and enticing face.  
A LUCKNOW POET<sup>1399</sup>

Similar to Delhi’s position in *Twilight in Delhi*, Lucknow appears as a carrier of traditional Muslim life with all its architecture, tradition and poetry. Thanks to its connection to the past, it makes its inhabitants forget the daily hustle and bustle. The inheritance Lucknow bears in its bosom is also a mark that manifests the glories of South Indian Muslims:

It takes me for a walk into the dark alleys of Time, mixing the past with the present in the by-lanes of Lucknow.

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<sup>1398</sup> Ali, “*The Golden Tradition*,” 138.

<sup>1399</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 6.

In these by lanes walk courtiers and lovers, courtesans idle rich, in search of companions or a little fun. In them is enacted the comedy of life and the tragedy of human beings. Tortuous is Life itself, and tortuous are these alleys. In the silence of the night they echo its silences. But if you listen intently, from the distance floats the sound of music borne by the wind- of tinkling bells and stringed instruments, song and the drum. But another sound, more heavy and less musical, drowns the music. [...] I wear neither a knife nor dagger Nor do I wear a sword.<sup>1400</sup>

In *Ocean of Night*, there are various songs and examples from Urdu poetry translated by Ahmed Ali himself. Courtesan life, which includes singing in Urdu, enables the author to present the best examples of Urdu poetry also.

Another aspect of *Ocean of Night* is that while the novel treats love and sexual affairs between men and women through using a Sufi-based terminology; it also bears a progressive look that openly criticizes women's inferior place in the society.

Throughout the novel, it is possible to encounter passages treating women's situation in the society with a critical manner: "[T] hat is what men think of us' said Anno Jan. They look upon women only as the objects of desire. That is men's nature. And we have to satisfy that desire within him. If we don't we shall lose."<sup>1401</sup> Also through Huma's mother's attitude towards her own daughter, it is also possible to learn how a courtesan is brought up: She locks her up a whole day without giving food to convince her to be a courtesan.<sup>1402</sup> And Huma, though she loves two men in the novel -first Arjumand and secondly Kabir-, the reader learns that in fact she does not have the chance to make a choice. Though it bears a protective side, the long-lasting tradition also becomes the prisoner of women.

More than his other two novels, the progressive look of Ahmed Ali manifests itself more specifically in *Ocean of Night*. He not only stirs up a hornet's nest but at the same time openly criticizes the derogatory condition of women. However, what is ironic here is that while Ahmed Ali despises the unfortunate condition of women, at the same time, he bears a deep sympathy towards the persistence of old traditions including courtesanship. The tension between modernity and tradition never loses its significance in the novel. One of the common characteristics of *Ocean of Night* and *Twilight* is that modernity and the alteration of the classical culture and tradition gives pain to the author and from time to time this is expressed in the pages of the

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<sup>1400</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>1401</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>1402</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.



novel. For example Azizan Jan, Huma's mother, feels remonstrance for the loss of a tradition:

Azizan Jan resented this breaking up of the old tradition. But then the connoisseurs and real lovers of art were so few. Women had come out of purdah and moved about freely in the streets. Western dancing was growing popular, and the cinema had popularized jazzy tunes. ... Life had become disjointed and too fast to allow any leisure for the cultivation of the fine arts of conversation and dancing that centered round the courtesan. Machines had taken away the beauty of hand-made things. The rich went after the cinema stars, the poor had no money. [...] Who cared for the chastity of the Urdu tongue? The correct idiom had fallen into disuse. The poets were writing songs, sonnets, free verse, and no one cared for *ghazal*, thumri or mustezad. Saris had replaced the gorgeous flowing robes, high heeled sandals the gold embroidered shoes.<sup>1403</sup>

Behind this critique of the changes in the traditional society due to the introduction of modernity, the reader can also feel the anti-imperialist stance in the novel. In the opening of the novel, two friends passing in front of Chattar Manzil remember the olden days and the past glory; however, time has changed now and the past glory continues no more:

Chattar Manzil, spread out in the ripples over the domes of the former palace, uncovered the book of the Past. There was Wajid Ali Shah dancing in the hall of the palace, wearing the precious stones inherited from his dead forefathers. ... But the echoes died down as the book fell shut and the page was lost in the mass of pages that followed. The palace was silent, and the successors of Wajid Ali danced to the tune of a band in the same hall. But this dance was different. Here they danced in couples, man and woman. And the tune that came from the instruments was foreign to the air it floated on. There was no chorus of praise but a clapping in the hope that the band would strike up again and the dance would continue. But no encore was played; and the clapping died down and was lost in the whirr of a foreign tongue.<sup>1404</sup>

Though being a modernist writer, Ahmed Ali expresses his criticism and indictment against the infiltration of modernity. Sometimes for Ali, modernity appears like an ogre which at best causes fear and confusion. Kabir, one of the modern characters in the novel, is a victim of this confusion:

He had believed in miracles; but his faith had wavered, and like his generation, he had lost his *grip over the inner life of the heart*. The past was still a reality in the imagination [...] But the present had brought with it false gods of glittering gold who were incapable of winning the heart. The result was a confusion between emotion and logic. The love-dream was not allowed to unravel its mysteries when the dreamer was awakened from sleep.<sup>1405</sup>

Similar to Mir Nihal's world, miracles do not happen anymore; the spiritual, historical and traditional attached with the heart does not function in the present society cut off from its cultural roots.

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<sup>1403</sup> *Ibid.*, 70- 71.

<sup>1404</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>1405</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

There are two modern men in the novel, who can be said to be positive characters indeed. Both the Nameless One and Kabir do not arouse negative feelings in the reader and they are not void of feelings that a traditional character can feel. What Ahmed Ali desists about modernity and alteration of traditional life both takes place in the context of imperialism and annihilation of traditional or national life. Ahmed Ali resists the Euro-centric assumptions that place European language and culture above Oriental cultures. In every opportunity we find him emphasizing the beauty and grandiose of the indigenous culture. When Huma visits Kabir's house, she admires the room decorated in the European style and when she sees books in English she resents not knowing the language and feels herself ignorant. The moment Kabir realizes this, he asserts the beauty of Persian, giving a small lecture to her on "intellectual equality."<sup>1406</sup>

Ahmed Ali utilizes many of his characters to reflect his worldview. In this novel, not only Huma's mother but Kabir, Huma and some of the minor characters appear as carriers of a message. In *Ocean of Night*, being an outsider like Ahmed Ali, Kabir seems to be the most appropriate character with his critical gaze to the events; however, Ahmed Ali does not restrict himself with only one character and expresses his own views and thoughts through using many characters in the novel. In a scene readers come across the superficiality of the Lucknow culture through Kabir's eyes, and in another scene it is possible to learn the inferior and helpless condition of women from a courtesan's expressions.

As one of the novel's minor characters, the Marxist Siddiqi puts it to a friend, "[w]e as a nation are suffering from nostalgia. Go back to the past is your constant cry. But how can you go back to the past? Which past? I tell you you can't."<sup>1407</sup> The argument here is that no nation, community, family, or individual can overcome current misery through recalling past glory.

However, in the novel we come across with a repeated criticism towards the Indian nationalist movement led by the Congress. The Indian communalism that supported Indian nationalism is criticized by the author. The discussion between Socialist Siddiqi and a Congressman can be regarded to be more than a mere discussion on

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<sup>1406</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>1407</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

daily politics. First of all, it can be seen as an instant where Ahmed Ali proves his awareness of the uselessness of the nostalgia and secondly, an expression of the incapability of the Congress politics to develop an all-embracing formula for whole India, which naturally conforms the aptness of the Muslim separatist Movement at best. Although political discussions such these are very rare in the novel, those instances where Ahmed Ali gives a general scheme about the political situation of India of the time presents important clues for the overall political attitude of the author.<sup>1408</sup>

It is interesting that Ahmed Ali, who is well aware that nostalgia is useless for the development of a country and who knows very well that “[w]e cannot ignore the achievements of those centuries, but we cannot revive the atmosphere of those days,”<sup>1409</sup> uses his critical approach against Indian nationalist views rather than Muslims. Gandhi is criticized as a nostalgic leader and non-violence is presented as an unrealistic solution for the future of the country. After Siddiqi leaves to plead a case, the Congressman begins abusing Muslims, which is contrasted by Siddiqi’s emphasis that Muslims are international.

As with the doomed fate of Delhi in *Twilight in Delhi*, the prophesied decline of Lucknow in *Ocean of Night* symbolizes the fragmentation of the Muslim community in India.<sup>1410</sup> Similar to that of *Twilight in Delhi*, in *Ocean of Night* the old Delhi and Lucknow, and the aesthetic works of art in these cities not only stand for the glories of South Asian Empires (Muslims of South India) but also appear as the national symbols of the moral community. Before Independence, Muslims in India formed their identity around Islamic monuments such as Jama Masjid. These historical monuments and works of art continue to be a part of the ideal realm, the destruction or alteration of which eventually means getting away from the ideal or good one, resulting in falling into moral corruption.

Since Delhi is the primary city where the culture of South Indian Muslims’ manifests itself, the intellectual character, Kabir, who resembles Ahmed Ali himself, goes to

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<sup>1408</sup> In a scene, with Kabir’s words, Ahmed Ali claims that artist cannot keep his/her personality out of work. *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>1409</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>1410</sup> Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 23.

New Delhi and observes the inheritance of South Asian Muslim Empires, which is under the threat of annihilation:

New Delhi failed to appeal him. At best it looked a monument to the dry souls of clerks; at its worst a closed cemetery. *But in the ruins of Old Delhis there was more life than in the ugly structures designed by Lutyens.* They saw the old forts and palaces and tombs built by the former emperors and kings. The seven Delhis lay under their feet, and the new eighth only awaited destruction and death to become a dubious memorial to a dynasty that ruled from across the seas. It was in the Hauz Khas of Alauddin Khilji's Delhi that they found the atmosphere of perfect silence and the light of peace grew within them like the lotus of Buddha opening out its petals. ... The tranquility that dwelt within the boundaries of the ruined palace was not to be found even in the monasteries tucked away in the secret heart of Tibet.<sup>1411</sup> ... The history of Delhi opens itself to Kabir and images of three sultans discuss the intricate relationship between love, place and time and appear as real like figures due to 'consciousness of objective things'.<sup>1412</sup> (emphasis added)

In the novel, those who are far from appreciating the traditional values and who are the potential victims of foreign modernity are depicted to be void of elegance, charm and the chastity. They are in a sense, like exiles from the ideal world. With the eyes of Kabir, who observes his environment as a foreigner in the house of Nawwab Chakkan, some part of which is decorated in European fashion, the reader learns about the present Lucknow and its hybrid dying culture. Though they try to conform to the tradition, which looks very charming and elegant, people in the house do not really understand the value of it. "Their faces, however, did not display the same delicacy or charm. On them were written tales of debauchery or self-love and lack of sensitivity to grandeur or grace."<sup>1413</sup> The superfluousness and hypocrisy of the people in the house stem from their artificial, sham manners and they are, in fact, far from understanding the real grandiose of their own culture. The deterioration of the classical culture, which is also national, has already shown itself in the streets of Lucknow: "Lucknow to him, though beautiful, was artificial and devoid of deeper aesthetic values. It still preserved its old culture more than any other town, but it was like a hot house flower that did not have many days to last."<sup>1414</sup>

Thus, the same fear of Mir repeats itself in Ahmed Ali's novel, the future of Lucknow, as Delhi, is facing the threat of annihilation. The main problem here is the unawareness of these people who just pass their time without the real appreciation of their culture and tradition.

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<sup>1411</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 132.

<sup>1412</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>1413</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>1414</sup> *Ibid.*

*Ocean of Night* cannot be called a political novel; “[s]ince the events here occur in the decade preceding India’s independence, a faint background exists of concern with prevailing national issues in Indian politics, such as the policies of the Congress Party, (53-4) and the Shia- Sunni riots in Lucknow during Muharram (139); [...]”<sup>1415</sup> However, though in a more oblique way again in the novel, the Great Mutiny constitutes the backbone of the narrative. As Amin Malik observes,

The amorality and recklessness of Nawab Chakkan, a descendent of the old Taluqdar (landowning) family that collaborated with the British during the 1857 uprising to be rewarded with feudal privileges, foreshadows the disintegration of a community when it loses the sense of its destiny. The Nawab’s drunkenness and debauchery cause his ruin, leading to his demise by a murder-suicide.<sup>1416</sup>

Nawab obtains an important place at the beginning of the novel due to his relationship with Huma, who is the protagonist of the novel. Then, along with the disintegration of the society and the harshness of women’s life within the borders of an old tradition about to die, the reader witnesses Huma’s unsuccessful relationship with Kabir, who is a totally different character than Nawab. In part four, Nawab is placed at the centre of the narrative again; with his feckless life and corrupt and degenerate character, he gains a decisive role at the end of the novel.

One important detail in Nawab’s life is his family background and the source of his wealth. Since ancestry and lineage have an important place in Ahmed Ali’s fiction, both in *Twilight in Delhi* and *Ocean of Night* he ascribes significance to lineage. In *Twilight*, Mir Nihal’s bequeathal nationalism that guarantees the struggle against the British as well as the beggar from Timur’s lineage and Gul Bano, who is the daughter of Bahadur Shah, have a relatively important role in the novel.

When Nawab first appears in the novel, the reader finds him sitting alone on a carpet like a sultan, smoking his hookah. However, soon it becomes apparent that he is nothing but a spendthrift, who has consumed up his inheritance. What is staking here is that while introducing Nawab, the narrative voice first mentions about his family’s collaboration with the British in 1857 Mutiny:

Although his name was Sajjad Ali Mirza, he was popularly called Nawab Chhakkan. He came of an old Taluqdar family who had helped the John Company during the ‘Mutiny’, and had been allowed to retain their estate. But a succession of spendthrifts had greatly reduced it, most of it having been mortgaged or sold. Now only a little cash and property remained. The title of

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<sup>1415</sup> Malik, *Muslim Narratives*, 24.

<sup>1416</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

Nawab which the family enjoyed forced upon it the necessity of maintaining a train of retainers and servants who, instead of being a help were a drain on the dwindling purse. ... Nawab Chhakkan, *a true descendant of his forefathers*, had inherited these habits.<sup>1417</sup> (emphasis added)

There is a unanimous agreement among historians that in 1857, the Mutiny in India was not a Muslim uprising only; believers of other religions as well as many ethnicities in India were involved to the uprising:

During the uprisings in 1857, race, religion and caste boundaries were blurred. With the Muslims fought the Hindu Rani of Jhansi; against the Muslims fought the freshly recruited Muslim Punjabi and Pathan soldiers of the north. The Muslim ruler of Hyderabad sent his soldiers to assist the British. The Sikhs also joined British troops in putting down the Delhi revolt. Like all uprisings on this scale, there was some confusion of objectives and some unlikely allies in the field.<sup>1418</sup>

However, for many years the Mutiny has been known and treated as a Muslim-based movement. Muslim community in India were considered to be the organizer of 1857 Mutiny and accordingly, they were believed to have played the price for the uprising:

'After 1857', wrote Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) in his autobiography, 'the heavy hand of the British fell more upon the Moslems than on the Hindus'. This verdict, which has been generally accepted by modern historians, has an ancestry going back at least to the generation after 1857. While the rising was at its height, George Campbell expressed the fear that the British might degrade Muslims as a class and William Howard Russell recorded in 1858 that, 'the Mahomedan element in India is that which causes us most trouble and provokes the largest share of our hostility [. . .] Our antagonism to the followers of Mahomed is far stronger than that between us and the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu. They are unquestionably more dangerous to our rule'. After the capture of Delhi in September 1857 a dire vengeance befell the Muslims there. As the famous Urdu poet Ghalib (1797-1869) wrote, 'Here there is a vast ocean of blood before me, God alone knows what more I shall have to behold. Bahadur Shah was tried and exiled to Rangoon. Lieutenant Hodson (1821-58) summarily shot three Mughal princes and later twenty-four *shahzadas* (princes) were tried and executed. Catastrophe befell the Muslim intelligentsia in Delhi. Zahir Dihlawi (1835-1911) wrote in his *Dastan-i Ghadar*, 'The English soldiers began to shoot whomsoever they met upon the way.'<sup>1419</sup>

In fact, this is what Habibuddin claims in *Twilight in Delhi*: "[I]t is so sad' said Habibuddin. 'The English frankly say that they fear no one but Muslims in India and that if they crush the Mussalmans they shall rule with a care-free heart...'.<sup>1420</sup> Whether Ahmed Ali himself shares this belief or not, it is certain that Nawab's family's collaboration with the British in 1857 is an open treachery, and a betrayal to India in general, but especially treated as a treachery to the Muslim community (to their nation), after which an "utter disruption of values" took place.<sup>1421</sup>

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<sup>1417</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 15.

<sup>1418</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 39.

<sup>1419</sup> Hardy, *The Muslims*, 70.

<sup>1420</sup> Ali, *Twilight*, 262.

<sup>1421</sup> Ali, *The Golden*, 20.

Ayesha Jalal states that it was not possible to find a “religiously informed cultural identity” in a writer’s intimacy with his/her city or region after the politization of identity manifested itself with the introduction of electoral principle and the rise of communitarian based politics in India (especially in the first half of the twentieth century). As opposed to what is expected by the nationalist mindset that became dominant later, Jalal claims that even a very short time following the 1857 revolt, the distress (angst) expressed in Ghalib’s poetry was lamentation to the end of a certain way of life rather than the feeble Mughal sovereignty.<sup>1422</sup>

For someone who both witnessed and recorded that watershed event in the history of Muslims in India, Ghalib’s less-than-enthusiastic support for a Mughal empire reeling under mounting financial and political crises continues to rankle the nationalist mindset on both sides of the 1947 divide. A tribute to the unsurpassed niche Ghalib occupies in the literary heritage of the subcontinent, this urge to own and appropriate has been the wont of nationalist discourses, Indian and Muslim.<sup>1423</sup>

Also similar to his attitude in *Twilight in Delhi*, Ahmed Ali again transforms the 1857 Mutiny into a nationalist event. Unlike what happened in 1857-8 Mutiny, during which people from different religions, social classes sought for their political and economic interests rather than the national ideal, Ahmed Ali nationalizes the event.<sup>1424</sup> As Ayesha Jalal points out, when words *vatan* or *qawm* used in *shehrashoub* poetry is considered, “[u]ntil 1857 there was no obvious invocation of the national idea in the form it has come to assume in the post-colonial Indian state’s secular nationalism and Pakistan’s two-nation theory. The city or place of abode appears central to the sentiments of the poet as part of a given social setting.”<sup>1425</sup>

Moreover, while in Ahmed Ali’s first two novels it is possible to trace the line of *shehrashoub* poetry in which the end of a certain way of life after 1857 is lamented, there is also an obvious nationalization of 1857 Mutiny after which the symbolic independence is lost. However, when also politically considered, even “[t]he uneven

<sup>1422</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 27.

<sup>1423</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1424</sup> As Fisher points out, when attention is paid to the history of British annexation of Indian states, (1757-1857) a process that ended with deposition of the Mughal King after the 1857 Mutiny, the examples of direct military conquest is very few. Though having idiosyncratic characteristics of its own, each conquest bears economic and political relations with the company and the states. Fisher, “The Politics of the British,” 5-6. Economic benefits of the presence/domination of the British was taken for granted by the native people: “Many Indian families with traditions of administrative and martial service to the Mughal Empire of the regional states come to regard employment with the East India Company as potentially more attractive and lucrative than continued service to their former masters. Indeed, substantial, political, commercial and military cooperation from Indians proved vital to the British annexations[.]” *Ibid.*, 5

<sup>1425</sup> Jalal, *Self and Sovereignty*, 11-12.

spread of the 1857 revolt, which for the most part was confined to northern and central India, is another reason to avoid a purely communitarian or nationalistic explanation for the motivation behind the events.”<sup>1426</sup>

Huma, who earns her life as a courtesan has a noble blood. “Her Father had come of a good family and was a civil servant. Though she was not born of legal wedlock, his blood flowed in her veins.”<sup>1427</sup> This is very significant in the course of events since “[t]he recurrent projection of her perspective and foregrounding of her capacity for warmth, courage, and genuine generosity -as with her noble act of returning the Nawab’s expensive gifts to his aggrieved widow- make her, in essence, the novel’s moral signifier.”<sup>1428</sup>

Though being a courtesan, she is able to distinguish between the materiality of wealth and immateriality of love. When she learns the situation Nawab is in, she decides to give the house he had given to her back, thinking that “[m]oney is immaterial. What matters in the world is a little kindness and love.”<sup>1429</sup> Here, the contrast between Huma and Nawab is apparent. When the analogy is followed, similar to Huma, who behaves in accordance with her lineage, Chakkan is doing the same and this constitutes the real reason for his downfall. In fact, when the other three main characters in the novel other than Chakkan are paid attention to, it is apparent that he is the only person devoid of such an understanding. Kabir, who is but the reflection of the author, is an admirer of Urdu and able to see the philosophy of love behind the historical ruins. And Huma’s mother, though sometimes being very inhumane, is sensitive enough to recognize the disintegration of the society and the death of an old tradition. However, in contrast to them, Nawab Chakkan’s moral corruption reaches such a level that he can’t even recognize people around him and behaves like a rogue who cares no one but himself alone.<sup>1430</sup>

Chakkan’s bankruptcy is not solely material, but also spiritual. To underline Nawab’s spiritual decay and entire corruption, Ahmed Ali likens his end to that of Faust. Like the man who sold his soul to the devil, the end of Nawab, the descendant of a family who sold their nation to the enemy, becomes congruent in the end. Before he kills

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<sup>1426</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>1427</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 32.

<sup>1428</sup> Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 25.

<sup>1429</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 158.

<sup>1430</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 163-4.



Kesari Bai and himself, he sees a scary vision that underlines his spiritual deterioration:

He saw himself as a hero surrounded by infidels. The forest was dark, and a bonfire leaped to the sky over which was suspended a cauldron as big as a cave. With a mad shout the infidels appeared from the darkness, and singing a chorus began to dance round the fire. '*We have caught his soul, we have caught his soul*' they sang. 'We will eat his flesh in glee. Burn him alive, roast him alive, fry him in ghee. Round and round and round the fire we....' Their voices rang through the forest, reaching the farthest corners of the night. They joined hands and swung their legs about. He could see them skip and jump, thrust their legs forward looking at him with gleeful eyes where he stood chained to a tree. ... He could see the expressions on the faces of Panna Lal, Namdar Hasan, Raja Saheeb, Dildar Hussain and many others, [...] and devils that he saw wheeling and thumping and dancing, and the chorus continued: [...] He saw the figure of a woman wearing a red skirt, her naked breasts glaring in the light, came dancing along followed by the ungainly forms playing on instruments. As she came swaying her hips, her breasts throbbed like two balls of fire, she sang: '*Where is the infidel, where is the prize, where is he?*' And the others replied: 'Here he is, here he is, tied to a tree.'<sup>1431</sup> (emphasis added)

One important point that should be considered here is Ahmed Ali's affinity with the English romantic poetry. As Tariq Rahman points out, "Ali's poetry is influenced by the tradition of the Urdu *ghazal* as well as the English Romantic tradition."<sup>1432</sup> The dancing women with naked breasts are an open reminiscent of the Abyssinian Damsel in Coleridge's "Kubla Khan". Both Chakkan and the poet see the woman in a vision. Before the Abyssinian maid appears, in the poem Coleridge mentions about "A savage place!" where a "woman wailing for her demon-lover!"<sup>1433</sup> Inspired by Coleridge's mystical atmosphere, Ahmed Ali creates a similar devilish and enchanting place to torture Chakkan's treacherous soul.

One interesting detail about the novel is that, similar to Mir Nihal, Nawab Chhakkan is unconsciously looking for the alchemy and elixir of life. When he finds Kesari Bai, he thinks that "he had found the elixir of life."<sup>1434</sup> However, in Ahmed Ali's imagination such a person, who is the descendant of a family that betrayed his own people cannot but prepare his own destruction.

Consequently, in *Ocean of Night*, parallel to *Twilight in Delhi*, Ahmed Ali expresses a certain kind of nationalism, which can be named as cultural (contextualism) in general. Written before independence, the novel expresses pity for the waning of tradition and the loss of traditional life. On the other hand, a spiritual and material

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<sup>1431</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>1432</sup> "Ahmed Ali." Tariq Rahman. [www.tariqrahman.net](http://www.tariqrahman.net).

<sup>1433</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 297.

<sup>1434</sup> Ali, *Ocean of Night*, 145.

corruption awaits characters that collaborate with imperialism, which is seen as the real cause behind the intrusion of modernity and deterioration of the traditions and national life. The significance Chakkan gains in the course of the novel is an open expression of this feeling.

### 5.5 *Of Rats and Diplomats: Dreams Come to Nothing*

Ahmed Ali published his third and the last novel in 1985. When compared to Ahmed Ali's first two novels, which in fact have a connection with his short stories, *The Rats and Diplomats* is totally a different work. According to Amin Malak,

While the first two novels aim at representing decay and decline within an Indian context, the third expands the perspective towards universal levels of signification. Instead of foregrounding nostalgia and prophecy, the narrative deploys farce and satire as condemning tools of a reality that has metamorphosed so corruptly that it is fatally fatalistically beyond redemption.<sup>1435</sup>

The novel is a satire of diplomacy and world politics. As a diplomat who worked for the newly founded Pakistan for many years, Ahmed Ali narrates the adventures of an old general ambassador, Sourirada Soutanna, in an imaginative country called Ratisan. It is a fourth-world country<sup>1436</sup> with a tyrannical president and ample population of rats. During his unsuccessful career in Ratisan, Sourirada Soutanna, surrounded by a group of diplomats from other real or fictive countries such as Samia, Kharosa, Scandalasia (...) who are in fact "busy eating and entertaining" and also back-biting, involves in a sex-scandal, an unsuccessful trade attempt with Ratisan and transforms into a rat at the end of the novel. Eventually, as the symbolism of the novel signifies, it becomes obvious that the world politics and the fate of humanity are at the mercy of corrupt politician and diplomats, who are spiritually like rats.

Rather than its plot and the development of the narrative, *Of Rats and Diplomats* bears significance with regard to its messages and its harsh criticisms toward the situation of either world politics or Third World countries. But at the same time it can be read as a disillusionment of a writer of nationalism or, to put it in a different way, Ahmed Ali's disappointment with politics in Pakistan. To start with, the novel directs harsh criticisms toward colonialism and imperialism and the present situation of the Third World countries. In the novel, the newly founded countries are far from

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<sup>1435</sup> Malak, *Muslim Narratives*, 23.

<sup>1436</sup> Ahmed Ali, *Of Rats and Diplomats* (Karachi: Akrash Publishing, 1986), 16.

having a voice their own. Not aware of their poor condition, they are busy inventing stories (ideologies):

The field of diplomacy lay yawning wide. The Third World, groaning under the heels of power-hungry, pigmentless super powers, wresting independence, was weaving nubian fantasies of faery lands and forlorn maids, their negritude, without inhibitions of aft and fore. Ads. appeared for dish-washers side by side with those for diplomats. This be the problem of a newly created country[.]<sup>1437</sup>

Ratisan, which may allude to Pakistan, are no exception to these Third World countries mentioned above: "For the Ratisanians are rather temperamental people. They may even give the impression of superiority. You see they have lived under foreign rule for centuries, and have no experience of running a country. As for foreign relations, I doubt if they know the rules of protocol."<sup>1438</sup>

In the country's tragic situation, the colonial legacy also plays an important role; without the information coming from these powers, newborn countries are even unable to identify each other: "I did not know where in the world Ratisan was. The maps were all thirty years old, and some even went back to the last century, a legacy from the Government of Conquestan out of whose womb my brandnew Bachusan was born."<sup>1439</sup> Ahmed Ali links the present condition of the Third World to the domination of the West to the East, which reinforces the postcolonial message of the novel:

I once caught a mermaid with no legs but ample breasts. I was so excited I took it straight to Aunt Zerimager to keep in a tank. But the ferocious cat who lived in a cavern up the hill, came bouncing with flame shooting eyes and devoured my catch. [...] The mermaid was really the Orient, the ferocious cat the West which had acquired power over the fabulous beast by virtue of Knowledge as in Voodoo, and superiority over the victim. I was the victim.<sup>1440</sup>

The negative impacts of Western domination, which can be named as either colonialism or neocolonialism or globalization is mentioned in the context of Cold War:

The evil CDA had spoken of, I was now convinced, did triumph in the end. The tradition of anti-culture itself, forces of anti-civilization greater than those of civilization, of anti-life were rooted in life. What the Greeks, the Turks, the Indians and the Chinese had built over the centuries, Russia and America were now destroying, as the glories of Atlantis had been destroyed by Nature [...].<sup>1441</sup>

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<sup>1437</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>1438</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>1439</sup> Ali, *Of Rats*, 11.

<sup>1440</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>1441</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

In the novel, there are many allusions to the present issues of the world. One of them is Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Ahmed Ali deals with the situation in a way that buttresses the postcolonial criticism present in the novel:

‘What I don’t understand, your excellency,’ I said, ‘is that the Jews who were victims of German tyranny not so long ago, should behave with such inhuman callousness and cruelty towards the Palestinians whom they have dispossessed and reduced to unwanted refugees in their own land, as they were themselves under Hitler. It is the Palestinians who should call for your sympathy and support’.<sup>1442</sup>

If we contextualize some of these criticisms within the context of the first two novels of Ahmed Ali, which focus on the two primary cities, Delhi and Lucknow as the representatives of North Indian Muslim culture, and which also present a pristine, centuries old culture about to disappear in the colonial times, in this book we come across with a perspective that reserves a deep disillusionment for the newborn country, namely Pakistan.

As Akbar S. Ahmed mentions, the creation of nation-states in the twentieth century, especially in those areas that were formerly colonies of the Western Empires have led to disillusionments and deep disapprobations. He notes that:

The nationalism that became a major force in the self-definition of most African and Asian societies from 1920s onwards created the momentum that would lead to independence from European colonial powers. It would be sustained by a mixture of expectations, of pride in the past and faith in the future; it would mean a harmonious balance between tradition and modernism. It would mean all things to all men. Indeed- nationalism –as expressed through the nation state– would create a general sense of disillusionment. It would mean horrendous forms of torture.<sup>1443</sup>

The clues of this disillusionment can be traced in Carlo Coppola’s interview with Ahmed Ali when he was as a visiting professor in the USA in 1975. In his interview, Ahmed Ali directs strong criticisms against Pakistani government and literati as well, asserting his strong dislike with the present situation of the country. His criticisms can be grouped under certain issues such as problems or lack of democracy, westernization and the country’s inability to create its own politics independently.

The strong resemblances between some of Ahmed Ali’s expressions in the interview and of passages in the novel clearly manifests that the spectrum of *Of Rats and Diplomats* is as much as national as it is international. In an interview with Coppola, Ali says:

The idea of Western democracy never took root in Pakistan, as I have stated in a number of essays, and as a result, a dictatorship started in Pakistan. A man, a Brigadier General promoted

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<sup>1442</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>1443</sup> Ahmed, *Jinnah, Pakistan*, 71.

himself to Field Marshal and then became the monarch of all he surveyed; the Tyrant of the East, reminding me of the mad ruler of Sichwan, Chong, who killed the whole population then erected a tall monument [...] Hence, Field Marshal Ayub Khan [1907-1974], like the mad ruler of Sichwan, became the mad ruler of Pakistan and the first act of his sword was to 'screen out', as he called it, just overnight and with a stroke of his pen, 5000 men from all their senior and other posts in the government. Why? Because he neither liked the long-haired gentry of the area nor the refugees who had sacrificed their all in India for the sake of Pakistan and had come just to serve their Muslim brothers. So I was one of the victims, one of the refugee sacrificial goats on the altar of Field Marshal Ayub Khan and Pakistan.<sup>1444</sup>

Similarly, the president of Ratisan is strict and undemocratic against his dissenters. There is an ostensible democracy in Ratisan, which is strictly controlled by the government. In his speech on "national hookup" the president clearly expresses the pathetic situation of the country:

'Restoration of democratic rule, [...] would endanger not only the security but the very existence of the country. If freedom of speech were restored, or changes made in the Constitution', he asserted, 'the flood gates of political intrigue and lawlessness would be thrown open. Let people not demand therefore, the means of their own destruction,' his voice thundered. 'No party will be allowed to exploit the situation under any circumstances. National needs have no room for individual rights to destroy national interests. No opposition to the government would be tolerated by me [...].'<sup>1445</sup>

After the speech, the radio plays the national anthem, which is indeed a mocking manifestation of dictatorship:

High and low  
 High and low  
 Blow the bugles  
 Bugles blow  
 Ratisan.  
 Ratisan  
 May your voice  
 Full and joyous  
 Sing for ever  
 President  
 Loved rodent  
 May you rule  
 Long with iron  
 Hand and strong  
 Ratisan...<sup>1446</sup>

In the novel, ambassador of Bahuchistan, who is a new diplomat, is far from reading the events truly and takes information and clues from the ambassadors of the developed countries. This shows the inability of the newly founded countries to start or continue a politics of their own. In his interview with Carlo Coppola, Ahmed Ali explains the dependence of Pakistan on either England or the USA in foreign diplomacy:

<sup>1444</sup> Coppola, "Ahmed Ali," 83-84.

<sup>1445</sup> Ali, *Of Rats*, 83.

<sup>1446</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

Pakistan was a new country, it was taking its cues from the West- from America and Britain for the most part- for its policy lines. I said that if we wished to establish relations with China, we would have to de-recognize Nationalist China, even though we were aligned in the British and Marecan camp.

In that time Pakistan was taking all its cues from the British —more British than the Americans— since we belonged to the British sphere for such a long time. However, this changed in the 1960s when there was a shift more towards America, for Britain was losing ground in the international field, and America was becoming more important.<sup>1447</sup>

Similar thoughts are also expressed in the novel:

‘But there is no such a thing as neutral policy,’ [...] If you are weak, or a small country, or call it a developing country, you have to appease the big powers that made a show of helping you by persuasive or voluntary means or coercion. [...] In order to become self-sufficient we must depend on countries that are both well-equipped and willing to help.<sup>1448</sup>

For Ratisan, which can be read as Pakistan, the situation is not very brilliant:

‘The Ratisanians having lost their sense of identity under the disintellectualising rule of Christian imperialism, have preferred the easier way of the devil you know is better than the devil you do not know, and remained in subjugation to the same imperialist designs from which they had fought to free themselves, by accepting advice from Samia and Samia like USA used them to exert pressure and force’.<sup>1449</sup>

When the passage above is considered, it is easy to see Ahmed Ali’s disillusionment with nationalism and his disbelief in full independence, or to put it in the other way, national autonomy. The change in his style and the difference of *Of Rats and Diplomats* from his other two novels can be explained in this context; Ahmed Ali, as a former diplomat does not believe in an authentic and independent national politics and considers this situation as a corollary of international World order which is controlled by the big powers.

As Alamgir Hashmi in his essay “Professor Ahmed Ali” puts forward,

These early novels are concerned with the last of Muslim civilization in British India and are written in the realistic-poetic tradition. Ahmed Ali’s third, post-colonial novel, *Rats and Diplomats* (1985), deals with general decay in the world, in which representatives of the “newly-freed fourth world” find analogs of their own decay and depravity prevalent on a universal scale.

Consequently, the poetry disappears completely. And so does realism. Before the very end, the protagonist wakes up one morning transformed into a rat, with a tail grown at his back. The ratty business has taken its moral toll, whose evidence is biological and (un)aesthetic. The narrative aspires to the moral status of a fable. The historical imagination in the earlier works did not offer to subvert history so as to reorder the moral universe; and such verve and humor had never been at the forefront, as they are in *Rats and Diplomats*.<sup>1450</sup>

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<sup>1447</sup> Coppola, “Ahmed Ali”, 85.

<sup>1448</sup> Ali, *Of Rats*, 66.

<sup>1449</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>1450</sup> Alamgir Hashmi, “Professor Ahmed Ali,” in *The Annual of Urdu Studies*, 9, 1994: 46.

Ahmed Ali's idiosyncratic realism of himself, blended with traditional culture and literature, as well as classical Urdu poetry, gives its place to satire and surrealism, which can be read as a denominator of his disbelief towards sovereignty of good and principled politics both on the national and international basis. The poetry, the leading symbol of "moral community" loses all its function here and the poetic works become expressions for mocking national feelings and full satire. Poetry is criticized in the novel for not working and the ambassador at the end decides that "[p]oetry was much ado about nothing[...]"<sup>1451</sup> In a world under the pangs of total corruption, poetry has no more any significance or function.

When the ambassador is having a date with the wife of Scandalasia, we learn that it is impossible to preserve natural beauty and hybridity; in the underdeveloped countries, aping either the Americans or the British is inevitable: "When Europe becomes under-developed it will also do. The developing countries have no alternative. The standards they ape are American; the models they follow are American too. After all, America leads the world. She has the power and the money to force her stamp on every face."<sup>1452</sup>

The song playing in the bar is criticized since it is aping of the modern music:

I kiss you on the buttocks

You kiss me on the thigh.

O honey, honey, hi!

'There. That's what I mean,' she said. 'It does not fit the background. Ratisaniens' own music is so beautiful. I have heard and enjoyed it even without initiated into this symbolism. The modulation of voice and purity of tone is exquisite even though intricate, result of centuries of practice and intimate knowledge of breath control. You must listen to it. I shall take you to my Ratisanian friend one day.'<sup>1453</sup>

In his first two novels, the author appears to be in distress for the disintegration of Muslim (Mughal) culture in Delhi and Lucknow, which also represent the core and the centre of the South Indian Muslim culture. Struggle against the imperial powers would guarantee the preservation of the traditional culture, or at least it would stop its total annihilation. In any way, it is possible to sense a poetic and traditional world beside the political realism of the novel. However, In *Of Rats and Diplomats*, since it

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<sup>1451</sup> Ali, *Of Rats*, 193.

<sup>1452</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>1453</sup> *Ibid.*

is underlined that the deterioration of native cultures is a part of international world order and the small or developing nations are not powerful enough to protect themselves from the transformational impact of globalization or modernity (or aping the Americans) the poetry and the poetic realism withers away. Nationalism and the national values that are attached with goodness, —within the context of Islamic civilization— has no value any more. In the international world political order, universal values such as goodness, justice has no place at all: “Justice and Love exist only in the ideal. In life they have no place. We can use the terms, at best, comparatively. If you love your own people you cannot love others in equal measure. Jesus and Gandhi are examples. If you are fair to your own countrymen you have to be unfair to those of other countries.”<sup>1454</sup>

As the poetry and realism dies away, the goodness and the possibility of a good future disappears, too. Now the author does not believe in goodness at all: “But he was right. There seemed no good in the world to reinforce the good, whereas evil clashed with evil constantly[.]”<sup>1455</sup> Even the classical Manichean dualism does not work in this totally degenerate world: “There was no struggle between good and evil. It was a combat between evil and evil for begetting more evil and anarchy.”<sup>1456</sup>

The hidden conjecture of Ahmed Ali that the good values represented by old Mughal culture before 1857 would be regained in the future (as Mir Nihal bequeaths his grandson that one day they will win the struggle), gives way to disbelief of such possibility after Pakistan as a country comes to the scene. As a part of Muslim moral community before the independence, Ahmed Ali is hopeful for the realization of some of the values represented by the old Mughal Empire and has an assumption for a full independent Muslim country shaped by these values. However, working as a diplomat for the new Muslim country, he seems to be convinced that in the present world political order, it is impossible to sustain these values and the total moral corruption becomes all inclusive.

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<sup>1454</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>1455</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>1456</sup> Ali, *Of Rats*, 72.



## CONCLUSION

Having written their works in the calamitous years of their countries, both Yakup Kadri and Ahmed Ali, the two retired diplomats, problematized the situation of their societies from a nationalist perspective. Although the two writers started their careers by attacking the ossified traditions that they considered as drawbacks for their societies, later they changed their focus towards a more nationalist attitude, which created a critical perspective aimed at improving their societies by pointing to the problems and also the values that they regarded necessary to be embraced.

While Ahmed Ali reflects the views of *ashraf* classes in Delhi, the city which has a significant role in the growing Muslim separatism that gave way to an independent Pakistan, Yakup Kadri stands for the values of the westernized Turkish middle class in big cities, who took the lead in the establishment of the Republic and the implementation of westernized nationalist policies.

Both writers problematize certain basic nationalist assumptions, given by Anthony D. Smith, and in the works of the two authors, national autonomy, unity and identity appear as the vital problems that cannot be overlooked. Ahmed Ali's references to 1857 Mutiny and its significant place in his first two novels is supported by the lack of national unity which becomes evident in 1911 coronation scene. In *Twilight*, tormented between the domination of a foreign empire and the majority of Indian population, Ahmed Ali's past-oriented nationalism cannot develop a full-fledged nationalist Muslim character, which manifests itself with the paralysis of Mir Nihal, the representative of the *ashraf* values and Muslim community.

The stark similarity in the fates of two patriarchs, Naim Efendi and Mir Nihal, appear as a concomitant of their inadequacies to supply with the ideologies of the texts. Both of them symbolize the pristine and long-lasting traditions of the two empires, Ottoman and Mughal, which are doomed to give their way to a new political order being shaped while these novels were being written. Naim Efendi's decent and preeminent heritage, the values and tradition of the old Ottoman order, is in the

danger of falling into a superfluously westernization venture, which could only be stopped through the adoption of modern(ist) nationalist principles, personified in the transformation of Hakkı Celis. However, proved by the death of Hakkı Celis, the process is not an easy one and the real future of the country is in the War of Independence. While Naim Efendi's paralysis denote to the unstoppable intrusion of uncontrolled modernity and the transformation of the Empire, the probability of the transformation for the better in the personality of Hakkı Celis, extenuate the readers' attention to the tragedy of the old Ottoman bureaucrat. His mistake, if not guilt, is not being able to preserve the old values, which are doomed to change, but his inability to help transformation of these values in the line of modernist nationalist understanding.

Even though at first glance the problematic of both *Kiralık Konak* and *Twilight in Delhi* centers around the waning of old values represented by the two patriarchs, unlike Yakup Kadri, Ahmed Ali continues his attachment to the old values represented by Mughal architecture and Urdu poetry, which were, when the novel was being written, transformed into political symbols representing Muslim community in India. Thus, being a member of a society under colonial domination, Ahmed Ali's concern is also to resist the compelling penetration of modernity and to preserve the values of his community, whose destiny to become a nation was at best indecisive at the time.

While Ahmed Ali's problem is being unable to associate himself with the Indian nationalism and the Indian population in general, Yakup Kadri's dilemma appears as his inability to sympathize with common people in Anatolia who are attached to their own traditional values related to Islam. Yakup Kadri, as a result of his affiliation with Kemalism and his attachment to modernist nationalist worldview in general, rejects the old Ottoman traditions and Islamic values, believing in transformation of the old order to a modern nationalist Turkish state. His rejection and reprobation of İstanbul in *Kiralık Konak* and *Sodom ve Gomore* and his utopian depiction of Ankara in *Ankara* are embodiment of this perspective. Having a political and ideological stance based on modernization of the *ancient régime*, the cultural and moral significance of the Ottoman heritage is carefully overlooked and to some extent otherized. Also Yakup Kadri, with the transformation of Hakkı Celis and Necdet, makes allusions to the famous French nationalist writer Maurice Barrés, whose

transformation from an “egoist” to a nationalist is very famous, and it is possible to find similarities in his moral-based attitude toward nationalism in Yakup Kadri’s works.

In Ahmed Ali’s first two novels, the attitude of the author presents stark opposition to that of Yakup Kadri’s. Culture and the inheritance of the past play a very prominent role in Ahmed Ali’s works. His nationalism includes adoption and preservation of the old *ashraf* culture at the heart of the old Mughal capital. The heritage of the Empire is embraced, including poetry and architecture, thus preservation of history and Mughal culture as well as Urdu language becomes the primary vital issues in a colonized country. New Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Empire, and Lucknow, the rival city where patrons and poets flourish, appear in the novels not solely with their political significance but also cultural prominence. When his first two novels are considered in terms of their emphasis on the significant role of culture, Ahmed Ali’s nationalism appears to be a culture-based nationalism, which is defined as cultural contextualism by Paul Gilbert. The core of this nationalism values a certain way of life indispensable from being and acting moral, the absence of which creates a moral abyss, thus the values represented by a certain culture gain utmost importance to the being of its members.

Both writers buttress their nationalism through contextualizing it on a moral premise and develop a critical judgement toward their societies, sometimes very harsh though. Yakup Kadri, who has embraced Kemalist revolutions from the beginning, does this through his loyalty to modernist nationalism, which points to the endeavor to reach to the level of contemporary Western countries. He also adopts, what Gilbert calls, revolutionary republican ideals, which is in fact an aspect of modernist nationalism and condemns those who fall behind this ideal. He utilizes religious symbols and metaphors widely, and it is possible to encounter ample references to the Bible. His novel *Sodom ve Gomore* is the embodiment of this attitude. Ahmed Ali, on the other hand, utilizes the rich cultural heritage of the Mughal Empire and Islamic civilization as a moral reference and also embraces an anti-colonialist nationalism, which foregrounds national autonomy to the forefront. Supporting the Raj either actively or passively means moving away from the ideal values of a once glorious past, the result of which appears as a spiritual and material corruption evident in Mir Nihal household.

Although the two authors criticize imperialism and the expansion of Western hegemony in their novels, Yakup Kadri treats imperialism as a *décor*, his criticism is towards those who collaborate with the enemies and are far from adoption of modernist nationalist values. On the contrary, being a real victim of colonial administration and the forceful intrusion of modernity through imperialism, Ahmed Ali prioritizes a cultural nationalism that gives precedence to the protection of old values.

In fact, one of the primary reasons for such a difference of the two authors' attitude towards modernization and the West stems from the difference of their encounters with imperialism. As both Ayhan Akman and Baskın Oran note, since the Ottomans were not exposed to direct invasion, the Ottoman intellectuals' attitude towards West and modernity includes less hatred when compared to that of intellectuals of the formerly colonized countries. Adoption of the Western technology and values, if not way of life, can coexist with strong criticism towards imperialist and colonialist policies of the West European countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, on the contrary, Indian Muslims' direct experience of colonialism creates a tendency to adopt and preserve the values of the Muslim community and fight against the impacts of modernity, which in contrast to the non-colonized countries, was introduced through the domination of a foreign power.

As opposed to this cultural contextualism present in Ahmed Ali's works, which suggests that a certain way of life makes the life meaningful and the absence of it creates a spiritual void which appears as corruption, from the perspective of nationalism, Yakup Kadri's novels bear revolutionary republican values, which place the interests of the dominant regime (and thus the country) above everything. In this attitude, regarding the interests of the common will—which is mostly represented as the will of a small governing elite—is the primary prerequisite of being moral. Since those interests are not the embodiment of common people but a small cadre, his novels deal with the incompatibilities of the implementation of such ideal. Together with *Hüküm Gecesi*, *Bir Sürgün* also problematizes the impasse felt by the westernized, modern Turkish intellectual who is going to realize the revolutionary republican ideals. Since the environment is too cosmopolitan and the nationalist ideals are still unidentified, the intellectual type is swayed from side to side and is not able to discover the true path. Unlike the intellectual characters of *Kıralık Konak*

and *Sodom ve Gomore*, since the implementation of a national agenda by the leadership of Atatürk is not very near during the years the novel covers, the idealist characters become totally lost.

Also one clear distinction between Ahmed Ali and Yakup Kadri can be observed in their attitudes towards history, which bear great importance for nationalism in general. In *Bir Sürgün* and *Hüküm Gecesi* especially the last years of the Ottoman Empire is severely criticized and condemned. The values of the old order are cast aside and revolutionary activities are exalted. However, in Ahmed Ali's novels, the values inherited from the old Mughal past preserves their prominence and the real dilemma stems from not being able to pass them to the future generations. The same problematic can be observed in Ahmed Ali's second novel, *Ocean of Night*; although it represents the author's tendency to point out the problems of women, which continue almost in the same direction from his days in Progressive Writers Movement, the desperateness felt towards the colonial intrusion in the daily lives through modernity and the loss of old values is apparent.

One point that should be stressed about nationalism in Yakup Kadri's novels is that he is far from manifesting a tendency toward the Kemalism of the 30s, that is, it is not possible to find any references about the old Turkish history and the pristine Turkish cultural values officially propagated by Kemal Atatürk. Rather, his focus is on modernist side of nationalism, which also corresponds to the attitude of the *Kadro* Movement to a great extent.

Unlike Yakup Kadri's former novels, *Yaban* does not deal with a limited number of westernized Turkish upper class people, but depicts the Turkish nationalist intellectual's confrontation with the Anatolian people during the War of Independence, and his frustration to mobilize them toward a modernist nationalist project, symbolized by Atatürk and Kemalist movement at the time. The idea of nationalism is discussed on a very political level and the modernist character of the nationalism expresses itself as a top-down state controlled endeavor to convert Turkish people toward a modern, Western nation, rejecting the dominance of the traditional and Islamic values in the formation of the new national identity.

*Ankara* and *Panorama* centre on the same problems and Yakup Kadri expresses his deep remorse toward the modernist cadre, who are void of revolutionary republican

ideals to convert the society towards a modernist nation. Once departed from such an ideal, those characters become spiritually corrupt and, being self-seekers, also directly involve in corruption.

Ahmed Ali's last novel, *Of Rats and Diplomats*, which is a satire of world politics, expresses his resentment towards the promises of a nation-state, and suggests the impossibility of the full independent national dream, in which the magical world of poetry and authentic values of Muslim community is absent as is realism. While the settings of the first two novels, Delhi and Lucknow, the primary cities of Urdu-based culture, symbolize and reflect the soul and the life of the Muslim community under the monumental works of Islamic civilization, which is a bridge that can carry the Muslim community from its glorious past to the future, in *Of Rats and Diplomats*, once severed its ties from the national promise, the novel moves towards a more postcolonial context and the world is depicted to be in total corruption, which is symbolized by rats.

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